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Rev. Thomas Thomas. M.A. -
Lancaster.

Jan. 1842.

A
C O M M E N T A R Y
ON
THE EPISTLE
TO
THE HEBREWS.

BY MOSES STUART,

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SACRED LITERATURE IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT ANDOVER,
AUTHOR OF "COMMENTARY ON THE ROMANS," &c.

FOURTH EDITION CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

A NEW edition of the present work has for some time been determined on, in order to meet the calls for it which are often repeated. It may be proper to state in this preface, that, since the publication of the first edition, a work of the like kind, and of about the same size has made its appearance in Germany; the author of which is *Frederic Bleek*, Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in the University of Berlin, at the time of its publication. Prof. Bleek is distinguished for his attainments in the department of sacred criticism. Of his work, however, only the first volume has come to hand, which (like the first part of the present volume) is wholly occupied with an *Introduction* to the epistle to the Hebrews. The author believes that Apollos (and not Paul) was the author of this epistle; and a great part of his book is occupied in giving the history of opinions among the ancient churches relative to the authorship of the epistle, or in adducing arguments, against the Pauline origin of it.

In addition to this work of Bleek, replete with learning, and exhibiting for the most part a commendable degree of moderation and candour, I have received a review of the first edition of my own work, written by the same author since the publication of his own volume, and published in the *Universal Literary Gazette* at Halle. When Prof. Bleek published the volume just named, he had not seen my work on the same subject. His Review, therefore, which is a long one, exhibits more definitely his opinions in reference to those points in which I differ from him.

In this second edition of my work, I have throughout the first part, had my eye upon the work and review of Prof. Bleek, and have frequently gone into an examination *in extenso* of his positions. In consequence of this, there has been a very considerable addition made to the present edition.

I should have much preferred to render the work smaller, instead of enlarging it; for I well know, that a majority of readers

in our country take less interest in discussions of such a nature as it comprises, than in commentary. But duty to the cause of sacred criticism, and my obligation to endeavour to meet the exigencies of the times in regard to criticisms recently made upon the epistle to the Hebrews, do not render it compatible for me, as I view the subject, to comply with the wishes of this class of readers. I am quite sure, moreover, that if they were fully aware of the force which is already organised against its Pauline origin and its canonical authority, they would feel and judge very differently with respect to the importance of critical efforts to defend the commonly received opinion of the churches in regard to the author of the epistle.

Persuaded as I am, that no efforts of learning or ingenuity can ever extinguish the light, which the most ancient testimony of the Christian Fathers, and the internal structure of the writing itself, afford in relation to the origin and author of the epistle to the Hebrews, I feel it to be a duty, while my convictions remain as they are, not to pass in silence any attempt which is worth regarding, to obscure this light. This is my apology for the additional matter of the present edition: which, although it does not amount in itself to a large number of pages, has, from the nature of the discussions, cost much severe labour; such, indeed, as only those can estimate, who have been engaged in the like occupation. I do not mention this in order to enhance any claims of mine on the reader; but only to satisfy him, that I have not spared any efforts which it has been in my power to make, in order to accommodate my work to the present state of sacred literature.

Prof. Kuinoel, the well known Commentator on the historical books of the New Testament, has also published, a short time since, a commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews, with a somewhat extended and laboured introduction. He accords in the main with Bleek: but he has merely given a synopsis of what has been advanced by others, without adding any thing that requires notice which is strictly his own. On this account, I have not deemed it expedient to make his introductory essay a subject of special examination in the present edition of my work. His commentary presents some things which are worthy of attention, and by which I shall endeavour to profit in my notes upon the epistle; although, in general, it seems to me far inferior to his other critical works.

The alterations and additions, both great and small, made in the

present edition, are too numerous to be specified. It is my sincere wish to render the work more complete, and more worthy of the reader's approbation. All the changes that have been made, have originated in this desire, and in a sense of the obligation to do the best in one's power, which necessarily attaches itself to the publication of a work on subjects so important as those of which the present volume treats.

I have only to add, that the type used in printing the present edition, enables the publishers to present it to the reader within the compass of fewer pages than were occupied in the first edition, and at a somewhat less price, notwithstanding the additions which it has received. This, indeed, is some sacrifice on the part of the publishers, inasmuch as their labour of setting up the work in type (taking the additions into the account) is increased, while their profit is diminished. But this sacrifice they cheerfully make, with the hope of accommodating the public.

M. STUART.

Theol. Sem. Andover,
Sept. 2, 1833

THE PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

THE high opinion, universally entertained in this country, of Professor Stuart's Commentary on the Hebrews, and the urgent demand for copies of the second and much improved American edition of the work, have induced the present publishers to bring forward this **FOURTH EDITION**, forming a very correct and, it is hoped, not unimproved reprint of the second, with all its enlargements and improvements, fresh from the hand of the author.

The absolute want of grammatical and philological commentary on the Scriptures, in the English language, renders this a very acceptable volume to those who are their professed interpreters. In vain do our students in Theology, who engage in a critical examination of the Sacred text, seek for philological assistance in the doctrinal commentaries of Henry or Brown, of Guise or Doddridge,

of Clark or Scott. They find those works designed for the edification of Christian readers at large, and exceedingly well adapted to such an end; but of little use in affording a fundamentally critical knowledge of the original Scriptures; and so they have recourse to the ample and rich stores of the commentators of Germany, who occupy so eminent a station in critical scholarship. Here, however, unfortunately for the cause of truth, the youthful and inexperienced mind is exposed to a severe trial of its constancy to our holy religion; for often it drinks unawares of the turbid streams of *Neologism* and *Socinianism*, and seldom can appreciate the strong bias of the Master-spirits of German sacred literature, to obscure, or remove from their sphere, all the bright lights of inspiration, which adumbrate the divine character of the Author and Perfecter of our faith.

The more effectually to meet such an evil, Professor Stuart has first exerted his powers upon those portions of Scripture which have been more especially assailed by the antichristian spirit of the German critics; and the Introduction to the present work shows how triumphantly their incessant, and hitherto successful attacks on the Pauline origin, and canonical credit, of the epistle to the Hebrews may be repelled.

The Commentary and the Translation, as well as the introduction, exhibit throughout an acquaintance with the style of the sacred writers, a skill in discriminating the various shades of meaning of their phraseology, a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek idiom, and a reverence for the dictates of divine truth—all highly creditable to the author, and calculated to be abundantly useful to the Christian world. The author says truly, that, “interpretations *a priori* have long enough had their sway in the church; and it is very manifest that a more judicious and truly Protestant mode of thinking and reasoning, in respect to the interpretation of the Scriptures, has commenced, and bids fair to be adopted.”

May the present work contribute, through the divine blessing, to that great object. May it form one signal movement towards that grand and auspicious consummation, when, “all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest,”—when “the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters cover the sea.”

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COMMENTARY ON THE HEBREWS.

INTRODUCTION.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

No part of the New Testament, if perhaps we may except the Apocalypse, has occasioned so much difference of opinion, and given rise to so much literary discussion among critics, as the Epistle to the Hebrews. The principal reason of this seems to be, that this epistle does not exhibit, either at the beginning of it or elsewhere, any express evidence of having been addressed to any particular church, nor any designation of the author's name. If it had been expressly inscribed to a particular church, and if the author had originally affixed his name to it, there would of course have been as little occasion for dispute respecting the persons to whom it was addressed, or in regard to the author of it, as there has been in the case of the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, or Galatians.

At a somewhat early period of the Christian era, the eastern and western churches appear to have been divided in opinion respecting the author and canonical authority of this epistle. In modern times, and especially of late, every topic which its literary history could suggest, has been the subject of animated discussion. It has been disputed whether it is an epistle, an essay, or a homily; whether it was written by Paul, Apollos, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, or some other person; and whether it was originally written in Hebrew or in Greek. There has also been a difference of opinion as to the place where, and the time when, it was written. On every one of these topics, critics have been and still are divided. Nor has this division been occasioned merely by a difference in theological opinions. The subjects of dispute have, in this case, been more generally, although not always, regarded as topics of *literature*, rather than of religious sentiment or doctrine. Men of very different views and feelings, in other respects, have often been found united in the same ranks, when questions respecting the epistle to the Hebrews have been disputed. Such too is the case, even at the present time. All the learning and ability which have hitherto been summoned to the contest, have as yet failed to achieve a victory so complete, as to bring about a general acknowledgment, that all ground for further dispute is fairly removed.

The student, who is unacquainted with these facts, and who has merely read the epistle to the Hebrews with the same views and feelings which he has entertained while reading the *acknowledged* epistles of Paul, finds himself

thrown into a situation not a little perplexing, when he begins to make such critical inquiries respecting the epistle in question, as are usually made respecting any ancient writing. He finds philologists and critics of great reputation in the church strangely divided and opposed to each other, in respect to every topic to be examined. What he reads in one author, which perhaps for a time satisfies his mind, he finds controverted, shaken, or overthrown by another; who again, in his turn, receives castigation from a third; while a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth, differ each from all his predecessors. The curiosity of the inquirer thus becomes roused, and he begins to pursue some train of thought or investigation, with hope or perhaps with confidence, that it will lead him to an important and satisfactory result. He presses forward with eagerness, peruses and re-peruses modern critics, dives into the recesses of the ancient ones, and finds, perhaps, after all his toil, that he has been pursuing a phantom, which recedes as fast as he advances. Perplexed with doubt, and wearied at last with the pursuit, he becomes exposed to the danger of entirely abandoning his object, or of settling down in the cold and comfortless conclusion, that nothing satisfactory can be known in regard to it.

Such, or not much unlike to this, will be the experience, I believe, of nearly every one who sets out with his mind unfettered by any notions of early education, and determined seriously and thoroughly to investigate and weigh for himself all the evidence which can be found, in respect to the topics suggested by the literary history of the epistle to the Hebrews. He who begins such an investigation, with his mind already made up that Paul wrote, or did not write, this epistle; and that it was, or was not, directed to the Hebrews of Palestine; may indeed spare himself most of the perplexity in which an inquirer of the class just named will be involved. But then if his mind is already made up, what need is there of further investigation? And why not spare himself the time and trouble which it must cost?

Minds of a different order, however, will doubtless wish to examine for themselves, to "prove all things," and then "to hold fast that which is good;" if indeed they may be able to distinguish what is of this character. It is for such, that the following investigations are intended; and it is only to persons of this class, that they can be particularly useful, even supposing that they are conducted in such a manner as the subject demands. The writer commenced them, in the discharge of his duty as a lecturer upon the epistle in question. He found many unforeseen and unexpected obstacles in his path. He had been accustomed, with those around him, to regard Paul as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews; and he did not well know, until he came to examine, how long and how extensively this had been doubted. Men of high reputation in the church, and who admitted the *canonical* authority of the epistle, he found to have been doubtful in regard to the question, Who was the author of it. Neither Luther, nor Calvin admitted it to be from the hand of Paul; and so early, at least, as the latter part of the second century, more or less of the western churches, seem to have doubted or rejected its authority.

With such facts before him, he became deeply interested in the subject, and resolved, if possible, to satisfy his own mind. For this purpose, he directed his attention principally toward the original sources of evidence, although he has not knowingly neglected any writer of importance among modern critics. The results of his investigation he now gives to the public, in hope that if they do not serve to satisfy the minds of others, they will, at least, excite some to engage in the discussion of the topics presented, until, sooner or later, light enough is poured in to scatter the remaining darkness which rests upon them.

II. IS THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS APPROPRIATELY CALLED AN EPISTLE, OR IS IT A HOMILY OR ESSAY?

BERGER, a late critic of some eminence and considerable acuteness, has advanced and endeavoured to support the opinion, that this epistle, so called, was originally a homily or address to some assembly of Christians, which was afterwards reduced to writing by some of the preacher's friends or hearers. Others, also, have doubted whether it is properly named an epistle. But none have argued on this topic so much at length, or with so much effort, as Berger. On this account, it may be proper briefly to consider the principal arguments which he has advanced; *briefly*, because the topic seems not to be of sufficient importance to justify the occupying of much time in the discussion of it.

1 'The writer himself of the epistle to the Hebrews,' says Berger, 'calls it *λόγος παρακλήσεως*, a *hortatory address*, xiii. 22, which accords well with the contents of the piece.'

But Paul, one may reply, often employs the word *παρακαλῶ* in his acknowledged *epistles*. May not then an epistle of his in which *παρακαλῶ* is used, be appropriately enough styled a *λόγος παρακλήσεως*? May not any epistle containing precept and exhortation, be so denominated? An instance exactly in point is the circular letter respecting the question about circumcision, sent by the apostolic council at Jerusalem to the churches in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia; which is called a *πράξις*, Acts xv. 31. The words of Luke are: "When they had read [the epistle], they rejoiced ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει."

2 'The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews uses *λαλεῖν* instead of *γράφειν*; which is rather characteristic of a *hortatory address* than of an *epistle*.'

But an appeal to the Greek Concordance shows, that *λαλεῖν* is used every where in the epistles contained in the New Testament; and a corresponding word, of the same import, is in fact used in the epistolary style of all nations and languages. No evidence, therefore, in favour of Berger's opinion, can be deduced from this usage in the epistle to the Hebrews.

3 Berger supposes the basis of our present epistle to the Hebrews to have been the address of Paul to the church at Antioch in Pisidia, as recorded in Acts xiii. 14—41. Some disciple and friend of his, he conjectures, reduced this discourse to writing; commenting or enlarging upon various parts of it, and finally adding of himself to the original discourse the four last verses of our present epistle. To these four verses he supposes that the copyist refers, when he says, "I have written to you *διὰ βραχίων*, *briefly*," viz., by adding only the four last verses of the epistle, as properly his own.

To these considerations we may reply, first, that the address of Paul to the church at Antioch in Pisidia exhibits two very important topics, as prominent parts of the discourse, which are not at all commented on, one of them is not even adverted to, in the epistle to the Hebrews; I mean the subject of John the Baptist's testimony concerning Christ, and the resurrection of Jesus, Acts xiii. 24, 25, 30—37. Would it not be strange, that a commentator should entirely pass by the *prominent* topics of the very discourse which he designed to explain or to enforce?

Secondly, *διὰ βραχίων ἐπίστυλα ὑμῖν* does not admit of the reference which Berger supposes; for it is necessarily connected with the *preceding* part of the epistle to the Hebrews, and not, as he asserts, with the *succeeding* part; to which it can be attached only by doing violence to the ordinary laws of language.

4 'The word *ἀμὲν*, in Heb. xiii. 21, shows that the *original* discourse ended there, and that what follows is only an addition made by the transcriber.'

The answer is, that *ἀμήν* here stands after a *doxology*, where Paul always inserts it; and he frequently introduces it in this way in the midst of his letters; e. g. Rom. i. 25. ix. 5. xi. 36. xv. 33. xvi. 20. Gal. i. 5. Eph. iii. 21, etc. It follows of course, that the insertion of *ἀμήν* cannot afford any valid proof that our epistle ended with it; especially if written by Paul.

5 'The whole epistle is a regular series of reasoning, a connected chain of discourse; it is like to an essay or a homily, and not written after the manner of a familiar letter.'

But, it may well be asked in reply to this, may not and do not men reason, and regularly discuss subjects, in familiar letters or epistles? Has not Paul discussed and reasoned in the epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, the Ephesians, and in others? Is there any more regularity of structure in the epistle to the Hebrews, than there is in that to the Romans? Surely the regularity and orderly discussion exhibited by any composition, can never prove that this composition was not an epistle. At most, it can only serve to show that it was not an *ordinary* epistle on topics of little moment. Nor because a great part, or even the whole, of an epistle is of such a tenor, that it might have been spoken as an address or a homily, will this prove that it was not originally, or was not designed to be, an epistle. For every species of composition in use among men, is employed in epistolary writing.

The reasons of Berger, then, for the opinion which he has advanced, will not bear the test of examination. I may add, that the whole question is but little if any thing better than *logomachy*. Of what consequence can it be, whether the so called epistle to the Hebrews, was, in its first conception, designed to be an epistle or a homily? But whatever the original design was, I cannot believe, with Berger, that our epistle is a kind of commentary on an original discourse of Paul. That the author (the original author) of the epistle wrote down his own conceptions, or at least *dictated* them to an amanuensis, appears to me so deeply enstamped on every part of the composition, that it seems hardly possible for a discerning and unprejudiced reader not to perceive it. But whether the author first spoke the words which the letter contains, to some assembly, and afterwards reduced them to writing, or whether he did not, can make no difference as to the tenor and general character of the epistle; so that dispute about this would be only dispute about the *name* to be given to the writing; and how would this differ from *logomachy*?

However, if this must be disputed, we can easily satisfy ourselves respecting it. The address is every where like that of an epistle, viz. in the second person plural; with the single exception, that the writer occasionally uses a *κοίνωσις*, that is, he includes himself with those whom he addresses, and so employs the *first person plural*. But this is a practice so common in epistolary correspondence, that it occasions no difficulty in the case under consideration.

It is true, the mode of address would be the same in regard to the particular just noticed, if the epistle had originally been a homily. But other particulars render such a supposition utterly inadmissible. The epistle every where supposes the persons addressed to be *absent* from the writer, not present before him, as in the case of a homily. How could he in a *homily*, ask them to "pray that he might be *restored to them*?" Heb. xiii. 19. How could he promise to "*make them a visit* in company with Timothy, if he should come speedily?" xiii. 23. The first of these cases, at least, belongs to that part of the epistle, which Berger acknowledges to be the *original* discourse of Paul.

I add, that I am unable to see how any one can well imagine, as Berger does, and as Origen long ago conjectured, that the hand of a *commentator* is

discernible in this epistle. 'The whole tenor of it, from beginning to end, contradicts this. Did ever any writing come more warmly and fully from the heart? Here is no patch-work; no congeries of heterogeneous materials; no designed, exegetical *commentary*; no trace of a copyist or reporter. It is one uniform, unbroken, continuous work; produced by the powerful impulse of one and the same mind, which was fraught with a knowledge of the subject that it discussed, glowed with benevolent feelings towards those who were addressed, and was agitated with alarm at the danger to which they were exposed. Sooner should I think of dividing into parcels the Iliad, the Eneid, or the Paradise Lost, and assigning respective parts to different poets, than of introducing the hand of a copyist or a mere commentator into the epistle to the Hebrews. Be it written where, when, or by whom it may have been, *one* mind performed the great work, and stamped it with characteristics too plain to be obscured, too deep to be erased.

III. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS RESPECTING THE PRESENT INSCRIPTION TO THE EPISTLE.

IN what latitude is the word *Hebrews*, used in the inscription to this epistle to be understood?

Certainly not as designating *all* Hebrews of every country. To the *unbelieving* Jews most evidently it was not addressed. From beginning to end, the persons addressed are regarded as having made a profession of the Christian faith; for the great object of the epistle, as all agree, is to guard them against apostasy from this faith.

To the believing Jews of *every* country, it could not have been primarily and immediately addressed. It is altogether improbable that *all* such, in every country, were in special danger of apostasy, when this letter was written. We know from the epistles of Paul, that many churches planted by him, and made up in part of Jews, were, at the period when our epistle must have been written, in a very flourishing condition, and eminent for Christian faith and holiness of life. Other circumstances mentioned in the epistle, and pertaining to those whom he addressed, cannot be applied to *all* the believing Hebrews of that period. The writer speaks of the great fight of afflictions and the loss of property, to which those whom he addresses had been subjected for the sake of religion, x. 32—34; occurrences which surely had not taken place in *every* church where Jews were found.

A still more convincing argument in favour of the sentiment just advanced, is drawn from what the writer himself has stated at the close of his letter. He asks the prayers of those whom he addresses, that he may be speedily restored to them, xiii. 19; and promises, if Timothy return in a short time, that he will in his company pay them a visit, xiii. 23. But can he be understood as meaning, that he would, in company with Timothy, visit *all* the churches where Jews were to be found throughout the world? And could Timothy be known to them all? Or could the circumstances of Timothy, and of the writer himself, be so well known by them all, as the manner of address here necessarily supposes?

These considerations render it quite clear, that whosoever the Hebrews were that are named by the present inscription, they must have been those of some particular church and country. And even if we pay no regard to the *inscription*, but suppose it, after some time had elapsed, to have been affixed

to the epistle by another hand, the fact that *Jewish* converts are addressed, and such too as belong to some *particular* church or region, is, from the internal evidence of the epistle just stated, too plain to admit of any reasonable doubt.

IV. TO WHAT CHURCH WAS THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS WRITTEN?

A QUESTION replete with difficulties, and which has been much agitated by late critics. We can easily satisfy ourselves, that the epistle was designed for Jewish converts; and exclusively, in a certain sense of this word, designed for them, i. e. originally adapted to them throughout, in its texture and mode of reasoning. But *where* did these converts live? No salutation, such as stands at the head of nearly all the apostolic epistles, gives us information on this point. The conclusion of the letter, moreover, contains nothing definite enough to settle this question. We are left, then, to gather from ecclesiastical tradition and from internal evidence, such information as is necessary to determine it. But the first of these has been regarded by many critics, particularly by recent ones, as too indefinite or too imperfect to satisfy the mind of an inquirer; and the second is so indeterminate, as to afford no *convincing* evidence, but rather to give occasion for constant diversity of opinion. The same passages, for example, have often been quoted, in some instances, to support conclusions directly opposed to each other; and in other cases, definite conclusions have been drawn in support of *particular* opinions, from texts which appear to be capable of conveying only a *general* idea.

The task of examining the principal opinions, which have been advanced in respect to the original destination of the epistle to the Hebrews, is tedious and appalling; but it has become absolutely necessary to any one, who makes just pretensions to acquaintance with the literary history of this epistle. I shall be as brief as the nature of the discussion, and justice to the arguments of others, will permit; and I shall examine those opinions which the authors of them have endeavoured to support by arguments, omitting a particular discussion of those which have been thrown out as mere conjecture. For a *mere conjecture* that the epistle was directed to Jewish converts at Rome, in Spain, or at Babylon, (such conjectures have been made by critics of no small note), is sufficiently answered by a *conjecture* that it was directed to Jewish converts at some other place. Where no weight is laid in one scale, it requires none to adjust the balance of the other.

In our investigations respecting the question under consideration, we meet with critics who have maintained, that the epistle was written to Jewish Christians in Galatia; in Thessalonica; in Corinth; or to dispersed Hebrews in Asia Minor at large, who had fled from Palestine in order to avoid the persecutions to which they were there exposed. The majority of critics however have held, as nearly all the ancient churches did, that the epistle was directed to the Hebrews of Palestine. I proceed to examine each of these opinions, in the order here suggested.

V. WAS THE EPISTLE WRITTEN TO THE CHURCH AT GALATIA?

THE opinion that the epistle was directed to Jewish converts in Galatia has been advanced and maintained, with no small degree of acuteness and learning, by Storr, late Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen. I shall present a summary of the arguments which he uses to establish it; and

in order to avoid repetition, and also to render the discussion as perspicuous as may be, I shall examine the validity of each argument, as it is adduced.

He begins by observing, that the epistle to the Hebrews could not be directed to the church in Palestine, because it appears from Heb. ii. 3, that the persons to whom it was addressed were not such as heard Christ speak in person; from xii. 4, and xiii. 7, that they had as yet suffered no bloody persecution; and from vi. 10, xiii. 3, 10, and x. 34, that so far from having received charity from other churches, they had themselves contributed to the support of others. Now as neither of these things can, in his view, be truly said respecting the church in Palestine, he concludes that our epistle must have been directed to some church abroad.

I shall not stop here to examine whether he gives a correct interpretation of the passages on which he relies for the support of his opinion; as this subject must be examined in another place. I must content myself at present with simply remarking, that if he has rightly construed the texts to which he refers, they only serve to show, at most, that the church in *Palestine* was not the one to which the epistle was directed; leaving the question still untouched, whether it was sent, as he maintains, to the church in Galatia. As I now propose to examine only the *positive* arguments in favour of his opinion, I leave this consideration without further remark.

Most if not all of the arguments on which Storr relies, are grounded on what he supposes to be *probabilities*. The general nature of them may be thus stated. 'Certain facts relative to the Galatians and the Hebrews, are known from history, and from the epistles which bear their names. But these facts cannot well be accounted for on any other ground, than by the supposition that the epistles to the Hebrews and Galatians were *cotemporaneously* written and directed *severally* to the Jewish and Gentile parts of the same church. This being admitted, several things otherwise strange or inexplicable, may be easily accounted for; and consequently we may or must admit such a composition and direction of these epistles.'

Let us now examine the particulars, which go to make up the general argument that I have just stated.

1 'As the epistle to the Hebrews was not written to the churches in Palestine, and as all the churches abroad consisted of a mixture of Jews and Gentiles, it is a singularity very striking, and at first appearance inexplicable, how it should come to pass that the epistle to the Galatians is written exclusively to Gentile converts, and the epistle to the Hebrews exclusively to Jewish ones. But all appearance of difficulty vanishes, if we suppose that the two epistles were sent, at the same time, to the church in Galatia; each to the respective party for whom it was intended. A supposition which removes such difficulties, must be regarded as a probable one.'

This supposition is not wanting in ingenuity; and at first view, it may be regarded as not being destitute of probability. But then the critic must ask, How far can we be allowed to draw conclusions in respect to subjects of this nature, from mere *conjectural* probabilities? I may conjecture thousands of circumstances, in themselves probable, which would liberate me from difficulties presented by particular passages, or by whole books of the Old Testament and the New; on which conjectures, however, it would be very uncritical and unsafe for me to build conclusions, in respect to any matter of *fact*. Even if we allow the *probability*, then, of Storr's conjecture, it cannot add much real weight to the cause which he endeavours to support.

Such a probability, however, cannot well be allowed. There are circum-

stances in the epistles to the Galatians and the Hebrews, relative to the condition of the persons respectively addressed, which serve to evince that the Galatian church could not, at the *same* time, have been addressed by both of these letters. This I shall have further occasion to show in the sequel. In the mean time, it may suffice to remark here, that it is far from being certain, as Storr assumes it to be, that the epistle to the Galatians is addressed *exclusively* to Gentile converts. When the apostle speaks of their being "shut up under the law, before the gospel was preached;" and of "the law having been their instructor to bring them to Christ," Gal. iii. 23, 24; can those whom he thus addresses have been only *Gentiles*? And when he speaks of their "having been in a state of minority before Christ came;" of their "having been *ὑπὸ τοῖς στοιχείοις*, and in bondage to the elements of the world," i. e. the ritual ceremonies of the Mosaic law, Gal. iv. 1—3: it is far enough from being obvious, that only Gentile converts are addressed. Indeed, so plainly do these passages appear to respect Jews, that a critic of no less note than Noesselt considers it as certain, that Jewish converts *only* are addressed in the epistle to the Galatians; an opinion incapable no doubt of being defended, but still serving to show that Storr has, in the case before us, taken much more for granted than can be readily allowed.

Moreover, it is not so *singular* as Storr represents it to be, that Jewish converts should be exclusively addressed in one case, and Gentile ones in another. The church at Ephesus, for example, consisted, beyond all doubt, of a mixture of Jews and Gentiles. Yet, in the epistle which Paul wrote to them, he seems principally, if not solely, to address the Gentiles, (*ταῖς ἑθνεῖς ἀποβυστία*, Eph. ii. 11, also iii. 1). But who ever thought it necessary, in order to account for this, to suppose that Paul also wrote another letter at the same time, to the Jewish part of the church at Ephesus?

Besides, what object could be answered by writing two *separate* letters at the same time? Was it not a matter of course, that the whole church should be made acquainted with an apostolic letter to one part of it? Is there not abundant evidence, that the letters of the apostles were regarded and treated by the early churches as encyclical, or, as we call them, *circulars*? When Peter wrote his second epistle to various churches in Asia Minor, he adverts to Paul's epistles as being already known to them, 2 Pet. iii. 16. And when Clement of Rome, within the first century, wrote his epistle to the Corinthians, he made extracts from nearly all the epistles of Paul, without even naming them; which certainly implies, that he regarded the Corinthian church as being already well acquainted with them. Such being the state of knowledge respecting the apostolic epistles in the early churches, it is a very improbable supposition, that either the epistle to the Galatians, or that to the Hebrews, was designed to be kept secret from the Jewish or Gentile Christians at Galatia, if written to them. Indeed, an arrangement of this nature would have worn the appearance of a worldly policy, and of a kind of double dealing; which is far enough from being characteristic of Paul, and which would have served rather to alienate than to reconcile those who were ready to renounce his authority.

The *possibility* that the two letters should have been written at the same time, may for the sake of argument be conceded. But the *necessity* of such a supposition, on grounds alleged by Storr, is contradicted by the state of the epistle to the Ephesians, which is addressed to Gentiles *only*. If the probability of it has not already been shown to be little or nothing, in the sequel, I trust, this will be made satisfactorily apparent.

2 'The epistle to the Hebrews,' says Storr, 'has no salutation, which all the other epistles of Paul have; it wants the usual greeting at the close; and it no where exhibits the name of the author. These facts now are easily accounted for, if we suppose that this epistle was sent at the same time with that to the Galatians, which Paul says he wrote *with his own hand*, Gal. vi. 11. It is probable that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by the aid of an amanuensis; and as it was sent along with an epistle written and subscribed by Paul in his own hand-writing, a salutation and subscription were unnecessary or superfluous.'

But why so? Why did not the longer epistle to the Hebrews need as many marks of authenticity, as the shorter one to the Galatians? Is the subject less important? are the persons addressed less regarded by the writer? And why should the fact, (if it be one, for this too is mere conjecture), that an amanuensis wrote one letter, supersede all effort to authenticate it, when Paul has been so careful to render the other letter authentic, which was written with his own hand? During such a contest between parties as existed at Galatia, is there any probability that either letter would be left deficient as to the evidences of genuineness, when the whole weight of the apostle's authority was needed to check the growing evil there? Would not the apostle at least intimate plainly in one letter, that he had written another? So far from salutation or subscription being superfluous, in such a case, the one or the other, or rather both of them, would seem to be peculiarly needed, in order that neither letter should fail of its proper destination, or have its genuineness disputed.

3 'In Gal. vi. 16, it is said, "As many as walk by this rule, peace be on them, and mercy be upon *the Israel of God*." Now the phrase *Israel of God* means the *Jewish* converts at Galatia, in distinction from the *Gentile* ones; and this conveys an intimation, that the apostle had written to these Jewish converts, as well as to the Gentile ones.'

This argument, however, is built upon an exegesis of the passage quoted which is inadmissible. The *Israel of God* is plainly a figurative name for true Christians. Paul had shown in the previous part of his epistle, that those "who are of the faith," whether Jews or Gentiles, are the children of Abraham, iii. 7, 29. At the close, he pronounces a blessing on such as adopt the principles and obey the injunctions which he had communicated; and he concludes it, very appositely to his purpose, by calling such the *Israel of God*, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ Θεοῦ. The καὶ which stands before this clause seems clearly to be *explicative*, and not merely conjunctive; amounting in effect to our English *namely, even, to wit*, or some word of the same import, and placing τὸν Ἰσραὴλ in apposition with the preceding ἐκ αὐτοῦ.

But even supposing the apostle does advert here only to the *Jewish* converts, as such; where is the intimation to be found that he had written to them? Or, if he had, that the letter was the same with our present epistle to the Hebrews?

4 'The epistle to the Hebrews and to the Galatians must have been written about the same time; and probably both were written at Corinth, during Paul's first abode there. Here Paul found Priscilla and Aquila, who had fled from Italy on account of Claudius' decree which banished the Jews from Rome, Acts xviii. 1, 2; and at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, the writer says, *They of Italy* (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας) *salute you*, which means 'Priscilla and Aquila from Italy salute you.' The coincidence of such circumstances renders it probable, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written at Corinth.—And as to the epistle to the Galatians, it was written between

the time of Paul's second and third visit to Galatia; and consequently must have been written during some of his journeys recorded in Acts xvi. xvii. and xviii., which are occupied with the history of the apostle in the interval of time between those visits. But if written during this interval, when can it with so much probability be considered to have been written, as within the eighteen months' abode of Paul at Corinth, during the same time? Consequently, it is probable, that both letters were written at the same place, and about the same time; and it may therefore be concluded, that the supposition of their having been sent to Galatia at the same time, is correct.'

Ingenious and specious as this may appear, at first view, it is far from being satisfactory, when we come to examine its parts in detail. In respect to those circumstances which Storr represents as showing that the epistle to the Hebrews was written at Corinth, they are far from being decisive. Supposing, with him, that *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, in the greeting at the close, means Priscilla and Aquila; is it necessary that the salutation from them should have been sent from Corinth? Did they not afterwards travel with Paul to Ephesus? Acts xviii. 18, 19. And were they not probably at Rome, during his captivity there? In Rom. xxvi. 3, a salutation is sent to them as being at Rome; and of course they were there before Paul went thither as a prisoner, because his epistle to the Romans was written before that event, Rom. i. 9—12. How then can we assume that Corinth is the only place from which Paul sent, or could send, the salutation of these Italians to Galatia?

But another consideration must be brought into our account. Storr's exegesis of the expression *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* is altogether improbable. How should two strangers, *lately* (*προσφάτως*) come from Rome to Corinth, Acts xviii. 2, be so well acquainted with the church at Galatia, situated in the interior and very remotest part of Asia Minor, and having but little intercourse with the world, that it was not necessary even to name them to this church, but simply to advert to them by the periphrasis, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*? How did the Galatians know that Priscilla and Aquila were at Corinth? Or how could they distinguish them from the many other Jews that fled from Rome, after the edict of Claudius proscribing the Jews was published? Besides, in all other cases where Paul sends greetings from these Italians, or to them, he calls them by name; e. g. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. 2 Tim. iv. 19. Rom. xvi. 3. This view of the subject, therefore, renders highly improbable the very circumstance which Storr has assumed as a fact, in order to make out that the epistle to the Hebrews was written at Corinth.

Next, as to the epistle to the Galatians. It was written, he says, between Paul's second and third journey to Galatia; therefore most probably *during his stay at Corinth*, which happened in that interval of time.

But, if we follow the account of Luke in the Acts, it is difficult, nay impossible, to defend the supposition of Storr, that the epistle to the Galatians was written after the second visit of Paul to Galatia. Acts xvi. 6. gives us the first intimation of a visit to Galatia by Paul; and his second visit is described in Acts xviii. 22, 23, which was *after* he had left Corinth, and travelled through Palestine and Asia Minor. I know, indeed, some critics have *conjectured* that Paul made a journey to Galatia, previously to the one first mentioned by Luke in Acts xvi. 6. But of what avail are *conjectures* in such cases, when they are supported neither by the epistle to the Galatians, nor by the history of Paul?

Nothing then but *supposition* is offered by Storr, to show that either the epistle to the Hebrews, or that to the Galatians, was written at Corinth, or

that both were written about the same time; and of course, these circumstances cannot be assumed as proved, or even as rendered probable, in order to build the conclusion on them, that the epistle to the Hebrews and the epistle to the Galatians, were written simultaneously to the same church.

5 'Timothy originated from the neighbourhood of Galatia, and was no doubt in company with Paul during his journey there, as mentioned in Acts xvi. 6. It is a singular circumstance, that although the apostle so often joins his name with his own, in the salutations contained in his other letters, he has not joined him in his epistle to the Galatian church; *specially* singular, in as much as Timothy must have been so well known to the Galatians, and as he was with Paul at Corinth. But this apparent singularity is accounted for, when we suppose that Timothy was sent with both the letters in question to the Galatians; who, of course, would receive his salutation from his own mouth.'

But is it not more singular still, I ask, that Paul should say, at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews: *Know ye that our brother Timothy is ἀπολειμμένος*, i. e. either *sent away* on some errand, or *set at liberty*? Was it necessary to tell the Galatian church this, when Timothy was before their eyes *in propria persona*? I know indeed that Storr, in order to avoid this striking incongruity, has translated *γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τιμόθεον ἀπολειμμένον* thus: *Receive honourably our brother Timothy who is sent to you*; but it is a violence done to the natural import of the language, which no other respectable critic that I know of has sanctioned, and to do which, I must think, nothing but the eagerness of supporting a favourite theory could have led this excellent writer.

Besides all this, how is it so strange that the name of Timothy is not joined with that of Paul, in the epistle to the Galatians, since neither the epistle to the Romans, the Corinthians, Ephesians, or to Titus, has this name in the salutation? How easy too the supposition, that Timothy, the habitual ἀγγελος of Paul, might have been absent, on business pertaining to the concerns of the churches, when the epistle to the Galatians was written!

6 'The epistle of Paul to the Galatians, both in matter and manner, has many striking coincidences with the epistle to the Hebrews.'

No doubt this is true. But it is equally true also of other epistles of Paul; with the exception, that the subject in the epistle to the Galatians particularly resembles, in some important respects, that of the epistle to the Hebrews, and is prosecuted more extensively in the latter epistle, than in any of the other acknowledged epistles of Paul. Noesselt has used the same argument, in order to prove that the epistle to the Hebrews must have been written to the church in Thessalonica; and Weber, to show that it was written to the Corinthians. Might it not be used, with similar effect, to show also that it was written to the Romans? Such an argument may be of some weight in the question, whether Paul, or some other person, wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; but it cannot be of much avail to show that this epistle was written to the church at Galatia, rather than to some other church.

7 But the argument on which Storr seems to place most reliance of all, and which, if well founded, is of an *historical* and not of a conjectural nature, is that deduced from 2 Pet. iii. 14—16.

As this passage is not only adduced by Storr, for the purpose of showing that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to the Galatians; but is also adduced by him, and by many other critics of great reputation, for the purpose of proving that Paul must have been the author of the epistle to the Hebrews; in order to save repetition, I shall here examine it in reference to

both of these topics, since I must of necessity institute an examination of it, with respect to the topic now under discussion.

The passage runs thus: "Wherefore, beloved, since ye are in expectation of these things [viz. the changes described in the preceding context], make strenuous efforts that ye may be found of him [Christ] in peace, without spot and blameless; and consider the delay of our Lord as to his coming, a matter of favour: even as our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given to him, *hath written to you*; [as he has done] likewise in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood; which the ignorant and the unstable pervert, as they do the other Scriptures, to their own destruction."

To understand the nature of the argument drawn from this, we must advert to some circumstances mentioned in the epistles of Peter. His first epistle is directed to the churches in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, 1 Pet. i. 1. His second is directed to the same churches; for he says "This second epistle, beloved, I write to you, in which I aim to stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance," 2 Pet. iii. 1. To the above named churches in Asia Minor, then, the second epistle of Peter was directed.

The nature of Storr's argument may now be understood. It is this. 'In all the epistles of Paul, excepting that to the Hebrews, the churches are designated to which they were sent; but not so in the epistle to the Hebrews. Peter says, that Paul had written a letter to the churches in Asia Minor whom he addresses; *as our beloved brother Paul hath written to you*. Now this cannot advert to any of his letters which have *inscriptions*, as they are not directed to the afore-named churches in Asia Minor. Consequently, Peter must refer to the epistle to the Hebrews, which is the only one that has no inscription. It follows, therefore, not only that Paul wrote this letter, but that he wrote it to some of the churches addressed by Peter. Most probably, then, it was written to Galatia. Especially is this credible, since the epistle to the Hebrews contains those very warnings and sentiments to which Peter adverts, as being comprised in the letter of Paul to the churches in Asia Minor whom he addresses.'

One is tempted, at first view, to acquiesce in a statement seemingly so probable, and to conclude that the inference drawn by Storr is substantially supported. A closer examination, however, suggests formidable difficulties, which must not be passed over in silence.

I omit, at present, any consideration respecting the genuineness of the second epistle of Peter so much called in question, and disputed by many churches of ancient times. It is unnecessary here to take other ground in regard to it than that which Storr himself has taken, i. e. to admit its genuineness. What then does the passage of Peter, now in question, teach us?

1 That Paul had written a letter to the churches whom Peter addressed, ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν. 2 That he had urged on them the same considerations which Peter himself had urged; *even as our beloved brother Paul hath written to you*. 3 That in all his epistles (viz. all that had been read by them), he had urged the same or the like considerations; *as likewise in all his epistles, speaking in them concerning these things*.

The question, on which the point under discussion mainly turns, is, What are the *things* to which Peter refers, as treated of in common by him and by Paul?

To find an answer to this, we may make three suppositions. First, they are *all* the subjects treated of in the preceding part of Peter's epistle; or secondly, they are those comprised in the preceding part of the third chapter; or

thirdly, they are those things suggested by the immediate context, in connexion with the passage already cited.

Now the *first* of these suppositions cannot be admitted; for Paul is so far from treating, in all his epistles, of every subject comprised in the whole of Peter's second epistle, that he has nowhere treated of some of them. If Peter then referred to the epistles of Paul which are now extant, it is clear he did not mean to say, that Paul had in *every* epistle of his, discussed the *same* subjects that he himself had discussed throughout his second letter.

But Storr urges in a special manner the second supposition, viz. that the subjects presented to view in the *third* chapter of Peter's second epistle, are particularly treated of in the epistle to the Hebrews; and consequently that Peter must have referred to these subjects, and to that epistle. The sum of the third chapter of Peter is, 'That the heavens and the earth are perishable; that they will be destroyed by fire; that the delay to destroy the ungodly must not be imputed to slackness on the part of the Lord, who puts off this catastrophe on account of his long-suffering towards men; and that the time when they shall be dissolved by fire, will come speedily and unexpectedly, and then the heavens and the earth will be destroyed, and new heavens and a new earth created.' Such is the context. Then follows the exhortation; "Beloved, keep yourselves unspotted and blameless; and regard the delay of your Lord's coming as a favour; *even as our beloved brother Paul has written to you,*" &c. Now *where* has Paul written any thing respecting the dissolution of the material elements of the universe by fire, and the creating of new heavens and a new earth instead of them? I do not find this subject treated of in the epistle to the Hebrews; nor is it touched upon in *all* the epistles of Paul; it is only adverted to in *some* of them. It is then,

Thirdly, the exhortation in the immediate context, *to keep themselves unspotted and blameless in view of their Lord's coming*, which Peter means to say had been urged by Paul on the persons whom he addressed, as well as by himself. This is the plain *grammatical* construction; and it is the only one which will bear examination, by comparing it with the contents of Paul's epistles.

But exhortation of such a nature is far from being contained only in the epistle to the Hebrews. The epistles to the Corinthians, Philippians, the first to the Thessalonians, the first to Timothy, and that to Titus, contain direct exhortations of this sort; and the other epistles of Paul exhibit repeated intimations of the same nature. If the argument is good, then, to prove that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to the Galatians, because it contains such sentiments and exhortations as those in question, then the same argument might prove, that any of the other epistles of Paul were written to the same church, because they contain the like sentiments.

But there is one of the churches in Asia Minor to which Peter wrote, namely, that of Galatia, to which a letter of Paul, now extant, is addressed. May not this be the very epistle to which Peter adverts, and not the epistle to the Hebrews? In chapter vi. 7—9, is a passage of warning and exhortation, grounded on the doctrine of future retribution. This possibly may be the very passage to which Peter adverts; or if any should think it too *general* to satisfy the reference which he makes, as one would naturally be rather prone to think, then the exhortation may have been in a letter now lost. That some of Paul's letters are lost is pretty certain, from 1 Cor. v. 9—11; see also, Phil. iii. 1. Evidently one of John's epistles is lost; "I wrote to the church," says he in his second epistle, verse 9, "but Diotrephes, who loves pre-eminence, did not receive us." We have no remains of the epistle to

which he here adverts. The letter of Paul which Peter mentions, may have shared the same fate. At most, the epistle to the Hebrews, even supposing it to be proved that Paul wrote it, has no special claim to be considered as the one adverted to by Peter.

If then it cannot be shown, as I am fully persuaded it cannot, that Peter, in the passage under consideration, adverts to the epistle to the Hebrews, of course it cannot be shown from Peter's testimony, that Paul wrote this epistle. This argument has, indeed, been often and strongly urged by modern and late critics, in order to establish this point; but it will not abide the test of examination. The ancient church, it is well known, never brought it forward to support the opinion that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Storr himself, who urges it very strongly, concedes that it was never employed by the Christian fathers. It does not follow, indeed, that it has no validity, because it was not employed by them; but it would seem, at least, that the proof to be derived from it is not so obvious, nor so conclusive, as some modern critics have deemed it.

8 Storr adduces 'the special circumstances of the churches addressed in the epistles to the Galatians and to the Hebrews, as a ground for the opinion, that both epistles were directed to the church at Galatia. 'The Galatians,' says he, 'had for a *long* time been Christians; so had the Hebrews. The Galatians were persecuted and misled by false teachers, and were in danger of defection from Christianity; so were the Hebrews.'

Now so far from finding evidence of sameness, in the representations of the two epistles respecting these circumstances, I find proof of dissimilarity so great as to exclude all hope of supporting the opinion of Storr, and to show that the admission of it would do great violence to the laws of probability. To the Galatians Paul says, "I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed from him who called you to the grace of Christ, unto another gospel," Gal. i. 6. To the Hebrews he says, "When for the time [i. e. plainly the long time since they professed Christianity] ye ought to be teachers, ye have need again to be taught the first elements of religion." Heb. v. 12. Again, "Call to mind the *former* days in which, when ye were enlightened, ye endured a great fight of afflictions," x. 32. And again the writer calls on them to "remember the example of their *former teachers*, who were deceased," xiii. 7.

Then as to persecution, the Hebrews had suffered the loss of their property by it, x. 34; but there is no intimation of this in respect to the Galatians. Indeed, there is no proof that out of Palestine persecution was such, in the apostolic age, one or two instances only excepted, as to deprive men of either property or life. The Roman magistracy did not permit this, either out of Palestine or in it, so long as they were in authority. This is evident from several passages of history in the Acts; e. g. Acts xviii. 12, 17; xix. 35—40; Acts xvi. xxvi. Then there is a great difference between the kind of persecution animadverted upon in the epistle to the Galatians, and in that to the Hebrews. In the *former*, Christians are addressed as in danger, from their pressure, of incorporating Judaism with Christianity, and making the continued profession of it essential to salvation; in the *latter*, they are every where addressed as in danger of a final and total renunciation of the Christian religion. In the one, they are dehorted from superadding the Jewish ceremonies to Christianity; in the other, from utterly abandoning the Christian religion.

But further; Paul says, in Gal. vi. 11, "Ye see how **LARGE** a letter I have written to you with my own hand." Yet this epistle consists of only *six* chapters of a moderate length. How then could Paul say to a part of the *same*

church, in a letter accompanying this, "I beseech you, brethren, to bear with a word of exhortation from me, for I have written unto you *διὰ βραχυίας*, IN A FEW WORDS," or *briefly*, Heb. xiii. 22. Yet this *brief* epistle is more than twice as long as the *large* letter which accompanied it. Could Paul so forget himself, on such an occasion as this?

Again, Paul often adverts, in his epistle to the Galatians, to the fact that he was the first who taught them the doctrines of Christianity. Yet in the epistle to the Hebrews there is not a word of this; but, plainly, the whole manner of the letter, and specially the manner in which he speaks of the teachers of those whom he addresses, implies that he had not himself planted the church to which his letter was directed.

But what determines the question beyond all hope of supporting the views of Storr, is, that in the epistle to the Galatians, their *teachers* are animadverted upon with great severity, on account of their improper conduct and erroneous doctrines. They are represented as perverting the gospel of Christ; as having an erroneous zeal for selfish purposes, iv. 17; v. 13; and the apostle even proceeds so far as to express a wish, that they might be cut off from the church, v. 12. But how totally different is the character given of teachers, in the epistle to the Hebrews! "Obey your teachers, and be subject to them; for they watch over your souls as they that must give an account;" i. e. they are altogether worthy of your confidence and obedience, xiii. 17. And at the close of the letter, he sends his affectionate salutations to them, xiii. 24.

These considerations seem to remove all probability, and even possibility that the epistle to the Hebrews was, as Storr maintains, written at the same time and place as the epistle to the Galatians, and that it was also directed to the same church.

The excellent character and distinguished acuteness of Storr, entitle almost any opinion which he has seriously defended to examination; but I cannot resist the impression, that he has utterly failed in defending the sentiment which has now been examined.

I have, throughout this investigation, proceeded on the supposition that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; which Storr fully believed. Whether there is sufficient reason to believe that Paul was the author of the epistle, will be a subject of discussion in a subsequent part of this introduction. In the mean time I shall concede this point, while examining the question relative to its destination, to all the writers who have assumed it in supporting their respective opinions. Such is the case with most of those, whose various opinions relative to the destination of our epistle still remain to be examined, or to which any reference will be made.

VL WAS THE EPISTLE DIRECTED TO THE CHURCH AT THESSALONICA?

THE character which has just been given of Storr will also apply, in respect to some of its prominent traits, to Noesselt, late professor of Theology at Halle, who has maintained, in an essay devoted to this purpose, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to the churches in Macedonia, or rather to the church at Thessalonica; Opusc. Fascic. I. No. 10. Semler had done this before him; but on somewhat different grounds, and with less plausible reasons. On this account, I shall now, without particularly adverting to the efforts of Semler, proceed to examine the more ably supported opinion of Noesselt.

The general principle to which Noesselt makes an appeal in his argument,

in itself considered, is correct. He endeavours to show, that 'there are circumstances mentioned in the epistle to the Hebrews, in Paul's epistles to the Thessalonian church, and in the life of this apostle, which afford a very striking agreement; so striking as to render it altogether probable, that Paul must have directed to this church the epistle which is now inscribed, *To the Hebrews*; and that he must have written it during his abode of eighteen months at Corinth, as recorded in Acts xviii.' Let us examine these circumstances.

1 'When Paul visited Corinth for the first time, he found Priscilla and Aquila there, who had recently fled from Italy, on account of the decree of Claudius which banished the Jews from Rome, Acts xviii. 1, 2. At the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, he says, "They of Italy salute you;" meaning Priscilla and Aquila. Here then is a circumstance in the epistle to the Hebrews, which accords with the circumstances of Paul, during his first visit to Corinth.'

But, as I have before remarked (p. 10.), Paul was in company with these Italians at other places besides Corinth. From some of these other places, then, he *might* have written this salutation. Besides, is there any probability, as I have before asked, that two strangers, who had *recently* (προσφάτως) come from a city so distant as Rome, should be so well known to the Thessalonians in the extreme north-eastern part of Greece, that they need not even to be named, but simply called οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, in a greeting or salutation? And particularly so, as neither of them were officers in the church, or public teachers. In all other cases, as has been already shown, Paul expressly *names* these persons when he adverts to them. Why should he depart here from his usual custom?

2 'Paul says, at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, that Timothy was ἀπολελυμένον, *sent away*; and Paul had sent Timothy from Berea to Thessalonica, and Paul himself was at Athens, a little before he came to Corinth, comp. Acts xvii. 13—16. Here then is a concurrence of circumstances, which favours the opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul at *Corinth*, and directed to the Thessalonians.'

To understand the nature of this argument, and the reply which I have to make, it is necessary to advert, for a moment, to the history of Paul's journeys at the time now under consideration. Paul, in company with Silas and Timothy, first preached the gospel at Thessalonica, where a church was formed; but being vehemently opposed by some of the Jews, they went to Berea a neighbouring city, Acts xvii. 10. Thither the persecuting Jews of Thessalonica followed them; in consequence of which, Paul, leaving Silas and Timothy there, withdrew to Athens. Here he resided a short time, and then went on his first visit to Corinth, Acts xvii. 1—15; xviii. 1. At this last place he staid eighteen months, Acts xviii. 11. Now Noesselt supposes, that before Paul left Athens, he sent Timothy (who was still at Berea, Acts xvii. 10, 14) back to Thessalonica, in order to make inquiries respecting the state of the church there; and that this is the meaning of that passage at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, *Ye know*, (as he would translate it), *that our brother Timothy is sent away*.

But as there is nothing of all this in the history which Luke has given of Paul and Timothy, Acts xvii., and as the whole must therefore be founded on *conjecture*; it might be sufficient, on the other hand, to conjecture that Paul did *not* send Timothy from Berea to Thessalonica, as Noesselt supposes.

However, respect for so excellent a critic as Noesselt, would rather demand some argument to show that this conjecture cannot be well founded. I would observe, then, that in order to render his position probable, he assumes as a fact, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written *before* the epistles to the

Thessalonians; a supposition not capable of being rendered *probable*, much less of being proved.

It will be admitted, that there is not a word in our present first epistle to the Thessalonians, respecting any *previous* letter addressed to them; a circumstance not to be imagined, provided the apostle had written such a laboured epistle to them as that to the Hebrews is, and on such an important question. Besides, it appears altogether probable from Acts xviii. 1—6, that Silas and Timothy arrived at Corinth soon after Paul had gone there; so that the absence of Timothy, supposed by Noesselt to have taken place at the time when the epistle to the Hebrews was written, cannot be rendered at all probable, from this part of Paul's history; for it cannot be thought probable, that such an epistle as that to the Hebrews would be written by Paul *immediately* after his arrival at Corinth, amidst all the agitation and dispute and hazard occasioned by his first preaching there. But even conceding that this *might* have been done; it is probable that Paul, who, according to Noesselt, had just before, while at Athens, sent Timothy to Thessalonica, and who knew that he was *now there*, should gravely write to the Thessalonians, *Ye know that our brother Timothy is sent away*; when this same Timothy, *in propria persona*, was present with the very church to whom this was written?

3 'In Heb. x. 34 Paul says, *Ye had compassion on my bonds*; or, according to another reading of equal authority *Ye had compassion on those who were bound*, i. e. the prisoners. This refers to Paul's imprisonment, as related in Acts xvi. 23—40; and to the sympathy which the Thessalonians evinced for him in these circumstances.'

But this imprisonment was at Philippi, *before* Paul had visited Thessalonica, and before the Thessalonians could know that he was in their region, except by report. This imprisonment lasted but a few hours; it ended in a most triumphant deliverance by the interposition of divine power, and in the shame and mortification of the magistracy who had ordered it. The whole occurrence, instead of demanding compassionate sympathy, was a matter of triumph and congratulation. Or if otherwise, it was not an affliction in respect to which the Thessalonians could compassionate Paul, as they could not know of its having happened, until it was past. And if they had known it, as the Christian religion had never yet been preached to them, what sympathy could they have had with Paul, because he suffered as a Christian?

4 'The Hebrews are praised for their liberality; and so are the Thessalonians.'

To which I reply, So are other churches. Does it follow, because they exhibited this trait of character which was *common* among Christians in the apostolic age, that the Thessalonian church must have been the same which is thus recommended in the epistle to the Hebrews?

5 'The persons to whom the epistle to the Hebrews was addressed, had suffered persecution, Heb. x. 32, xii. 4; which was also the case with the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14—16. 2 Thess. i. 2.'

So had many other churches; e. g. the church at Philippi, Phil. i. 27—30. But neither at Thessalonica, nor scarcely any where else, except in Palestine, do we know of a persecution at this period, which involved the loss of property and the hazard of liberty and life. The epistle to the Hebrews speaks of their being despoiled of their property, x. 34; a circumstance not mentioned in the account of the persecution at Thessalonica, and one which makes directly against the supposition of Noesselt.

6 'The Thessalonians were in danger of defection from the faith, so that

Paul was obliged to send Timothy to confirm them, 1 Thess. iii. 2, 3; and the same danger is every where adverted to, in the epistle to the Hebrews.'

This argument is built on an erroneous exegesis. That Timothy made a visit to *confirm* the Thessalonians, does not surely imply that they were in special danger of apostasy. When Paul is said to have gone through Asia Minor *confirming* the churches, Acts xv. 36—41. xvi. 4—6. xviii. 23, are we to draw the inference that all the churches there were in the same danger of apostasy, as the persons to whom the epistle to the Hebrews is addressed? If not, this argument of Noesselt has no force to establish the opinion which he advocates.

7 'There is a great similarity between the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle to the Thessalonians.'

So there is, also, between the epistle to the Hebrews and all the epistles of Paul. This argument, then, proves too much. It may serve to show that Paul probably wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; but it can have no important influence on the question, *To whom* did he write this epistle?

Most of the similarities, moreover, which are produced by Noesselt, are similarities of a *general* nature in respect to sentiments of piety and morality. Must there not of course be a similarity in these respects in all the epistles of Paul, provided he always taught the same doctrines of Christianity?

But the *dissimilarities* between the epistles to the Thessalonians and the Hebrews, Noesselt has not proceeded to develop. Yet there are some; and some so striking, as to render the supposition which he defends altogether improbable. The Hebrews addressed in our epistle had been for a *long* time Christians; but if Noesselt's supposition be true they had been so only a *few months*, at most, when Paul wrote his first epistle to them; for Paul had only made a rapid journey from Thessalonica, to Athens, and thence to Corinth; and soon after his arrival there, and, as Noesselt thinks, before Timothy had come to him, he wrote the epistle in question.

I may add, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews nowhere adverts to his having *first* planted Christianity among them. But Paul, in his epistle to the Thessalonians, very frequently adverts to this circumstance.

Further, the epistle to the Hebrews is directed to a church almost wholly, if not altogether, *Jewish*; while it is plain from Acts xvii. 4, 5, that only a *few* Jews had early joined the Thessalonian church; and plainer still, that this church was principally made up of Gentiles, from Paul's first epistle to them, i. 9, where he says, 'Ye have *turned from your idols* to serve the living God.' Now circumstances so widely diverse and opposite cannot be predicated of the same church, while they have respect only to an interval of time, which, at the most, cannot exceed the eighteen months that Paul abode at Corinth.

Finally, Paul's two epistles to the Thessalonians throughout, are filled with commendations of the Thessalonian church, for their firmness and steadfastness in the faith of the gospel. Not a word of their Jewish prejudices. Not a reference to the imminent danger of apostasy, which is every where developed in the epistle to the Hebrews. Noesselt accounts for this by the supposition that Paul's first epistle to them, (*viz.* that to the Hebrews, as he supposes), had produced a thorough reformation among them. But when Paul's *first* epistle to the Corinthians had effected a reformation, in respect to various particulars of far less importance than those treated of in the epistle to the Hebrews, how does the apostle fill his *second* letter with commendations, which have a direct reference to his former admonitions? Could it be otherwise here, if the epistle to the Hebrews had been written before our present epistles to the Thessalonians, and produced such an effect as Noesselt supposes?

On the whole, then, the supposition of Noesselt must be abandoned; not only because it is not well supported, but because it involves difficulties and improbabilities so great as to render it altogether incredible.

VII. WAS IT DIRECTED TO HEBREWS, WHO WERE SOJOURNERS IN ASIA MINOR?

BOLTEN, who has distinguished himself in a particular manner, by a translation of the New Testament with constant reference to the Syriac or Syro-chaldaic language, in which he supposes many of the original documents must have been composed, has advanced the opinion, that the Hebrews addressed in our epistle, were those who had fled from Palestine about A. D. 60, on account of the persecutions there, and were scattered abroad in Asia Minor. To this he thinks the *οἱ καταφυγόντες* in vi. 18 refers; as also the passage in xiii. 14, which speaks of their having *no abiding city*. He finds parallels of such a meaning in 3 John ver. 5, and 7, where *strangers* are mentioned, and those *who have gone abroad* (*ἐξῆλθον*) *for his* [Christ's] *name's sake*; in 1 Pet. i. 1, where *sojourners of the dispersion* are mentioned; and in James i. 1, where the *οἱ ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ* are addressed.

I am unable, however, to find any history of a persecution in Palestine, at the period which he mentions, or any account of a dispersion of Jewish Christians abroad at that period. As to the texts which he cites, in favour of his supposition, they will not bear the construction which he has put upon them.

We who have fled, Hebrews vi. 18, is inseparably connected with the clause which follows, viz. *to lay hold on the hope set before us*, i. e. in the gospel. Besides, the writer does not say *you* who have fled, but *we*, i. e. Christians. So also in xiii. 14, it is *we* (viz. Christians) *who have no abiding city*, i. e. no permanent place of happiness in the present world. The passage in 3 John vs. 5, 7, probably refers to Gentile Christians, who became exiles; and those in James and Peter, have respect merely to Jews who *lived* in foreign countries, in distinction from those who lived in Palestine.

Besides, how could the apostle address *wandering fugitives*, scattered over Asia Minor and destitute of a home, as in a condition to bestow charity? xiii. 1, 2, 16. How could he speak of them as having *stated teachers*? xiii. 17, 24. How could he expect his letter to reach them; or promise them a visit with Timothy, xiii. 23, in case he should speedily return?

Respectable as the critic is who has advanced this opinion, it seems to be quite destitute of probability, and entitled to but little consideration.

VIII. WAS THE EPISTLE DIRECTED TO THE CHURCH AT CORINTH?

MICHAEL WEBER, who has distinguished himself in some respects as a critical writer, on the canon of the New Testament, has advanced and endeavoured to support the opinion, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to the church at Corinth. He labours, in the first place, to show that Paul wrote no less than five letters to the Corinthians. The first was one which has been lost, and which Paul mentions in our present 1 Cor. v. 9—13; the second and third were our first to the Corinthians, and so much of the second as includes chapters i—ix, with the two last verses of the epistle; the fourth, our present epistle to the Hebrews; and the fifth, the remainder of the second epistle to the Corinthians; all which, he thinks, were written in the order now suggested.

Proceeding on the ground of such an arrangement of Paul's letters, he endeavours to support his opinion, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to the Corinthians, by arguments which I shall now examine.

1 'The Hebrews became Christians at an early period, and so did the Corinthians; the Hebrews were Judaizing Christians, and so were the Corinthians. An agreement in these respects renders it probable, that the epistle to the Hebrews was sent to the church at Corinth.'

But Paul did not visit Corinth until A. D. 51 or 52, after he had repeatedly traversed the various countries of Asia Minor, and founded several churches, in Macedonia. It cannot therefore be called an *early* period, at which the Corinthians were converted. Paul established few if any new churches, *after* the establishment of this at Corinth; at least, history does not give us any account of them.

In respect to the Corinthians being *Judaizing* Christians, the proof is altogether wanting. The apostle has taken no notice of any contest or question of this nature among them. He has indeed, in 2 Cor. iii. 6—18, drawn a parallel between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations; but it is of a general nature, and touches none of the points usually contested by Judaizing Christians. In 2 Cor. xii. 13—23, to which Weber appeals for proof of his assertion, it is plain that some false teacher, or teachers, is adverted to by Paul; whose conduct he describes, in terms which convey very strong disapprobation. But where is the evidence of a *Judaizing* spirit here? And then, the manner in which the apostle here speaks, instead of aiding to establish the position of Weber, seems absolutely to overthrow it; for in the epistle to the Hebrews, the *teachers*, as we have already had occasion to remark, are *commended* as being altogether worthy of confidence and obedience, Heb. xiii. 17, 24. We have already seen, moreover, that the church at Corinth consisted at first of but few Jews; as is plain from the history of Paul's first labours there, Acts xviii.

2 'There is a most striking resemblance between the epistle to the Hebrews and the epistle to the Corinthians.'

This Weber labours to establish, by a comparison of the method in which each quotes the Old Testament; of the *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*; and of the similitudes employed.

That there is a similarity, I should readily concede. But resemblance, and even striking resemblance, is not confined merely to the epistles addressed to the Corinthians and to the Hebrews. Storr finds it between the epistles to the Galatians and to the Hebrews; Noesselt, between the epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Hebrews; and it may be easily shown, as it will be hereafter, that the epistle to the Hebrews has a striking resemblance to *all* the epistles of Paul, in a variety of respects. Why should we then, or how can we limit this to the epistles addressed to the Corinthians?

But in various respects, in which Weber has undertaken to make out a likeness between the epistle to the Hebrews and the epistles to the Corinthians, it seems to me that he has entirely failed. In the epistle to the Hebrews, repeated reference is made to personal sufferings and loss of property through persecution, Heb. x. 33, 34. xii. 4, but in the epistle to the Corinthians, we discover no traces of such persecution; nor does the history of the church at Corinth give us any knowledge that persecution early prevailed there. At all events, when our present first epistle to the Corinthians was written, it is clear that no such event had taken place at Corinth; for Paul says, 1 Cor. x. 13, *no trial hath befallen you but such as is common to men*. Now as the

epistle to the Hebrews speaks of *the great fight of afflictions*, x. 33, 34, which they endured when they were first enlightened, here is an absolute contradiction of Weber's supposition, instead of a confirmation of it.

3 'The warnings, exhortations, and commendations for charity bestowed, are alike in the epistles to the Corinthians and to the Hebrews.'

But the same resemblances, which Weber finds between these epistles, Noesselt finds between the epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Hebrews. Such resemblances may be found, also, in other epistles. They are, however, of a nature too *general* to afford any evidence which is of weight, in such a question as the one before us. Does not every Christian church need *warning, reproof, consolation*? And is not every one that is charitable, entitled to *commendation*? It is not, therefore, from a comparison of general expressions of this nature, that the *sameness* of churches addressed can be proved. There must be something particular, local, and *sui generis*, to make such proof valid.

4 The greeting at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, Weber understands, like the critics whom I have already examined, as referring to Priscilla and Aquila; and compares it with the greeting from the same persons, in 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

But in the latter place they are *expressly* named; so that there is a striking *dissimilitude* instead of resemblance, in the manner of the salutation.

5 He further compares several ideas, in the epistle to the Corinthians and the epistle to the Hebrews; such as warnings taken from the example of ancient Israel, 1 Cor. x. 1—12, and Heb. iii. 16—18; the doctrine that God chastises his children for their good, 1 Cor. xi. 32, and Heb. xii. 5—11, and some other things, about which similar views in both epistles are expressed.

The words, however, which are employed in these two cases, are for the most part quite diverse. And even if they were not, could Paul write on such subjects to no more than *one* church? And must that church be *only* at Corinth?

6 'But the epistle to the Hebrews is called λόγον παρακλήσεως; and also in 2 Cor. xvi. 1, Paul says παρακαλοῦμεν.'

True; but the same Paul repeatedly uses παρακαλῶ in his epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, Thessalonians, and elsewhere. Was the epistle to the Hebrews written to each of those churches, because παρακαλῶ is a word common to it and to the epistles directed to them?

7 'In 1 Cor. iv. 18, 19, xvi. 2—7, the apostle has expressed his desire or determination to pay the Corinthians a visit; and at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, the same determination is expressed, Heb. xiii. 23.'

But were there no other churches which the apostle desired or determined to visit, besides that at Corinth? And could he express the desire or determination to visit no other? Even if all this should be admitted, the determination to pay a visit, as expressed in our first epistle to the Corinthians, was abandoned when he wrote the second, i. 15, seq.; which according to Weber's own arrangement, was written before our epistle to the Hebrews.

8 'From 1 Cor. xvi. 10, it appears that Timothy, when this letter was written, was absent from Paul; and in the epistle to the Hebrews, xiii. 23, he is said to be sent away (ἀπολειλυμένος). Here again is a similarity of circumstances.'

Granted; but was not Timothy constantly employed in this manner, on errands of Paul to the churches? Was he absent once only? And could Paul tell no other church of his absence but that of Corinth? Besides, the second epistle to the Corinthians, written according to Weber himself *before* the epistle

to the Hebrews, makes it clear that Timothy had already returned ; for he is joined with Paul in the salutation at the beginning of the epistle, 2 Cor. i. 1.

9 ' Since the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews says, xiii. 22, I have written to you *διὰ βραχύων*, *briefly*, this refers to our *second* epistle to the Corinthians, which according to Weber consisted of the first nine chapters, and the meaning of this phrase is, ' My last epistle to you, (viz. the second epistle to the Corinthians), was short ; ' implying, at the same time, that the present one is longer or more copious.'

But such an explanation the text will not bear. " I beseech you, brethren," says the writer, " bear with my address to you, because (or since) I have written briefly ;" he evidently means, *briefly* in comparison with the importance of the subject and the occasion ; briefly in comparison with the copiousness which his interested feelings for them, and the cause of truth, would have prompted. " I have written briefly," is an apology for the letter to the Hebrews which the writer was then concluding ; and not for a *former* one to the church at Corinth. The incongruity of a supposition such as Weber makes, is manifest from the meaning of the very language which he quotes to support it. For how could the apostle say that he had written *briefly*, in the second epistle to the Corinthians, and imply that he had written copiously in the epistle to the Hebrews ; when, even abridged as Weber makes the former, it would be almost as long as the latter ?

We have seen the inconclusive nature of Weber's arguments, and their insufficiency to establish his opinion. It may now be observed, in addition, that the subjects treated of in the epistle to the Corinthians, and in that to the Hebrews, are widely different, in general, and quite dissimilar. Not a word in the epistle to the Hebrews, of internal disorder, tumult, and parties in the church ; no precepts about separation of husband and wife ; none concerning meats offered to idols ; none about the abuse of spiritual gifts ; no discussion about the resurrection of the body ; nothing about the denial of Paul's authority ; which, with various matters relating to decorum, constitute the principal subjects discussed in our present epistles to the Corinthians. On the other hand, in the epistles to the Corinthians there is nothing about apostasy ; nothing relative to persecution ; nothing in commendation of their teachers ; no apparent apprehension expressed respecting a Judaizing spirit in the church. If the epistles to the Corinthians have resemblances in expression and doctrine to the epistle to the Hebrews, as all Paul's epistles certainly have a resemblance to it, are they not still so diverse as to the matters treated of, and as to the circumstances of the parties addressed, as to render hopeless all attempts to show, that our present epistles to the Hebrews and to the Corinthians were addressed to one and the same church ?

IX. WAS THE EPISTLE SENT TO SPAIN, TO ROME, TO ALEXANDRIA, OR TO ANTIOCH ?

LUDWIG has conjectured, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to a church in Spain ; and Wetstein that it was written to the church at Rome. But these conjectures are altogether unsupported by the authors of them, and therefore need not delay our present investigation. We have the same liberty to conjecture, that it was written to some other place ; and the argument, if it be one, would be equally good.

In regard to the supposition of J. E. C. Schmidt (Einleit ins N. Test. Th.

L pp. 284, 293), that the epistle was directed to the church at Alexandria, much need not be said. This writer alleges,

1 'That an Alexandrine spirit pervades the epistle.'

But if this be true, it serves only to render it probable that the *writer* was of Alexandria, or at least that he possessed the spirit in question. It cannot serve at all to determine who his *readers* were.

2 'The church at Alexandria appears early to have been, in a peculiar manner, partial to this epistle.'

The answer to this is, that partial as they were, yet none of the distinguished writers at Alexandria, now known to us, have once suggested the idea that the epistle was directed to their church. How could they have all been unanimous in the opinion, that it was directed to the churches in Palestine, if it had been originally addressed to their own church?

3 'The epistle to the Hebrews, now so named, was anciently called *the epistle to the Alexandrians*.'

This argument depends entirely on the testimony of an anonymous writer, adduced by Muratori in his *Antiq. Ital. med. Ævi*, tom. III. p. 854, who, after naming thirteen of Paul's epistles, mentions one "*nomine Pauli ficta*," and circulated *apud Alexandrinos*. Of this testimony I shall take more particular notice in sect. xvi. For the present, it is sufficient to ask, Where is the *name* of Paul, in our present epistle to the Hebrews? And was his epistle current only *apud Alexandrinos*? And what Christian fathers have once mentioned, that our epistle was current *under the name* of Paul? All have testified that it is *anonymous*. Besides all this, what testimony is there to show that the church at Alexandria was of a *Judaizing* spirit? All the knowledge we have of it leads us to believe directly the reverse of this. We cannot, therefore, build on the testimony of the anonymous writer in question, any argument that deserves serious regard.

Boehme, in his recent work on the epistle to the Hebrews, contends, prolegom. p. xxxii. seq., for Antioch as the place to which this epistle was directed. But the condition of the church there, which was made up of Gentiles as well as Jews, and was in a state of contention with regard to the ceremonial rites of the Levitical law, renders this altogether improbable; comp. Acts xi. 20. seq.; xv. 1. seq.; Gal. ii. 11. seq. How can it be reasonably supposed, that not a single reference should be made, in all the epistle to the Hebrews, to such a state of things as these passages disclose? The improbability is too great, one would think, to raise any serious doubt in the mind of any considerate and impartial critic.

X. WAS IT WRITTEN TO THE CHURCH IN PALESTINE?

I HAVE now examined the most specious opinions which modern criticism has offered, in order to show that the epistle to the Hebrews was not directed to the church in Palestine, but to some church abroad. In ancient times, so far as I have been able to discover, there was but one opinion on this subject; and this has been adopted and defended by a majority of distinguished critics, in modern and recent times. This opinion is, that THE EPISTLE WAS ADDRESSED TO THE HEBREW CHURCH OF PALESTINE. We come now to examine, whether there is satisfactory evidence that this opinion is well founded.

Many arguments have been employed to establish this supposition, which appear to be incapable of bearing the test of examination. Lardner and

Michaelis, who in many respects were able critics, have brought together a number of such arguments. A proper regard for the opinions of such men, seems to render it necessary to subject these arguments to a brief review.

a. Lardner adduces Heb. i. 2, *God—hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son*; which, he thinks, must designate those whom Christ *personally* addressed, i. e. the Jews.

But although it *may* have such a meaning, it is equally plain that it may have a different one, viz. *spoken unto Christians or to men in general*. Thus the word *us* is in other places employed; e. g. Luke i. 1, *The things fully credited by us*, i. e. by Christians. Comp. Rom. v. 8. vi. 6. vii. 6. viii. 18, 35. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. viii. 8. ix. 10. 2 Cor. i. 5, 8, 10, 21, 22. ii. 14. iv. 14, and a multitude of passages in the Concordance, under ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς, etc. See sect. xxvii. xvii.

b. 'Heb. iv. 2, *Unto us is the gospel preached as well as unto them.*'

To this passage the remarks just made will apply, with the same force as to Heb. i. 2.

c. 'Heb. ii. 1—4, *How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness by signs and wonders*, etc. Now Palestine was the place where miracles were performed.'

But miracles were also performed out of Palestine, by those who had heard Christ, as well as in it. And how then can it be a proof, that those addressed in the passage under examination belonged exclusively to Palestine? The meaning is, or at least may be, that Christianity was confirmed to *the men of that age*, through the miracles which were wrought by the immediate disciples of Christ. This sentiment, of course, has nothing necessarily *local* attached to it.

d. 'Those addressed by the epistle to the Hebrews were well acquainted with the sufferings of Christ; and so the Christians of Judea must have been; i. 3. ii. 9, 18. v. 7, 8. ix. 14, 28. x. 12. xii. 2, 3. xiii. 12.'

And so were all to whom the apostles preached. Christ *crucified* was the grand theme, the prominent subject, of apostolic preaching, 1 Cor. ii. 2. Gal. vi. 14.

e. 'Heb. v. 12. *But when for the time ye ought to be teachers of others, ye have need to learn the first principles*; which most suitably applies to Christians in Judea, to whom the gospel was first preached.'

But if the epistle to the Hebrews was written after A. D. 60, as is altogether probable, and as Lardner himself supposes, then the same thing might be said to many other churches out of Palestine, who were among the *early* converts.

f. 'What is said of apostates, in ch. vi. 4—6, and x. 26—29, is peculiarly applicable to apostates in Judea.'

But this may be very properly applied, also, to apostates elsewhere, in any other churches where the gospel had been fully preached.

g. Heb. xiii. 13, 14, *Let us therefore go forth to him [viz. Jesus] without the camp, bearing his reproach; for here we have no permanent city, but we seek one which is to come*. This, Lardner and Michaelis both suppose, was addressed to Christians in Jerusalem, warning them to flee from that city, because the destruction of it would speedily take place.

But it seems quite plain to me, that this passage is merely an exhortation to self-denial, and to patient endurance of suffering on account of Christ, and after his example; couched in figurative language, and applicable to Christians in general of that or any other time or place.

h. To these arguments Michaelis has added, Heb. x. 25—37; *Exhorting one another; and this so much the more, as ye see the day drawing near. — Yet a very little time, and he who is coming will come, and will not delay.* This, Michaelis thinks, is a warning to Christians in Jerusalem, that the destruction of the city was near at hand.

The obvious reply is, that the same consideration is addressed by Paul to churches and persons abroad; e. g. to the Philippians, iv. 5; to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. v. 2—6, also v. 23; to Timothy, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 15; and by the apostle James, v. 8, when writing to the twelve tribes dispersed abroad. How can such a warning, then, admitting that the interpretation of it by Michaelis is correct, be considered as determining the *locality* of the epistle? The fall of *Jerusalem* surely would not endanger the personal safety of those who lived in Macedonia, and other places abroad.

i. 'Heb. xiii. 9, *It is good that the heart should be confirmed by grace, not by meats; for those who are conversant with them are not profited.* This must apply specially to the Jews of Palestine.'

But were there not Christian Jews in other places, superstitiously attached to doctrines concerning distinctions of meats and drinks? Were not such to be found at Rome, in Galatia, at Colosse? If so, how can this text apply *exclusively* to Jews in Palestine?

On such arguments, then, dependence cannot well be placed, in order to establish the opinion which Michaelis and Lardner defend. It cannot be denied, indeed, that a peculiar significancy would be attached to several of the passages that have now been examined, provided it could first be shown that the epistle to the Hebrews was originally directed to Jews in Palestine. But it must be conceded, that these passages, in themselves considered, are not sufficiently discriminating, to determine the question whether it was so directed. If no other than such arguments can be adduced, then must we abandon the idea of being able to offer proof, which will satisfy a critical inquirer that the epistle to the Hebrews was directed to the Hebrews of Palestine.

That such, however, was its first *original* direction, I am inclined to believe; and to this belief the following considerations have led me.

1 The *inscription* to this epistle most naturally leads to this supposition, and helps to strengthen it.

I am willing to concede the point here, for I think it may be shown to the satisfaction of every one who is well acquainted with the principles of critical inquiry, that this inscription is not a *manu auctoris*.* Such is not the manner of the epistles. They contain *within themselves* the direction which the writer gave them. Thus Rom. i. 1—7, "Paul an apostle . . . to the church at Rome; 1 Cor. i. 1, 2, Paul an apostle . . . to the church of God at Corinth; Eph. i. 1, Paul an apostle . . . to the saints at Ephesus; James i. 1, James a servant of God, to the twelve tribes in dispersion; 1 Pet. i. 1, Peter, an apostle, to the sojourners in dispersion; 2 John v. 1, The'elder, to the elect lady; Jude v. 1, Jude a servant of Jesus Christ . . . to those who are sanctified;" and so of other epistles. Moreover there are reasons why the *titles* of the sacred books in general, throughout the Old and New Testaments, should not be regarded as coming from the hand of

* Prof. Bleek, in his recent work on the epistle to the Hebrews, i. p. 34, supposes that the author of our epistle must of course have given some *address* to it; and that the present *εἰς Ἑβραίους*, if not an exact copy of the language of the original address, is for substance a copy of it. The same opinion he has also expressed, in a review of the first edition of my work, in the Halle Allgem. Litt. Zeitung, Ergänz Blätter, Jan. 1830.

those who originally composed the books. Some of these inscriptions or titles are incongruous with the contents of the book, or chapter, to which they are prefixed. But one fact, on which I do not remember to have seen any comments made, is very striking. None of the New Testament writers, when they quote the Scriptures, ever appeal to the *names* of the Old Testament books. Nothing could have been more to their purpose, than to employ such names for the sake of guiding their readers, had they been at that time affixed to these books. But they have nowhere employed them. Even when they quote the prophets, it is evidently the name of the *person* who wrote, and not the name of a *book* as such, to which they appeal.

Such is the universal practice of the New Testament writers; and such is that of Clemens Romanus, who wrote during the first century. In writing to the Corinthians, he names indeed the epistle of Paul to them; for how could he do otherwise? But in all the numerous quotations which he makes of the other New Testament books, he does not once call any one of them by *name*.

Such facts show satisfactorily, that the present names of the Scriptural books did not exist in the apostolic age; for had they existed, appeal had been made to them, for the same purpose, and from the same necessity, as we now make it every day.

Admitting now that the inscription, ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή, is not original, and that it was superadded by some later editor or transcriber of this epistle; it is a very natural and pertinent question, *Why* was such a title given to the epistle in question? The obvious answer must be this: Because the editor or transcriber who affixed this title to the epistle, supposed that it was intended for the Hebrews. And whoever the author of the title or inscription was, it is quite certain that he lived at an early period. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt, that he gave such a title to our epistle as agreed with the general tradition and common opinion of the Christian church at that period. For we find this title, not only in all our present Greek manuscripts, (which would not indeed settle the question of its very remote antiquity), but in all the early versions, e. g. the Syriac, and others; and also in the manuscripts of the old Itala, and the ante-Hieronymean Latin versions, the Codex Claromontanus and San Germanensis only excepted. There is, indeed, a catalogue of canonical books from the fragments of an anonymous author, who lived near the close of the second century, (published by Muratori in his *Antiqq. Ital.* Tom. III. p. 854, and adverted to on p. 23 above), in which the epistle to the Hebrews is supposed to be called [epistola] *apud Alexandrinos*. But the whole passage of this writer is so obscure, and his ignorance respecting the contents of the epistle to the Hebrews is so profound, (as will hereafter be shown, sect. xvi.), that nothing is to be abated on his account from the statement which has just been exhibited. The fathers of the second century give the same title to our epistle which it now has; for it is by this name, that Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Origen, with the whole series of fathers after them, make their appeal to it. This shows beyond reasonable doubt, that from whatever source the title arose, it arose *early*, and early became general or rather universal in the church, wherever the epistle was received.

But although the fact is certain in respect to the *early* origin and currency of this title, one question remains, about which there has been no small dispute among critics. What is the meaning of the word *Hebrews*? Does this name apply only to the Jews of Palestine, who spoke the Hebrew lan-

guage? Or is it equally applicable to all the descendants of the Hebrews, who lived in foreign countries and adhered to the Jewish religion? On this question turns the whole evidence to be derived from the title, in respect of the main subject under consideration. If the first be true, then does it show, that soon after the epistle was written, the church in general believed it to have been directed to the Jews in Palestine; if the second, then it does not at all help to show, whether the early church held it to be written to the Christian community of Hebrews in Palestine or out of it. Viewed in this light, the question as to the meaning of the word *Hebrews* becomes a matter of no inconsiderable importance, and should therefore be radically investigated.

The writers of the New Testament may be fairly presumed to have used the word *Hebrew*, according to the prevailing *usus loquendi* of the times when they wrote; and in all probability, too, of the time when the title was given to our epistle, which could not be long afterwards. But they have uniformly employed it to designate the Palestine Jews, or those who had imbibed their opinions and spoke their language. In Acts vi. 1, the Palestine Christians are expressly called 'Εβραῖοι, in contradistinction from the foreign Jews who are called 'Ελληνισταί; *there arose a murmuring of the HELLENISTS against the HEBREWS, because their widows were neglected in the daily administration.* In conformity with this passage, (which is fundamental in the question now under consideration), the dialect of Palestine is repeatedly called 'Εβραῖς or 'Εβραϊκός in the New Testament; e. g. Acts xxi. 40. xxii. 2. Luke xxiii. 38. John v. 2. xix. 13, 17. Agreeably to this, 'Εβραΐζειν means, *to speak or write Hebrew*; as Josephus says, τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διήγγειλε 'Εβραΐζων, Bell. Jud. vi. 2, i. e. *he narrated Cæsar's history in the Hebrew tongue.* To have a knowledge of the Hebrew language and to speak it, was deemed among the Jews a matter of great importance or a very valuable acquisition, Acts xxi. 40. xxii. 2. Hence Paul when speaking of the ground of precedence which he might claim above the false teachers at Philippi says, that *he is a Hebrew of the Hebrews*, Phil. iii. 5, i. e. one of full Hebrew descent, and acquainted with the Hebrew language. Although he was born at Tarsus, he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 3. To this same fact he seems to appeal again in a similar case, 2 Cor. xi. 22, *Are they Hebrews? So am I.**

With this *usus loquendi* of the New Testament agree other facts, which seem to place the question beyond reasonable doubt, as to what the usage of the apostolic age was, in respect to the meaning of the word in question.

The Hebrew Christians of Palestine early possessed a spurious gospel, which long continued to have currency among them. Universal consent gave to this gospel, written in the Syro-Chaldaic or Palestine dialect of the time, the name Εὐαγγέλιον κατ' 'Εβραίους; evidently because it was used or approved by people of Palestine, who spoke the so called Hebrew language. The early fathers, it is well known, drew the conclusion from the title to our epistle, that it was originally written in the Hebrew language. Thus Irenæus asserts, that "Matthew wrote his gospel ἐν τοῖς 'Εβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ," advers. Hæret. III. 1; Clemens Alexandrinus asserts, that it was written,

* Bloek, in his Review (ut supra), has expressed the opinion, that the word *Hebrew*, in these two last named texts, can mean only a *Jacobite*, i. e. a descendant of Abraham through Jacob. But if we compare Acts xxi. 40. xxii. 2. it seems to me that we shall find some reason to believe, that Paul meant not only to say that he was a Jacobite, but a *genuine Hebrew* man in every important respect. Would not this include the power of speaking the Hebrew language?

Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ, and interpreted by others; in Euseb. H. Ecc. VI. 14. In the same way Eusebius declares, that it was addressed, Ἑβραίοις διὰ τῆς πατρῆου γλώττης, *to the Hebrews in their native tongue*, Hist. Ecc. III. 28; and again, "Matthew, having first preached Ἑβραίοις—delivered to them his gospel πατρὶς γλώττῃ," III. 24; and Jerome says, that Paul wrote *ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraice*, i. e. *as a Hebrew to the Hebrews, in the Hebrew language*; Catal. Scriptt. verb. Paulus.

Now how could these fathers reason thus, unless they had understood the word *Hebrews* as necessarily meaning, according to the *usus loquendi* of that age, *those who spoke the Hebrew language*?

Bertholdt declares boldly, that not a single example can be found, in early times, of Jewish Christians out of Palestine being called Hebrews, Einleit. p. 2875. I would express my own conviction in a more guarded manner, and say I have not been able to find any instance where this is the case.

Yet Eichhorn has ventured to assert, that the name *Hebrew* never has any reference to *language*, but always to religion or origin. His proof is, first a passage from Eusebius' Hist. Ecc. III. 4, in which the historian asserts, that Peter addressed his epistle πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἑβραίων ὄντας ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντου. But this implies simply that those whom Peter addressed were descended from the Hebrews, or belonged to those of the circumcision. Another passage to which he appeals, is in Philo (de Abrahamo, p. 388 D. edit. Par.), where he says, that *Sarah advised Abraham to take as a concubine, [Hagar], who was by descent an Egyptian, τὴν τε προαίρεσιν Ἑβραίαν, but by choice a Hebrew*; which he construes as meaning, *who had embraced the religion of the Hebrews*. But the antithesis here does not admit of this sense. By *descent* she was of the *Egyptian* nation, but by *choice* she attached herself to the *Hebrew* nation, is plainly the meaning of the passage; so that it fails altogether of affording ground for the conclusion which Eichhorn adduces from it.

Carpzoff, to whom Eichhorn is indebted for this quotation, has adduced several others, to show that the word *Hebrew* is used to characterize the *religion* of the Jews, rather than their *language* or *nation*, Exercitt. in Heb. Prolog. c. 1. But so far are they from affording satisfaction to my mind, that I do not think them worthy the labour of an examination in this place.

The result of this inquiry is, then, that Ἑβραῖοι, in the inscription to our epistle, means, and according to the *usus loquendi* of the age must mean, *the Hebrews of Palestine*, i. e. Hebrews in a country where the Hebrew language was *vernacular*. But even if examples may be found, in which the word *Hebrew* designates merely an *Israelite*, still, it is clear that such cannot be the meaning of the word in the title to our epistle; for how can this epistle be supposed to be addressed to all the Israelites of every country?

If I have offered sufficient evidence to establish this, then does the title to our epistle go far towards showing what the original destination of the epistle was. If an ancient epistle has no direction within itself, and contains no unequivocal passages, indicative of locality, in what way can we ascertain the original direction of it better than by tradition? Do we not appeal in all similar cases to tradition, in order to show when and where authors were born, lived, and wrote? Where and when books were written? And seldom, indeed, can we trace back tradition, in a manner so satisfactory and definite, as in the case just considered.

Thus much for the *external* testimony, in regard to the opinion that Palestine was the place to which our epistle was directed; the voice of antiquity,

and the title of the letter, constituting strong presumptive evidence that such was the case. But does the *internal* condition of the epistle itself agree with this? And does this furnish no objections which will overbalance the weight of tradition? Something must be said relative to these questions before we can make our ultimate conclusion. I proceed then,

2 To examine whether the internal condition of the epistle agrees with and confirms the supposition, which I am now endeavouring to defend.

The most superficial reader cannot help being impressed, on a slight reading of this epistle, with the idea that it is addressed to Jewish converts. In respect to this, indeed, all critics, ancient and modern, are of one opinion. But a close examination discloses a peculiarity of appeal in this epistle, to the Mosaic ritual, which can be found no where else in the New Testament.

In the Acts of the Apostles, and in the acknowledged epistles of Paul, we find, indeed, numerous traces of dispute and difficulty with Jews, who lived in countries remote from Palestine. But the disputed questions turn upon points of circumcision, of meats clean and unclean, points which respected the sabbaths, and the holidays that the Jews had been accustomed to observe. Concerning the priesthood, the temple, and the ritual of sacrifices, we find no questions of difficulty agitated.

The obvious reason of this seems to be, that but very few of the foreign Jews, regularly, or even at all attended the services of the temple. The great body of those who lived in the countries more distant from Palestine, plainly could not attend the feast at Jerusalem three times in each year, according to the prescription of Moses. The time and expenses necessary to do this, could not be spared.

This is not a matter of mere conjecture. We know that the most numerous colony of Jews any where to be found at that period, as well as the most learned and rich, was that at Alexandria in Egypt. Hither they had been transplanted, about 284 years A. C. by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had overrun Palestine with his army. They were allowed great privileges under the reign of this prince; so that many were allured to Egypt in this time, and the number of Jews in that country became quite large. Under Ptolemy Philometer, not far from 175 A. C., Onias, son of the high priest Onias at Jerusalem, who had fled to Egypt for safety, asked leave of Ptolemy and his queen Cleopatra, to build a temple at Leontopolis in that country, which was a town in the Nome or Prefecture of Heliopolis.* This leave he obtained; and there he built a temple, and constituted priests and Levites as ministers for its service. In his petition for obtaining this liberty, he states, that while on his military expeditions in the service of the king, he had seen temples used by the Jews for their religious services in Cœlosyria, Phenicia, Leontopolis, and other places, Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xiii. 6. edit. Colon. Allowing this statement to be true, it would appear, that at least many of these foreign

* Such was the situation of Leontopolis, if the statement of Josephus, Antiq. xiii. 6, is to be trusted; and he repeats the same in Bell. Jud. vii. 30, edit. Colon. But suspicion has arisen of error in his statement, inasmuch as no Latin or Greek writer mentions a Leontopolis in the Nome of Heliopolis, i. e. east of the Delta. The Leontopolis of the Greeks and Romans was within the Delta, between the Mendesian and Phatnitic branches of the Nile, and not far from Busiris. Cellarius, p. 782, places it below, i. e. north of Busiris. But inasmuch as Josephus expressly states the distance from Memphis to be over 180 stadia (22½ Roman miles), which, if Leontopolis were near Heliopolis, would correspond well with fact; and inasmuch as Leontopolis (Onion) was so well known among the Jews in the time of Josephus, because of the temple there, his testimony cannot well be rejected. We must admit, therefore, that there were once two places of this name in Egypt; the one of which, after the building of the temple by Onias, took the name of *Onion* occasionally, and finally, was known altogether by this name.

Jews had then already lost their zeal for attendance on the temple worship at Jerusalem. That the Jews in Egypt did not, in general, attend the feasts at Jerusalem, is well known. They only sent an occasional deputy there, by way of testifying their respect and fraternal sympathy.

If the Jews in Egypt did thus, we may well suppose that the Jews at a greater distance from Palestine, imitated them in their remissness with respect to attendance on the temple worship at Jerusalem. The nature of the case shows, that as a body they could not have been habitually present at the holy feasts; and that most of them, indeed, never frequented Jerusalem at all. In fact, this city could not have accommodated the one fourth part of the worshippers from abroad, had all the foreign Jews gone up to the feasts held there.

The natural consequence of not being familiar with the temple rites and priesthood, was a diminution of zeal in the foreign Jews with respect to things of this nature; until, in the end, they became to them matters of minor importance, or even of comparative indifference. Hence Paul had no disputes with the foreign Jews about these things. At least, no marks of such disputes appear in the history of this apostle by Luke, nor in the letters of Paul himself.

But here is a point, respecting which the epistle to the Hebrews differs widely from all the other epistles of the New Testament. It is not with the question whether circumcision is to be retained or rejected, not with the dispute about meats offered to idols, not with prescriptions about new moons and sabbaths, that the writer is concerned. The whole epistle turns on different subjects. It is the favourite idea of pre-eminence, so tenaciously attached by zealous Jews to all parts of the Mosaic *ritual*, which the writer discusses. The dignity or rank of those, through whose mediation the law was given: the temple-apartments, furniture, rites, and sacrifices; the order and honour of the priesthood; in a word, the whole apparatus of the Levitical service, both daily and annual, are the subjects of which he treats; and the things which he compares with the corresponding parts of the Christian dispensation, in order to show the superiority of the latter. Were angels employed in order to introduce the law? Christ, who has obtained a name and place far more exalted than they, himself introduced the new dispensation. Was Moses, the beloved and honoured leader of God's chosen people, placed at the head of the Jewish dispensation? He was placed there as a *servant*; but Christ, at the head of the new dispensation, as a *Son*. Was the high priest of the Jews a mediator between God and the people, who offered up their annual propitiatory sacrifice, and went into the holy of holies, into the immediate presence of the Divinity, on their account? The office of this high priest, from its very nature, and from the brevity of human life, was short and limited; but Christ is high priest *for ever*, he has entered the holy of holies in the highest heavens, and has once for all offered a propitiatory sacrifice of everlasting efficacy. Was the temple a magnificent structure, the sacred character of which inspired awe? Magnificent and sacred as it was, it was merely a copy of the temple in which Jesus officiates, reared by God himself, and eternal in the heavens. Was the blood of goats and bullocks annually presented before the shrine of Jehovah, by the Jewish high priest, on the great day of atonement? Jesus, by his own blood, entered the sanctuary of the eternal temple, and made an atonement which needs not to be repeated. In a word, were all the implements of temple-service, all which pertained to the order and persons of the priesthood, venerable and holy? All these things were merely similitudes of the more perfect temple and priesthood of him, who is the great high priest of the Christian dispensation.

Who now entertained the particular views in respect to the Mosaic ritual, which the writer thus brings into comparison? To whom could the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, as he constantly does, appeal, as being familiarly acquainted with every thing that pertained even to the minutest parts of the Jewish ritual, and priesthood, and sacred places, and utensils, and the very location of these utensils? To whom, I ask, but to the Palestine Jews? It must be to those who from childhood were familiar with all these objects, and who had been inspired by education with the most profound reverence for them, and with zeal to maintain their importance.

Why are not these subjects brought into view, in Paul's letters to other churches? Disputes he had with the Jews; as the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, in a word, as all his epistles testify. But not about the temple-ritual, and priesthood, and holy places, and utensils. The disputes concerned other rites of Judaism, which could be generally practised by Hebrews living in foreign countries; and not those, in which only a few devotees would feel a particular interest.

I cannot resist the impression, when I read the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters of the epistle to the Hebrews, that the appeal is made to those, who have an intimate knowledge of, and strong jealousy for, the honour of the whole Mosaic ritual there brought to view. I am fully aware, that pilgrims, so to speak, annually resorted from all parts of the world where the Jews were settled, to Jerusalem. So they do still. But how few must these have been, from countries more remote. The supposition that the great body of the church, or the whole church, addressed in the epistle to the Hebrews, if these Hebrews belonged to foreign countries, possessed the intimate personal knowledge of the Jewish ritual, holy places, and utensils, which the writer evidently supposes those to possess whom he addresses, does, in itself considered, seem to be very improbable.

It is rendered still more so, by some additional facts which ought to be here stated. In the latter part of Paul's ministry, his disputes abroad about Judaism appear to have generally subsided, and he was every where received by the foreign churches with great cordiality and affection. It was only at the first planting of the churches abroad, at the period when the transition was to be made from Judaism to Christianity, which was indeed a great transition in respect to *externals*, that disputes arose, and passions were awakened, which occasioned much trouble and anxiety to the apostle. More light and a better understanding of the nature of Christianity appeased these disputes, wherever Judaism had not the strong grasp which the *constant* practice of the ritual gave it.

Not so in Palestine. The very last visit which the apostle made there, before he was sent a prisoner to Rome, occasioned a tumult among the zealots for the law; who even joined in persecuting him. "Thou seest, brother," said the other apostles to him, "how many thousand Jews are become believers, and they are all *ζηλωται τοῦ νόμου*," *zealots for the observance of the law*, Acts xxi. 20; the correctness of which sentiment was abundantly confirmed by the sequel. That *zealots for the law* here means particularly the Jews of Palestine, is evident from v. 21 which follows.

That the Palestine Christians adhered with far greater tenacity to the Jewish ritual than the Jews abroad, is clearly shown moreover by the fact, that while the foreign Jews soon abandoned altogether the rites of Judaism, the zealots for the Mosaic ritual in Palestine even separated, at last, from the community of other Christians, rejected all the epistles of Paul from the

canon of the New Testament, and retained in all their strictness the ceremonies of the law. I refer to the sect of the Ebionites (I might add, at least in many respects, the Nazarenes), the first party that rent asunder the church of Christ; and which would not bear at all with the catholic spirit of Paul's preaching and epistles.

All these circumstances united have strongly impressed me with the idea, that the whole texture and manner of the epistle to the Hebrews almost of necessity imply, that those to whom it was originally addressed were in general habitual attendants on the services of the temple, and intimately and *personally* acquainted with all its rites and ceremonies. Of course I must regard them as belonging to Palestine, or to its near neighbourhood.

In addition to these considerations, which apply generally to the epistle in question, there appear to be some particular references made to circumstances, which would seem to presuppose a personal and familiar knowledge, on the part of those addressed, with objects in and about Jerusalem and the temple; e. g. when the writer says, xiii. 12, "Wherefore Jesus, that he might purify the people by his own blood, suffered without the gate," viz. the gate through which criminals were led to execution; this implies that the readers were supposed to be acquainted with the *locality* of Jerusalem. And in ix. 5, after recounting the apartments and various sacred utensils of the temple, the writer says: *Concerning which things it is not necessary* (οὐκ ἔστι) *to speak particularly*; by which an appeal is tacitly made to the knowledge of his readers, that would seem to imply a *local* and *personal* acquaintance with the circle of objects to which he alludes; although I acknowledge this interpretation is not a *necessary* one.

I freely grant that these circumstances are not so peculiar and exclusive, that it is impossible to apply them to Jews, who resided abroad and habitually visited Jerusalem. But where was the community abroad, who as a body did this? And then, probability and not demonstration is what we seek for in an argument of this nature. If demonstration, or what is equivalent to it, had been found in the epistle itself, there had not been such endless dispute about it.

It is a striking fact, also, that Jews *only* are addressed throughout the epistle. Where were the churches abroad that consisted only of Jews? I am aware that this argument may be met by asking the question, Could not the writer address the Jewish part of a church abroad, and not the Gentile? The possibility of this cannot be denied. The *probability* that it was so, does not, in this case, seem to be very great. For is it not natural to suppose, that the Gentile part of the church would have been more or less infected with the feelings of the Jewish part; and that some of them, at least, would have also been in danger of apostasy? Could the writer, who shows such deep solicitude to prevent this awful catastrophe, fail to have warned his Gentile brethren against their danger; and to have exhorted and encouraged them to persevere? If this be possible, we must still grant, when we consider the characteristics of the writer, that it is at least highly *improbable*.

Nor can it be alleged, as an adequate reply to this, that the epistles to the Ephesians and Galatians are exclusively addressed to Gentile converts. For in regard to the first, no such urgent and fundamental question as that treated of in the epistle to the Hebrews, comes under discussion. It is probable, moreover, that by far the greater part of this church were Gentiles. And with respect to the epistle to the Galatians, although Storr has assumed

as a point which admits of no question, that it is directed to Gentile converts only, yet Noesselt, as we have seen, is of opinion that it is addressed altogether to Jewish converts, and he says that no one except Beausobre denies this, *Opusc. Fascic. I. p. 293.* Neither he nor Storr can establish their respective opinions from the contents of the epistle. Most apparent is it, that in general, converts from the heathen are addressed. But when the apostle says, Gal. iv. 9, "Why should ye turn *again* to the weak and beggarly elements of the world, to which ye desire *again* to be in bondage," viz. to the Jewish ritual, can he address only converts from the *heathen*? And when he says too, v. 1, "Be not again entangled in the yoke of bondage," can he address only those who were formerly heathen? An appeal, then, to the epistles addressed to the Ephesians and Galatians, as being *exclusively* addressed to only one part of the churches made up of both Jews and Gentiles, is not satisfactory in the case before us; for the Galatian church is plainly addressed as a mixed body; and the church at Ephesus appears to have been principally made up of Gentiles. It is not comparing *par cum pari*. The peculiar circumstances of which the epistle to the Hebrews treats, show that a warning to the Gentile part of that church to whom it was sent, if such church were among the Gentiles and consisted in part of them, was a thing to all appearance of indispensable necessity.

Here then is another circumstance which contributes to render it probable, that some church in Palestine was addressed by the epistle to the Hebrews. It is possible that there may have been some churches abroad wholly made up of Jews, but history has given no account of any such; and not only the possibility but the *probability* of it must be shown, before the argument now adduced is deprived of its force.

Again; the persons addressed are requested to "call to mind their sufferings in former days, when they were first enlightened, and when they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods," and suffered other evils from persecution, x. 32, 34. This, indeed, may *possibly* have been true of other churches abroad; but we have no historical information of persecutions abroad, in the earliest age of Christianity, which were permitted by the civil government to proceed so far as to destroy or confiscate property, and to imprison persons for any length of time. Palestine was the place for such occurrences, from the very first. I am aware that Paul went with a commission to Damascus, that he might cast Christians into prison. But the very terms of that commission, directed him to bring those whom he should apprehend "bound to Jerusalem," Acts ix. 2. Indeed, it is plainly the case, that at this period the Roman magistracy every where abroad opposed persecution; for it was contrary to the established maxims of the Roman government, to intermeddle with the religion of their provinces. Often did this magistracy interfere, to protect Christians whom the violence of the Jews had assailed, Acts xviii. 12—17, xix. 35—40, Acts xxi. etc. Still I have admitted it to be possible, that such early persecution as the epistle to the Hebrews speaks of, may have taken place abroad; but this has not been rendered *probable*, by the production of any historical records which testify to it. The solitary instance of Antipas at Pergamos, Rev. ii. 13, is the only one I have been able to find. In all probability, he, like Stephen, was destroyed by the rage of a lawless mob. Of course, until more evidence on this subject can be produced, the argument from the passage in our epistle which has just been cited, adds no inconsiderable weight to the evidence in favour of the supposition that I am endeavouring to defend.

3 If it can be rendered probable that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, I should think it almost certain that it must have been written to Jews in Palestine; for throughout the whole epistle, there is not one word which shows the writer to have been their religious teacher. What church abroad could be thus addressed by Paul? For what one had not been either planted or nurtured by him? I do not deny the possibility of there having been some one, but the evidence that there actually was, at the time when our epistle was written, I have not been able to find.

And besides this, it is peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, that not one word is said which implies that their teachers were lacking in any thing, pertaining either to the knowledge or the duties demanded by their office. All is commendation. How natural is this, and easy to be accounted for, if these teachers were apostles or immediate disciples of Christ himself; and such were the teachers of the churches in Palestine! On the whole, this is a circumstance which increases the probability of the opinion that I am assaying to defend.

Internal evidence, then, is not wanting, which accords with the testimony given by the inscription to the epistle to the Hebrews. Indeed, the concurrence of both kinds of evidence is such, as to afford grounds of probability as strong as could be expected in regard to a question of this nature, which respects a matter so ancient and so difficult. Direct and positive proof, incapable of being in any way questioned or contradicted, can neither be required nor justly expected. But there is evidence enough, as it appears to me, to render the opinion of the ancient church, that the epistle to the Hebrews was directed to Christians in Palestine, altogether probable.

Objections against this opinion, however, drawn from the epistle itself, have been often and strongly urged by critics of late; and these cannot, with due respect to the authors of them, be passed over in silence.

OBJECTION 1. 'Heb. ii. 3, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him." From this passage it appears, that Christ had not personally taught those to whom this epistle is addressed; they had only been instructed by *those who heard him*, viz. the apostles and immediate disciples of Christ.'

It is remarkable that this same verse is adduced and relied on by Lardner, to support the opinion that the Hebrews of Palestine only could have been addressed by it; and by Storr, to prove that those could *not* have been the persons addressed. The argument is equally valid in both cases, i. e. it amounts to nothing in either. For the simple statement of the text is, 'How can we escape punishment, if we neglect the gospel first published by the Lord of glory in person, and then abundantly confirmed by miracles which were wrought by the apostles and immediate disciples of Christ.'

Now this might be said to any church of that period, in any country; and to any church on earth, from that period down to the present hour. Of course it determines nothing relative to the question, whether our epistle was directed to a church in or out of Palestine.

OBJ. 2. 'Heb. xii. 4, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin," i. e. against injurious and unjust opposition. How could this be said to the church at Jerusalem, who had been called to witness the martyrdom of Stephen and others, and the bloody death of James; and who had lived in the fire of persecution, ever since its first establishment?'

This argument has appeared so conclusive to many critics, that they have

abandoned the idea of supporting the ancient opinion, that our epistle was directed to the church in Palestine. Its first appearance inclined me to the same conclusion. A more particular examination of it, however, has led me to doubt altogether of its validity.

"Call to mind," says the writer, "your severe afflictions in former days, when ye were first enlightened," x. 32—34. That is, your former persecutions which were severe, ye bore with patience and cheerfulness, although ye suffered imprisonment and loss of property. Now, indeed, ye are tried, continues the writer, but not in the highest degree. "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood." How then does the history of the church in Palestine comport with these sentiments? A question which must necessarily be investigated here.

The first persecution was that which arose at the time of Stephen's martyrdom, Acts vi. vii. This happened probably in A. D. 37 or 38. During this persecution many were imprisoned, severely beaten, and subjected to various insults and outrages, but there is no satisfactory evidence that any blood was shed, except that of Stephen. Paul, in giving an account of his former conduct, says that he persecuted Christianity unto death, Acts xxii. 4, which was in fact the case with respect to Stephen, and no doubt he designed to do so in respect to many others. But in telling us what he actually effected, he says, that he arrested Christians, beat them in the synagogues, Acts xxii. 4, 19, compelled them to blaspheme, and shut them up in prison, Acts xxvi. 10, 11. But the voice of Jesus arrested him on his way to Damascus; and in confessing his crime, he avows that he imprisoned believers and beat them in the synagogues. But he does not state that he was guilty of blood except in the case of Stephen, Acts xxii. 19, 20. As this passage contains, we have reason to believe, a *full* confession of his guilt, it may serve to explain the doubtful passage in Acts xxvi. 10, where he says, *when they were slain* (*ἀναιρουμένων αὐτῶν*), *I gave my vote against them*. The plural number here (*ἀναιρουμένων*) has led many to suppose, that Paul was concerned in *frequent* murders. But any one versed in the narrations of the New Testament, cannot but know that the plural number is sometimes used to designate the occurrence of facts, in which only *one* person is concerned as the agent, i. e. where the sense of the passage requires it to be understood in the same way as the singular would be. It is thus that the thieves on the cross are said to have reviled the Saviour, although only one of them did so, Matt. xxvii. 44, Mark xv. 32, comp. Luke xxiii. 39; thus that the demoniacs, at Gadara are said to have been exceedingly fierce, when only *one* of them was so, Matt. viii. 28—34, comp. Mark v. 1—18, Luke viii. 26—38; and thus, in other cases presented by the Scriptures,* and, I may add, by other writ-

* See Matt. xx. 30—34, and comp. Mark x. 46—52, Luke xviii. 35—43. See also Matt. xxvii. 1, Mark xvi. 1, 2, with which comp. Luke xxiv. 1, 9, 10, and John xx. 1, 11, 18. Prof. Bleek, indeed, in his review Allg. Lit. Zeit. Erg. B. Jan. 1830, has objected to the *analogy* of all the instances above produced, with the *ἀναιρουμένων αὐτῶν* in Acts xxvi. 10. He allows that this latter phrase may well be understood in a general indeterminate sense, without any necessity of an individually plural meaning: and he remarks, that the speaker must of course have been conscious still, in his own mind, whether *one* or *more than one* was really meant. But in the other cases, in the text and in the instances above cited in this note, of *analogous* usage as to the mode of expression, he thinks it is clear that the writers differ from each other in expression, because they differed in respect to actual knowledge. E. g. Matthew in xxvii. 44, and Mark in xv. 32, state that the *thieves* (plural) reviled the Saviour on the cross; and this because they (the Evangelists) believed that *both* of them did so; while Luke, in xxiii. 39—44, gives a particular account which shows, that probably only one of these malefactors was concerned in reviling Jesus. Now, not to speak at all of that "guidance by the Spirit" which the Saviour promised to the disciples, John xiv. 16, 17, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 13, or at least to his *apostles*, of whom Matthew was one, and which I know not whether Prof. Bleek admits or rejects; it would seem to be incredible in itself, yea utterly

ings also, too numerous to be here recounted. Nothing is said, in the history of the first persecution, of any Christians suffering martyrdom besides Stephen; nothing in Paul's confession to the Saviour, which specifies the blood that he had shed. The conclusion seems to be, then, that only the blood of

incredible, that Matthew did not know the real facts, in respect to the demeanour of the malefactors in question. Were there not disciples at the crucifixion? John xix. 25—27. And during so extraordinary and deeply interesting a scene, is it possible that the behaviour of the thieves should not be noted by the beloved disciple of Jesus, and by his own mother, who remained close by the cross until the very last moments of Jesus' life, John xix. 25—30. Yet this same disciple has not said a word in regard to the behaviour of the malefactors; he has merely noted, that *two* others were crucified with Jesus, xix. 18. Matthew, and Mark after him, on the other hand, have noted that Jesus was reviled by the thieves; and simply noted this, by using the *plural* number, which is so often used in narration where the writer means to give only a *general* account without going into particulars. In exact accordance with this, we speak in common parlance; e. g. 'The mob assaulted him,' in case one of them, or two, or a few of them made the assault. So we say: 'The French do this; the English do that;' when only the individuals concerned in the executive government of France and England have done it. Prof. Bleek certainly has not yet to learn, that a narration *intended to be general*, and *general only*, may be made out by using the singular or plural number of verbs, just as the writer chooses, and yet there be no mistake or deception about it, nor any defect of knowledge in the writer.

Why one evangelist should prefer to narrate in a *general* way, while another goes into *particulars*, is another question. In the present case, for example, why have Matthew and Mark related in general terms, while Luke has gone into particulars? Why has John omitted both kinds of narration, i. e. taken no notice at all of the behaviour of the malefactors? Why has Luke inserted many important narrations, which the other evangelists have omitted? And *vice versa*, why have Matthew and John done the same? It is easy enough to ask such questions; and as easy to see, that the answer to them can never be, that the writers were ignorant of all facts which they have not related. This is utterly improbable, nay absolutely impossible. Did not John and Matthew, both apostles and personal attendants on the Saviour, know more about him than they have related? The answer to this may be found in John xxi. 25.

It is not want of knowledge, then, that is the cause, at any rate this is not the only cause, of diversity as to matter and manner among the evangelists. It depends on other causes, and must be sought for in the different views, impressions, and objects of the respective writers in regard to some particulars of their accounts, while they are all perfectly united in the same general object; different, I mean, not in the sense of being contradictory, but diverse in regard to the strength of impression which they made, or diverse in their appearance to the mind, because they were contemplated from positions that were different.

In accordance with what is now remarked, we find the account of the demoniacs, in Matt. viii. 28—34, and in the parallel passages, related in the *plural* by Matthew, and in the *singular* by Mark and Luke. How happens this? Not for want of knowledge in Matthew, who plainly was present on the occasion referred to, and must have known its true nature. But how could Luke and Mark relate the story of only *one* demoniac? I answer, that probably it is because one was the principal agent in the whole transaction, and was the special subject of the story. The occurrence is thus related *generally*, if I may so express myself, by them; while Matthew, who was present, goes into particulars, and tells us of more than one demoniac. That he ascribes fierceness to both, results of course from his mode of narration, just what is every day practised, i. e. from ascribing to those associated the actions of one individual among them.

The same remarks may be made on Matt. xx. 30—34, and the parallel passages; where the diversity is just the same, Matthew using the *plural*, and Mark and Luke the *singular*. It is evident that Matthew was himself present, on this occasion; comp. Matt. xx. 17.

As to the other examples, the reader who will take the pains to compare Matt. xxviii. 1, 7, 8, and Mark xvi. 1, 2, 7, with Luke xxiii. 55, 56. xxiv. 1, 9, 10; and then the whole with John xx. 1, 2, will see that where a certain knowledge of the subject, a *personal* knowledge in regard to Matthew and John existed, yet there is a diversity in the mode of narration; John relating a fact in respect to *one only* of several concerned in it; while Matthew, as also Mark and Luke, relates the same fact as if *several* were concerned in it. But does this necessarily imply want of knowledge, or contradiction? I trow not; and if not, then I may still believe that the references made in the text above, and in the first part of this note, are relevant to the point in question, which is, whether the number, either plural or singular, which is employed, determines of course the *particulars* of any occurrence that is related, or even the state of the writer's consciousness or knowledge in regard to those particulars. And the passages referred to show thus much, viz. that where the *principal* thing merely in regard to any event, is the object aimed at by any narrator, he may employ the singular or the plural, just which best suits his mode of narration and conception; while, at the same time,

Stephen was shed on this occasion, although doubtless Paul then *meant* to add to the number of martyrs; he gave his vote for this purpose, Acts xxvi. 10, and abused Christians in various ways, such as the spite and malice of Jews suggested. But they were not destroyed. It must be remembered, in regard to this persecution, that it was limited to Jerusalem; with the exception only, that Paul *designed* to extend it to Damascus, Acts viii. 12, xxvi. 10.

Saul's conversion, however, appears to have put an end to this persecution; for we read, after his first visit to Jerusalem, that the churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, were in a state of peace and prosperity, and were multiplied, Acts ix. 31.

Persecution again broke out under Herod Agrippa, about A. D. 44, who, to gain favour with the Jews, pretended great zeal for the law; and to do them a pleasure, he undertook to harass Christians. How widely he extended his efforts to vex them, the sacred historian has not told us; it is simply said, that he undertook *κακῶσαι τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, and that he put to death James the brother of John, and cast Peter into prison, Acts xii. 1, 3. It is very probable, since Herod lived a part of his time at Cesarea, that he may have extended his vexations to the churches there, in order to increase his popularity in that city, which was the capital of his kingdom. Be this as it may, we read of only one death on this occasion; *James he destroyed, ἀνέλε, but others ἐπάκωσε*.

Herod died a short time after this, at Cesarea, smitten by a divine hand, on account of his having impiously received praise as a god. With his death the persecution ceased; for the Roman procurators who followed, allowed of no open persecution. It was not until the departure of Festus, and before the arrival of his successor Albinus, nineteen or twenty years after the persecution of Herod, that the Jews were again engaged in any open or violent outrages against Christians. James the younger, and some others with him, were then destroyed by Ananus the high priest. But this act of violence was disapproved by the considerate and sober part of the Jews; and Ananus himself was thrust out of office, by the interference of the succeeding Roman governor, on account of this act of cruelty, Josephus Antiq. XX. These are all the persecutions unto blood, in Palestine and before the destruction of Jerusalem, of which we have any historical information. The last of these probably occurred after the epistle to the Hebrews was written. Vexation proceeding from personal insult, contumely, excommunications, malice, and blind fiery

others may narrate in a different manner, having a *specific* object in view; and all this, without any impeachment of the knowledge or veracity of either narrator.

My apology for this long note, is the great importance of the subject, and not any desire of oppugning Prof. Bleek, whose moderation, ability, and critical acumen in general, I should be far from calling in question. But when that which would seem substantially to affect the *credit* of the Evangelists, is suggested, it is at least deserving of serious examination.

If the reader has still any doubt on the principal question, whether the plural is employed in a *general* way of narration when a *specific* and *particular* narration would demand the singular, let him compare Mark vii. 17, with Matt. xv. 15; Matt. xiv. 17, and Mark vi. 38, with John vi. 8, 9; Matt. xxvi. 18, and Mark xiv. 4, with John xii. 4, 5; Matt. xxiv. 1, with Mark xiii. 1; Matt. xxvii. 37, with John xix. 19; Matt. xxvii. 48, and Mark iv. 36, with John xix. 29. So in Luke xlii. 67, a question is ascribed to the multitude of the chief priest and scribes, which doubtless was put by *one* of them. In like manner the *plural* is used, where the nature of the case shows that the singular is meant, in John xi. 8, Luke xx. 21, 39, xxiv. 5 (*ἄρα*), Matt. xv. 1, 12. These instances are, indeed, more directly to the point of illustrating the *plural* form of expression in Acts xxvi. 10, than those cited above; and I am thankful for the remark of Prof. Bleek, which has occasioned me to seek for and to produce them. I trust the relevancy of these examples to the case in Acts xxvi. 10, will not be called in question.

zeal, on the part of the unbelieving Jews, no doubt, the Christians in Palestine suffered very frequently, during the period before the destruction of Jerusalem. But restraint of personal liberty and destruction of property or of life, were not permitted by a Roman government while the civil administration of Judea was actually in their hands.

Compare now these facts, which I have not seen fully developed by any of the critics who have written on our epistle, with the passage which is at present under consideration. Our epistle is directed to Christians as a body, and not to the *teachers* or *officers* of the churches; for these are separately spoken of, Heb. xiii. 7, 17, and a salutation is sent to them, Heb. xiii. 24, as not being a direct party to the epistle, but a separate class of persons. The investigation which we have instituted shows that *only* teachers, and not private Christians, had suffered martyrdom in Judea. An epistle to private Christians in Palestine, then, and not addressed to their teachers, might say, and might truly say, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin;" although some of their *teachers* had suffered martyrdom.

Eichhorn, denying that our epistle was written to a church in Palestine, asks, as though it were incapable of contradiction, "Did not blood often flow at Jerusalem, and, since this was the metropolis of the country, in Palestine at large?" And then he concludes it to be impossible, that our epistle should say to Hebrew Christians in Palestine, "Ye have not resisted unto blood." But had he minutely investigated the history of these persecutions, he might have spared his conclusion, and refrained from the assurance with which it is stated. If, however, we should admit all that is contended for, viz. that in the persecution of the time of Stephen, and under Herod Agrippa, many *private* Christians were destroyed; even then, the passage of the epistle which we are considering, offers no formidable difficulty. Plainly, the principles of interpretation demand no more, than that what is said, in the verse under consideration, should have respect to the generations of Christians then living, and the persecution then pending when the epistle was written. One generation of Christians, who were adults, or in advanced life when they were converted, which might have been on or near the day of Pentecost, must have necessarily passed off the stage, in a period of about thirty years. But many of the generation now addressed may have been Christians, and probably were so, at the time when Herod persecuted the church; which accords well with what our epistle says, "Remember former days, when, soon after your conversion, ye endured a great fight of afflictions," x. 32—34. But after that, when Herod was dead, there was a remission of severities. Now again, the violence of the Jews had begun to show itself; but the Roman government overawed it so as to restrain it from shedding blood. Such a state of things agrees well with the language of our epistle. *Ye have not*, i. e. in your present struggle, *resisted unto blood*. This expression has not *necessarily* any respect to preceding times of persecution, but only to that which was then pending. In this way the laws of exegesis are satisfied. But if not, if the expression must be referred to past times, it is, as we have already seen, capable of historical vindication, when applied to the Hebrews. Private persons had not resisted unto blood.

My apology for dwelling so long on this subject, is the interesting facts in the history of the church with which it is connected, and the hasty conclusions or imperfect investigations respecting it, which I have found in all the writers whom I have had opportunity to consult. Even Schroeckh, in his great work on Ecclesiastical History, has omitted any detailed account of the primitive

persecutions, and has given us nothing which is adapted to satisfy a particular inquirer.

OBJ. 3. 'Heb. xiii. 24, *They of Italy salute you*. What did the church in Italy know of the church in Palestine, that they should send salutations to them? Or if, as most critics have averred, *they of Italy* means Priscilla and Aquila, how should the church of Palestine know any thing of these private Jews, who had only travelled from Rome to Corinth, from Corinth to Ephesus, and thence back again to Rome?'

In regard to the first part of this objection, it is sufficient to ask, How could Peter send a salutation from the church at Babylon, 1 Pet. v. 13, to the churches in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia? 1 Pet. i. 1. How could Paul, writing to the Corinthians from Ephesus; say: *The churches of Asia salute you?* 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Was then, the church at Babylon personally acquainted with all those churches in Asia, to whom their salutation was sent by Peter? Or were the churches of Asia personally acquainted with the Corinthians? Neither the one, nor the other. Neither was necessary; for what is more common than salutations, sent by a mutual friend, from some persons to others whom they have never seen?

But farther; had *they of Italy* never heard of the church in Palestine? And might they not sympathize with them in their trials and dangers, and send them an affectionate expression of their regard in a salutation? Such objections cannot surely help to support the cause, in aid of which they are adduced.

As to Aquila and Priscilla, if the *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* means them, which is very improbable, a sympathy in them, as Jews, for their Christian brethren in Palestine, is surely not matter of wonder. And an expression of this in a salutation, is as little so.

OBJ. 4. 'The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has in various places eulogized them for the charity which they had so cheerfully manifested, and continued to manifest, on various occasions, Heb. vi. 10; in particular for their compassion towards those who were in bonds, i. e. imprisoned, x. 32, seq. He exhorts them also to continue their benefactions of this nature, by a liberal hospitality, Heb. xiii. 1, 2, 16. How could such things be addressed to the church in Palestine; and how could they be praised for contributions to others, when they were so poor from the first, that they had even been assisted by the contributions of churches from abroad?'

But this argument fails of producing conviction, because it is built on an interpretation of the epistle which is not admissible, and on an assumption of facts altogether improbable and unsupported. The writer tells them, that God would not forget their labour of love, in that they have ministered to the saints and do still minister, vi. 10; that they have had compassion on those who were in bonds, x. 34; that they must not forget to entertain strangers, xiii. 2; and that God is well pleased with their sacrifices of hospitality (*κοινωνίας*), xiii. 16. Here is nothing said, or even intimated, of making contributions for churches abroad. They are commended for being liberal to the saints, who were in need or in prison; and they are exhorted to continue their hospitality to strangers, i. e. to receive with liberality and kindness brethren that were strangers from abroad, probably preachers, who visited them. Who can doubt that a characteristic so peculiarly exhibited by Christians in general of the primitive age, was manifested by the churches in Palestine; a country which so many strangers visited?

But when it is said, that the church in Palestine was supported by contri-

butions from abroad, why should this be predicated, as it is by many critics, of *all* the Christian churches in Palestine? There is no support for this opinion to be derived from history. When the famine occurred in the time of Claudius, Acts xi. 27—30, a collection was made at Antioch, and sent to Judea; which appears, however, to have been distributed at Jerusalem, Acts xii. 25. In respect to all the other collections mentioned in Paul's epistles, Jerusalem is evidently the place for which they are destined. See Rom. xv. 25—31, 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3, 2 Cor. viii. ix. *εἰς ἀγλίας*; comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3, Gal. ii. 1—10. If now we consider the circumstances of the church at Jerusalem, this will not excite any surprise. For, first, in this metropolis Jewish zeal was more displayed than elsewhere, and Christians here were, of course, peculiarly exposed to persecution and want. Secondly, the multitude of Christian Jews, who still resorted to the temple in order to pay their services there, and who would naturally consort with the Christians at Jerusalem, rendered necessary the charity of the churches abroad in order that the Christians of the Jewish metropolis might support their hospitality. But as to other churches in Palestine, we know nothing of their poverty. We know that many Christians in that country had possessions, and sold them in order to put the avails into the public treasury of the church, soon after the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 44, 45. Indeed it is beyond all bounds of probability to suppose that, of the many thousand Jews in Palestine who had become Christians, *all* were poor and in need of foreign charity. Poverty of this nature was not very common among the Jews, who were always an active and industrious nation. Above all, the supposition that the Hebrew Christians were unable to perform the common rites of hospitality, and to aid in any way such as were thrown into prison, or to furnish them with aliment, is destitute of every degree of probability; and therefore it can form no solid objection to the idea, that the epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to some church or churches in Palestine. Why is it necessary to suppose that the church at Jerusalem, and that *exclusively*, was addressed?

Moreover, the very objection itself affords an argument for the position which it is designed to oppose. In what country were the *prisoners* to whom compassion had been shown? Prisoners they were, evidently, on account of their Christian faith. We have seen that neither liberty nor life was, at this period, in jeopardy abroad on account of religion, because of the restraint over the Jews exercised by the Roman government. We have no history that proves such jeopardy to have been matter of fact. The mere temporary imprisonment of Paul and Silas, on charge of sedition, and as preparatory to trial, (Acts xvi.), proves nothing to the purpose. Accounts of other imprisonments besides this, out of Palestine, cannot be shown in the history of the primitive church, at least within the Roman provinces abroad. Palestine was the only place where Christians were imprisoned. Even when Paul went to Damascus, he expected to bring his prisoners to Jerusalem, Acts ix. 2. *Palestine* then was the place, where compassion to Christian prisoners was needed, and where it was to be shown; and there, as it seems to me, it was exhibited by those whom the epistle to the Hebrews addresses.

OBJ. 5. 'Heb. xiii. 23, "Know ye that our brother Timothy is *set at liberty*, ἀπολειλυμένον, with whom, if he come soon, I will pay you a visit." How could the church in Palestine know any thing of Timothy, who was never there; and what particular concern can they be supposed to have had with a visit of Timothy to them?'

But, first, it is altogether probable that Timothy was with Paul at Jerusa-

Jerusalem, during his last visit there before his imprisonment. It is certain from Acts xx. 4, that Timothy set out with him and several others, from Troas, to go to Jerusalem; and equally certain, that although the history of Paul's voyage to Palestine, at that time, is traced with a minuteness that is unusual, not a word is mentioned of Timothy's being left behind, or being separated for any time from him; although it is the custom of Luke to mention such a fact, whenever it occurs; e. g. Acts xix. 22, xvii. 14, xx. 5, 13, 14. Indeed it is altogether against probability, that Timothy would have separated from Paul on this occasion; for it was announced to Paul, on his way, that bonds and imprisonment awaited him at Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 4, xx. 23; not to mention the desire which Timothy, who had been educated as a Jewish proselyte, must have had to see Jerusalem and the interesting objects which it presented.

The sequel of this journey was, that Paul was kept two years as a prisoner at Cesarea; with full liberty of access, however, to all his friends and acquaintance. Is there any probability that Timothy, who was so ardently attached to Paul as to have followed him every where, from the very first of his acquaintance with him, would have immediately deserted him; or even if he was then abroad, that he would not have come to aid his necessities? So far then as the objection is built on Timothy's ignorance of the Jews in Palestine, or theirs of him, it appears altogether improbable.

Besides, even supposing Timothy had not been personally there, did not the churches there know that he was a favourite companion and helper of Paul? And was he not commended to the Jews, by the fact that after he became a Christian, he had submitted to the rite of circumcision on their account? If Paul wrote the epistle in question, or any other person immediately connected with Timothy, he might very naturally give the churches in Palestine, and especially the church at Cesarea, information that he was *sent away* (*ἀπολειλυμένον*) or *set at liberty*, and that when he should return, he would pay them a visit in his company.

OBJ. 6. 'But how could Paul pray to be *restored* to the churches in Palestine? Hebrews xiii. 19. He had just been sent to Rome as a prisoner, by the persecuting spirit of the Jews of Palestine; how could he expect or wish to return thither again?'

This objection is built on the supposition, that Paul was the author of our epistle. Conceding this point then, for the sake of argument, it may be asked, in reply, If Paul had been at Rome, and was dismissed there by the emperor himself, on an appeal to him personally as judge in respect to the Jews, might not the apostle well expect that the Jews would in future be overawed, and not venture to attack him again on account of his religion? Besides, it was only at *Jerusalem*, that he was exposed to dangerous persecution. At *Cesarea*, he remained a kind of prisoner at large, without any tumult or excitement, for two whole years. Might he not desire to be restored to the brethren *there*, who had treated him in a friendly manner, and administered to his necessities while he was among them as a prisoner? Besides, Paul was not a man to be deterred from a desire to go, or from actually going, to any place where he thought it his duty to go, by any prospect of persecution or of sufferings; as his history abundantly testifies.

OBJ. 7. 'The Ebionites, a sect made up of Palestine Jews, appear to have known nothing of the epistle to the Hebrews. How could this be, if it had been directed to any of the churches in Palestine?'

If Paul was the author of this epistle, then it is very easy to answer this

objection; for the Ebionites rejected all the epistles of Paul from their canon, as Eusebius expressly testifies, because Paul every where appears in them, wherever occasion demands it, in opposition to a Judaizing spirit. They, on the other hand, separated from other Christians, out of zeal for the rites of the Jewish law. Nay, the manner in which Eusebius mentions this fact, seems to imply that the Ebionites were acquainted with the epistle to the Hebrews, and rejected it, together with Paul's acknowledged epistles; for Eusebius reckoned this epistle to be certainly one of Paul's; and he mentions the rejection of Paul's epistles by these sectarians, in a manner which seems to imply, that the *whole* of these epistles, as reckoned by himself, were rejected by them.*

To the same purpose Irenæus testifies, *Advers. Hæres.* I. 26, "Apostolum Paulum [Ebionitæ] recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes."

Moreover, if some other person, and not Paul, had been the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, the sentiments which it contains respecting the Jewish ritual, would have occasioned its rejection from the canon of the Ebionites. That they did not retain it, then, as part of their New Testament Scriptures, is no argument against its having been directed to the church in Palestine.

OBJ. 8. 'But if the epistle to the Hebrews was directed to the church in Palestine, why was it not written in the dialect of that country, instead of the Greek language? Is it not improbable, that any writer would address in Greek, Jews who spoke the Hebrew language?'

There are critics, both of ancient and modern times, who maintain that the original epistle was in Hebrew; believing, as Jerome says, that the author *ut Hebræus, Hebræis Hebraicè scripsit*. But as I am not persuaded of the correctness of this opinion, I will not advance it here, as a reply to the objection which we are now considering.

It is well known, and abundantly evident from the writings of the New Testament, that the Greek language was generally understood more or less over all hither Asia. The conquests of Alexander and the governments established by him, had made Greek the language of courts, of literature, and of all well informed people. In the larger and more commercial towns, this knowledge extended in some measure to the common people, as well as to those of a more elevated rank.†

The Greek votaries, who went up to Jerusalem every year to perform their religious services there, must have rendered the Greek language somewhat current in the metropolis. It was the language by which all the inhabitants of Western Asia, when they met as strangers, held intercourse with one another. If the epistle to the Hebrews, then, was written in Greek and directed to the church at Jerusalem, it *might* have been understood by them.

But if the epistle to the Hebrews was directed to Cesarea, there is still more reason to suppose it would have been easily understood there. In that city, there were a great multitude of Greeks, even a majority of its inhabit-

* Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 27. says, that the Ebionites rejected ALL Paul's epistles, because they believed him to be an apostate from the law, οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἀποστόλου πάσας τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀκηρίως ἠγοῦντο εἶναι διὸν, ἀποστάντη ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου. Now as in lib. iii. 25 of the same author, the epistle to the Hebrews is implicitly reckoned as one of Paul's epistles, and clearly as one of the books of Scripture which are ὁμολογούμεναι, (comp. lib. iii. 25 and iii. 3.), it appears that Eusebius means to say, that the Ebionites rejected the epistle to the Hebrews; for he undoubtedly held this to be one of Paul's. Of course, he supposes the Ebionites to have been acquainted with it, or to have had opportunity of being acquainted with it.

† See this subject illustrated, in a very able and satisfactory manner, by Hug. Einleit. in das N. Test. Theil II. sect. 10, a translation of which is given in the Biblical Repository, Vol. I. No. 3.

ants, Joseph. Bell. Jud. III. 14. p. 854. edit. Colon., πλείον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἐποικουμένην. The Jews who lived there were, in general, men devoted to commerce, or to concerns of a public nature, and must have well understood the Greek language. No serious difficulty, then, lies in the way of supposing that this epistle was sent to some part of *Palestine*, and that it was intelligible there, although written in the Greek language.

On the other hand, is it not apparent that the author of our epistle designed it should be *encyclical*, so that Jews far and near might ultimately peruse it, in order that they might become weaned from their attachment to the Levitical rites, and substitute Christianity in the place of the Mosaic religion? Such a design would have been in some measure defeated by writing it in Hebrew; for Greek was by far the most general language.

Taking all these facts into view, that it was written in Greek does not appear to constitute any solid objection to its having been directed to some part of *Palestine*.

Prof. Bleek, in his Review before cited, chooses to account for the epistle being written in Greek, by suggesting the probability, that 'the writer was not acquainted with the Hebrew language as then spoken;' a supposition, he intimates, which is the more probable, inasmuch as the quotations from the Old Testament in the epistle to the Hebrews, show that the writer was not acquainted with the Scriptural Hebrew. The manifestly frequent Hebraisms of the epistle, however (see sect. xxxii.), are against both of these suppositions. The internal evidence, that the epistle comes from the hand of a Hebrew, seems to be as convincing, on the whole, as it is in regard to the other New Testament books. I am aware how often the contrary has been *asserted*; but when has it been *proved*? I have actually produced the Hebraisms of the epistles, and those who do but repeat over the assertion of Origen, that "the epistle is better Greek (Ἑλληνικωτέρα) than Paul's," are bound either to show that these are not Hebraisms, or to concede that it was possible for Origen to make a mistake in a matter of *taste* and *style*; in respect to either of which, I have yet to learn, that he can be accounted a skilful arbiter.

OBJ. 9. 'How could this epistle have been directed to *Palestine*, when the ground of argument in it, in several places, is furnished by the *Septuagint* version, and not by the Hebrew Scriptures? How could Jews in *Palestine* be convinced, by an appeal of this nature?'

But who does not know, that the *Palestine* Jews of that day regarded the *Septuagint* version as being of divine authority? Josephus gives full credit to the account of Aristeas, respecting the miraculous manner in which this version was made; as may be seen in his *Antiq.* XII. 2. edit. Colon. There could be no danger that the Jews of *Palestine* would object to such an appeal, or to such a mode of argument.

RESULT.

I HAVE now examined all the objections against the opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was directed to *Palestine*, with which I have met, and which seem to be of sufficient magnitude to deserve attention. I am unable to perceive that they are very weighty; and surely they come quite short of being *conclusive*. On the other hand, the positive proof, I acknowledge, is only of a circumstantial nature, and falls short of the weight which direct and unequivocal testimony in the epistle itself would possess. But uniting the whole of it together; considering the intimate knowledge of Jewish rites, the strong

attachment to their ritual, and the special danger of defection from Christianity in consequence of it, which the whole texture of the epistle necessarily supposes; and combining these things with the other circumstances above discussed; I cannot resist the impression, that the universal opinion of the ancient church respecting the persons to whom our epistle was addressed, was well founded, being built upon early tradition and the contents of the epistle; and that the doubts and difficulties thrown in the way, by modern and recent critics, are not of sufficient importance to justify us in relinquishing the belief, that Palestine Christians were addressed by the epistle to the Hebrews. Thousands of facts, pertaining to criticism and to history, are believed and treated as realities, which have less support than the opinion that has now been examined.

There remains but one question more, relative to the original destination of this epistle, concerning which inquiry is now to be made.

XI. WAS IT DIRECTED TO *all* THE CHURCHES IN PALESTINE, OR ONLY TO *one*? AND IF ONLY TO ONE, WAS THIS THE CHURCH AT JERUSALEM, OR AT SOME OTHER PLACE?

This question cannot be answered, as is sufficiently evident from what has been already said, by adducing any direct testimony concerning it. Probability made out from circumstantial evidence, is all, at the most, which criticism can achieve. Perhaps it may fail even in respect to this.

While engaged in the investigations necessary to complete the views above presented, it often occurred to me as possible, that the epistle to the Hebrews might have been originally directed to the church at Cesarea. Perhaps I may venture to say, that there are at least some specious grounds of *probability*, that this was the case. The reasons of this opinion I will now briefly state.

Cesarea (Καيسάρεια παράλιος, *Cesarea by the sea*) was built by Herod the Great in a most splendid manner, and named by him in honour of the Roman emperor Augustus. Previously to this, it was an insignificant village called Στράτωνος πύργος, *the tower of Strato*. Although it lay out of the district of Judea, (as anciently defined by the Jews,) and within the borders of Phenicia, yet it was within the Roman procuratorship of Judea, and was the capital of the Roman prefects or procurators. Josephus calls it "the greatest city of Judea," and says, as has been already mentioned, that *the majority of the inhabitants were Greeks*, Bell. Jud. III. 14, p. 854, edit. Colon.

Here Cornelius, the first convert to the Christian faith from the Gentiles, was stationed. On the occasion of his conversion a church was gathered here, and the miraculous gifts of the Spirit imparted to it, Acts x. 44—48. This was the earliest church that was gathered out of the ancient limits of Judea.

Paul had repeated opportunities for acquaintance with Christians here. After his first journey to Jerusalem, he returned to Tarsus through Cesarea, Acts ix. 30. After preaching at Corinth, and on going to revisit the churches in Asia, Paul landed here, Acts xviii. 22. On his fourth visit to Palestine, he lodged here at the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven deacons named in Acts vi. Here he abode *many days*, ἡμέρας πλείους, Acts xxi. 8—10. Here, at the time just mentioned, when Agabus had predicted that in case Paul went to Jerusalem he would be bound as a culprit there, and de-

livered up to the heathen tribunals, the men of the place (*οἱ ἐντόπιοι*), as well as his own travelling companions, besought him with tears and strong entreaties to refrain from going thither, Acts xxi. 12, 13.

When, after this, he had been up to Jerusalem, and was sent away under a guard of Roman soldiers, he was brought again to Cesarea. There he remained *two whole years*, a kind of prisoner at large, none of his friends being forbidden to approach or assist him, Acts xxiv. 23, 27.

At Cesarea dwelt a rich and powerful body of Jews. In the time of Felix, these Cesarean Jews, boasting of their riches and of Herod as the founder of the city, treated with contempt the Syrian part of the population. This raised a tumult, and at last occasioned mutual assaults, in which the Syrians were worsted. Felix was obliged to check the overbearing power of the Jewish party, by commissioning the Roman soldiery to kill and plunder them, Antiq. Jud. XX. 6. p. 695. edit. Colon.

It appears also, that the Jews here were strong zealots for the temple worship. Herod Agrippa, while king of Judea, very probably in order to ingratiate himself with the rich men of this his capital, as well as with those of Jerusalem, pretended a very strong zeal for Judaism. This he exhibited by causing James the brother of John to be slain with the sword, by imprisoning Peter, and by vexing others of the church, Acts xii. 1, seq. Now, considering that Cesarea was his capital, and that to ingratiate himself with the Jews there, who were rich and powerful, would be a great object for a prince so wholly devoted as he was to the interest of ambition; is it probable that his vexations of the church were limited to Jerusalem?

Let us now put all these facts together, and compare them with the contents of our epistle, on the supposition that Paul wrote it. From the epistle to the Hebrews it no where appears, that the writer was the *first* teacher of the church whom he addresses; but the contrary is plainly implied. Now history tells us, that Peter planted the church at Cesarea, and not Paul, Acts x. The teachers of the church addressed in the epistle to the Hebrews, are applauded without any exception as to their doctrine or behaviour; and so this might well be, for the first teachers at Cesarea were apostles and primitive evangelists. Philip the evangelist was stationed there, when Paul made his last visit to Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 8, seq.; and this Philip had four daughters who were prophetesses, i. e. teachers of the Christian religion. Does not this show a flourishing state of the church there? The persons to whom the epistle to the Hebrews is addressed, had often bestowed charity to relieve the necessities of Christians, and particularly of those who were imprisoned, Heb. x. 34. vi. 10. How aptly this fits the circumstances of Paul among the Cesareans, it is easy to perceive. He was a prisoner among them for the space of two years. Well might he say, "Ye had compassion *τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου*, on my bonds," as the common text reads; or, which comes after all to the same thing, *τοῖς δεσμοῖς*, on the imprisoned. It was Paul's gratitude for this, which probably led him to speak of it repeatedly; and so it stands in the epistle to the Hebrews. The eulogy which the writer of that epistle bestows on those whom he addresses, certainly becomes very significant, on supposition that it was written by Paul under such circumstances.

The Hebrews addressed in our epistle had been early made converts to Christianity, v. 12. x. 32. The church at Cesarea was the first gathered out of the ancient limits of Judea. Its first converts, indeed, were Gentile proselytes, Acts x.; but it cannot with any probability be supposed, flourishing as it was when Paul paid his last visit to it before his imprisonment (Acts xxi. 8.

seq.), that there were no Jews who belonged to it; for Cesarea contained, as we have seen, a large number of Hebrew residents. Herod Agrippa persecuted the church in A. D. 44, which was some twenty years before the epistle to the Hebrews was written; and Cesarea was Herod's capital. May not the Christians in it have suffered at that time? The Hebrews mentioned in our epistle, had lost their property in some early persecution, and had been imprisoned, x. 32, seq.; and the persecuting Herod, who had the power of life and death, had also the power of confiscation and imprisonment; for he was made a *sovereign* by the Roman emperor. Under him the church at Cesarea may have experienced, and very probably did experience, such vexations. Certainly the church at Jerusalem experienced them at this time, Acts xii. 1, seq.

The epistle to the Hebrews presents images drawn from the Grecian games and public shows, x. 32. xii. 1, seq. At Cesarea, Herod the Great had instituted all the Grecian games, and built a splendid theatre; so that such allusions would be very forcible and pertinent, if addressed to those who lived there. The writer of our epistle mentions Timothy to the church whom he addresses, as his special friend, and one in whom they would feel a deep interest; and as Timothy, it cannot well be doubted, was at Cesarea with Paul more or less of the time that he was a prisoner there for two years, the church at that place must have been well acquainted with him. Paul requests their prayers that he himself may be restored to them, xiii. 19; and the frequent visits which he had made the Cesareans, the strong attachment they had manifested to him, and the long residence he had made among them, correspond well with a request so plainly founded in their affectionate regard for him, and in his for them.

Again; Cesarea was only two days' journey from Jerusalem, and the Jews there were zealots for the traditions of their fathers. Resistance to the Roman power, which finally brought on the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth, first began here, from the wounded spirit of Jewish pride and national feeling. These facts render it probable, that the Jews there had a full and intimate acquaintance with all the Mosaic ritual; and that the Christian Jews must, from the power, wealth, and overbearing spirit of the others, have been hard pressed, by persecution on the one hand, and the imposing pomp of the temple service on the other, to make defection from the Christian religion. Finally, as the majority of the inhabitants here were Greeks, and of course the current language in this splendid capital was Greek, this may account for it, that our epistle was written in Greek instead of the Palestine dialect. From this place it could not fail to be circulated abroad, as there must have been comers and goers to and from this place, from all parts of Palestine. For Paul to subscribe his name to the epistle was not necessary, in case he sent it by a friend, as doubtless he must have done; and besides this, the circumstances mentioned in it, of being restored to them, and of coming to them with Timothy, would be sufficient of themselves to disclose the author to the Cesarean Christians. And designed, as the letter in all probability was, to be a circular among the Jews, they who were abroad, reading it without the name of the author, would not so readily have those prejudices awakened, which had lately shown themselves to be very violent among the Jews who were zealous for the honour of the Mosaic law, whenever Paul had made his appearance among them.

I grant, at once, that all this is *supposition*. But in the absence of all positive testimony, if a supposition can be presented, which contains nothing

improbable in itself, and explains a variety of characteristic passages in our epistle, and accords well with the facts which history has recorded, may it not be regarded, at least, as presenting a *probability*, until the fallacy of it be exposed, or a more probable one be advanced?

The points of coincidence just recited, forced themselves upon me unsought and unexpected, in the course of my investigation. They are not offered from the love of novelty, nor with any overweening confidence as to the approbation which others may give them.

But while I thus present what may be said in favour of Cesarea, as the place to which our epistle was directed; I must not endeavour to conceal from my readers, that there are serious difficulties in the way of the supposition in question. As I have no favourite theory to support, in respect to this matter I shall suggest them fully, and without hesitation.

One objection to the view here given seems to be, that the church at Cesarea, in the time of Origen and Eusebius, both of whom lived there, do not appear to have retained a tradition that our epistle was directed to them. At least, neither of these fathers, so far as I know, make mention of such a tradition; which they probably might have done, had it existed in their times. Still, if our epistle was designed to be a *circular*, and for that reason, a direction to any particular church was omitted in it, the Cesarean church, if they were the *first* who received it, might not have considered it appropriately theirs, in the same manner as the Corinthians, Galatians, and others, did the letters addressed to them.

Another objection to the idea that our epistle was directed to the church at Cesarea, may be drawn from the probability, that the church there must have consisted in part of Gentiles; especially as Greeks constituted a majority of the population of that city. What was really fact, however, in regard to this, at the time when the epistle was written, we have no historical means of ascertaining. It is certainly a very possible case, that, at the time when the epistle to the Hebrews was written, the church at Cesarea might have been principally made up of Jews; or at least have contained a majority of members, who were Hebrews. Or there may have been more than one church at Cesarea, a thing not improbable; and the Jews there, who were such uncommon zealots for the law, might have established a religious community of their own, separate from that of the Gentile Christians, whom the former would regard with an eye of jealousy, if not of distrust. But independently of all this, one may easily suppose, that if the author of our epistle designed it for the good of the Hebrews in general, he would have written just in the manner which he has adopted, whether the church whom he addressed contained some Gentiles or not.

It is another circumstance, moreover, which seems to make against the supposition in question, that our epistle takes no notice of any relation of the Jews to the Gentiles, in the church of Christ; and does not enter into a discussion of matters usually disputed between Jewish and Gentile Christians. And to this we must add, that the liberal spirit of the Cesarean Christians towards Paul while a prisoner there, and at other times, renders it somewhat difficult to suppose that they had become such zealous *Judaizers*, as our epistle seems to imply that those were to whom it is addressed.

Upon the whole it is a plain case, that confident and positive assertions in favour of the point in question, cannot be made with propriety. The most which I would say here is, that some reasons apparently specious, seem to offer themselves in favour of the supposition, that our epistle was originally

sent to the church at Cesarea. At the same time, other considerations seem to make against this view of the subject.

Nothing certain, then, can be determined, as to the particular place. To the churches in general in Palestine, the epistle could not have been first sent, inasmuch as it has so many *local* and *personal* implications in it. To Jerusalem it may have been directed. Such was the opinion of the ancients in general, and this is the opinion which Bleek has recently defended. Difficulties may be raised against this; especially if Paul be considered as the author of our epistle. Yet none of them are invincible. It might well be questioned, also, whether the church at Jerusalem, the metropolis of all proselytes as well as Jews, would be as likely to be *purely* Jewish, as one in some other part of Palestine; see Acts vii. 1. After all, then, we must perhaps leave the epistle, as the writer has left it, without a particular address; and content ourselves with saying, 'We do not know.' A salutary lesson for critics to learn, now and then, and one which they would do well to learn oftener than they yet have done.

XII. ANTIQUITY AND CANONICAL AUTHORITY OF THE EPISTLE.

Its *antiquity* may be established by evidence internal and external. The allusions made to the temple service in the epistle itself, necessarily imply that this service was then performed when the letter was written; e. g. Heb. ix. 9, "Which [former tabernacle with its services] was a significant emblem in respect to the present time; in which gifts and sacrifices *are* offered, that cannot render tranquil the conscience of him who performs this service." Again, in chap. viii. 4, 5, the writer says, "For if he [Jesus] had performed his service on earth, then he could not be a priest; seeing *there are* priests, who, according to the prescription of the law, *perform* their service in a tabernacle which is merely a copy of the heavenly one." Both of these passages clearly imply that the temple rites were then performed, at the time when the writer composed our epistle.

Now as the whole temple service ceased with the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70, it is clear that our epistle must have been written before that period, and consequently it belongs to the apostolic age.

Another argument also in proof of this is, that the particular views which the epistle throughout gives of temptation to apostasy, are evidently grounded on the then existing rites of the Jewish temple worship. The state of feeling among the Jews at large, (which resulted from strong attachment to these rites, and the zeal with which their views of these things were maintained,) and their extreme jealousy of every thing which had a tendency to diminish the supposed importance of their ritual, together with the imposing splendour and magnificence of the Levitical ceremonies, as then practised, all concurred to tempt those Hebrews who had embraced Christianity, and renounced the common views of their countrymen, to relapse into their former views and habits. The shape in which this whole subject presents itself in the epistle to the Hebrews, manifestly implies that the Levitical institutions were then in full vigour. Of course, the age in which this was the case must have been the apostolic one.

It is equally plain, that our epistle was written in the *latter* part of the apostolic age. Those whom it addresses are represented as having been Christians long enough to be qualified, had they been properly attentive to

their duty in learning the principles of Christianity, to become teachers of it, v. 12. The *former* days, when they were first enlightened, are spoken of by the writer, x. 32, in distinction from the time then current. They are addressed also as having witnessed the death of their first teachers, xiii. 7; and their then present teachers are commended to their affectionate regard, xiii. 17. All these circumstances imply that some time must have passed away since the gospel was first preached among them, and they had been converted to Christianity. In other words, the epistle must have been written in the latter part of the apostolic age. The specific year I shall not here endeavour to ascertain, as it will hereafter be a subject of inquiry.

With the internal marks of antiquity exhibited by the epistle itself, corresponds the external testimony that can be gathered respecting it. Clement of Rome is the most important witness that can be adduced, in regard to the point before us. His epistle to the Corinthians, (commonly named his *first* epistle,*) is the most considerable, certainly the most important and best authenticated, relic of ecclesiastical antiquity which belongs to the first century of the Christian era. According to the general voice of the ancients, the author of this epistle is the Clement whom Paul mentions as one of his fellow labourers, and as having his name written in the book of life, Philip. iv. 3. He was the third bishop of Rome, according to Irenæus (*contra Hæres.* III. 3), Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.* III. 13, 15, 21, 34, 38), and Jerome (*Viri Illust.*, Clemens). In the name of the church at Rome, and as their bishop, he addressed an epistle to the church at Corinth. This epistle, as all agree, must have been written within the first century; probably about A. D. 96. Several critics of high reputation are disposed to assign to it a much earlier date. For example, Pearson, Pagi, Dodwell, Wake, and Le Clerc, date it at a period antecedent to the destruction at Jerusalem, i. e. before A. D. 70. If their opinion be correct, the testimony of Clement's epistle will be still stronger in proof of the antiquity and authority of our epistle to the Hebrews; for this testimony, in such a case must have been given within some eight or ten years after our epistle was written, and during the apostolic age. But be this as it may, I am willing to assume the latest date, which can with any show of probability be assigned to Clement's epistle, viz. A. D. 96; for this will be only about thirty years after the epistle to the Hebrews was most probably written.

It will be seen in the sequel, that the testimony of Clement will serve to cast light upon the two points of inquiry which constitute the object of the present section, viz. the antiquity and the canonical authority of our epistle.

I shall first exhibit the evidence that Clement has quoted this epistle, and then subjoin some remarks on his testimony. I enter into the examination of this matter the more formally and fully, because of the important bearing which the testimony of a writer so early and respectable as Clement, must evidently have upon the authority of our epistle, and indirectly upon its origin; and also because the subject has been (at least so it seems to me) imperfectly treated,

* It is called *first*, because there is a *second* which bears his name, and which has usually been printed in connexion with the first. The first was so greatly esteemed by the churches in the early ages, that it was read publicly to Christian assemblies, in like manner as the books of the New Testament. It is very often cited, with great encomiums, by nearly all the Christian fathers. It has been assailed, indeed, by a few critics in modern times; and what relic of antiquity has not? It doubtless, like most ancient books, has suffered somewhat in regard to the purity of its text, by frequent transcription and by negligence; but, on the whole, it is a venerable and a precious relic of the primitive age of Christianity; and it is very generally admitted to be such.—The *second* epistle is quoted by none of the early fathers; and it differs in style and method so much from the *first*, that there can scarcely be a doubt of its spuriousness. Vide Clem. Rom. edit. Wotton, p. ccvi.

and passed over with a slight examination, by nearly all the critics whom I have had an opportunity to consult.

It is a singular circumstance, that no book of the New Testament should have been so frequently quoted by Clement as the epistle to the Hebrews. That such is the fact any one may satisfy himself, who will take the pains to examine his quotations as referred to in Wotton's edition of this author, or the detail of them as exhibited by Lardner, *Credibil. of Gosp. Hist.* I. p. 49 seq.

The quotations made by Clement from the epistle to the Hebrews may be arranged under four different classes; viz.

I.

Passages in which the exact words, or nearly so, of the epistle are quoted.

HEBREWS.

No. 1.

1. 3. "Ὁς ὡς ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης
4. Τοσοῦτον περίττωσι γινόμενοι τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσον δια-
φορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς πεπληροσέμεται ὄνομα.

7. Λίγου ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνύ-
ματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

5. Τίτι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων; Τίός μου εἴ
σὺ, ἰγὼ σήμερον γινίγηκά σε;

13. Πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰρηκί ποτε; Κάθου
ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ὥς ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον
τῶν ποδῶν σου;

No. 2.

Heb. vi. 18. ἵν' αἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι
θιόν.

No. 3.

Heb. xi. 37. περιῆλθον ἐν μηλαταῖς, ἐν
αἰγύις δέσμασι.

No. 4.

Heb. x. 37. "Ἐτι γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ὁ ἐρχό-
μενος ἤξω καὶ οὐ χρονοῦ.

CLEMENT.

No. 1.

Cap. xxvii. "Ὁς ὡς ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλοσύνης
αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον μείζων ἵστιν ἀγγέλων ὅσον διαφορώτερον
ὄνομα πεπληροσέμεται.

Γίγρεται γὰρ οὕτως; Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους
αὐτοῦ πνύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς
φλόγα.

"Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ οἰᾷ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δισπότης·
οἷός μου εἴ σὺ, ἰγὼ σήμερον γινίγηκά σε καὶ
πάλιν λίγου πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ὥς ἂν
θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

No. 2.

Cap. xxviii. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ
θιῷ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι.

No. 3.

Cap. xvii. αὐτὸς ἐν δέσμασι αἰγύις καὶ μηλα-
ταῖς περιπατήσας.

No. 4.

Cap. xlii. συνεπιμαρτυρούσης καὶ τῆς
γραφῆς, ὅτι ταχὺ ἤξω καὶ οὐ χρονοῦ.

II.

Passages containing the same sentiment, with more or less contraction of the expression, or an exchange of the original word for a synonymous one.

No. 5.

Heb. iv. 12. καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ
ἐννοιῶν καρδίας.

No. 6.

Heb. xi. 5. Πίστιν Ἐνώχ μετιτίθη, τοῦ μὴ ἰδῆν
θάνατον.

7. Πίστιν χρηματισθεὶς Νῶε.

8. Πίστιν καλούμενος Ἀβραάμ ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθὼν
εἰς τὸν τόπον, κ. τ. λ.

31. Πίστιν Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐ συναπώλετο ταῖς ἀπι-
θείαις, ἡξαμένη τοὺς κατασκότους μετ' ἐξήτης.

No. 5.

Cap. xxi. οὐδὲν λείψαν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν
ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα.

(Again, near the end,) ἰερουργεῖς γὰρ
ἵστιν ἐννοιῶν, καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων.

No. 6.

Cap. ix. Ἐνώχ, ὃς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος ἐν-
θύως μετιτίθη, καὶ οὐχ ἐνθύω αὐτοῦ θάνατος.

. . . . Νῶε πιστὸς ἐνθύως

Cap. x. Ἀβραάμ . . . πιστὸς ἐνθύω ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν
ὑπήκουσεν γινίσθαι ταῖς βήμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως δὲ
ὑπακοῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, κ. τ. λ.

Cap. xii. Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίας ἰσάθῃ Ῥαὰβ
ἡ πόρνη.

III.

Passages which are a paraphrastic imitation of the epistle to the Hebrews; or in which the style or phraseology of this epistle is more or less exhibited.

HEBREWS.

No. 7.

Heb. xi. 36—39. "Ἐτιμὴ δὲ ἰμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαστίγων τυρεῖν ἔλαβον, ἵτι δι' ὀσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς ἑλιδέσθην, ἐπρίσθην, ἐκυρέσθην, ἐν φόβῳ μαχαίρας ἀσπίδων . . . καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθῆναι διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

No. 8.

Heb. xii. 1, 2. τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικύμινον ἡμῖν τόπος μαρτύρων . . . δι' ὑπομνήσεως τείχεσθαι τὸν προκύμινον ἡμῶν ἀγῶνα· ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγόν, κ. τ. λ.

No. 9.

Heb. xii. 5—11. (comp. Prov. iii. 11, 12) υἱέ μου, μὴ ἀλογεῖς παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐπλύνῃς ἐν αὐτῇ ἰλιγγήμενος. "Ὅτι γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος, παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδίδεται Οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπαιδίουσι [ἡμᾶς], ὁ δὲ [Θεὸς] ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον, εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῆς ἀγιότητος αὐτοῦ.

No. 10.

Heb. iv. 14. seq. "Ἐχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερεῖα μίγαν . . . Ἰησοῦ . . . οὐ ἔχομεν ἀρχιερεῖα μὴ δυνάμενοι συμπάθῃσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν . . . προσερχόμεθα . . . ἵνα . . . χάριν ὤψωμεν εἰς ὑπαίρεον βοήθειαν.

CLEMENT.

No. 7.

Cap. xlv. ("Ἐγνώσκειται εἰς τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἀληθεῖς ῥήσεις πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου οὐ γὰρ ἐρέσεται δικαίους ἀποβεβλημένους ἀπὸ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν). "Ἐδιώχθησαν δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνέμων· ἐπιφυλακίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνοσίων· ἠλιθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρανόμων· ἀπεικτάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαζῶν καὶ ἄδικον ζῆλον ἀνελήφοντο. Ταῦτα πάσχοντες ὑπεκλαιῶς ἤτοιγαν.

No. 8.

Cap. xix. Παλλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἰσδόξαν μετιληφότες παραδυγμάτων (Wotton, πράξιαν) ἱπαναδρέμαμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδιδόμενον ἡμῖν τῆς ἐρήνης σκόπον καὶ ἀντίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα, κ.τ.λ.

No. 9.

Cap. lvi. "Ἀναλάβομεν παιδείαν ἰφ' ἣ οὐδὲς ἐφίλει ἀγαθυντῶν ὅτι γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδίον, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδίδεται γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν παιδίον ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς τὸ ταπεινωθῆναι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ὁσίας παιδείας αὐτοῦ.

No. 10.

Cap. xxvii. . . . Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν. Cap. lviii. . . . διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χριστοῦ . . .

IV.

Passages similar to texts in the Old Testament, but which Clement probably quoted from the epistle to the Hebrews.

No. 11.

Heb. iii. 2. Πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν, ὡς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν ᾧ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ.
δ. Καὶ Μωϋσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ᾧ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, ὡς διεέτατο.

No. 11.

Cap. xvii. Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ᾧ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη.
Cap. xliii. "Ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς διεέτατο ἐν ᾧ τῷ αἵματι Μωϋσῆς.

I shall now subjoin a few remarks on the preceding view.

No. 1. Some parts of the passage here extracted from Clement, may be found in the Old Testament as well as in the epistle to the Hebrews; but other parts of it are appropriate only to the latter. This fact, as well as the application itself to Christ of the passages taken from the Old Testament, shows beyond any reasonable doubt, that Clement must have had the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews distinctly in his mind, when he wrote the passage which is presented in the comparison.

That Clement, in his epistle, has added more of the second psalm (vr. 8) than is found in the epistle to the Hebrews, forms no argument that he quoted the phrase, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*, directly from the second psalm, rather than from Heb. i. In his view, clearly, the whole of the second psalm applied to the Messiah. To the quotation made from Ps. ii. 17, by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, Clement adds another verse (vr. 8), in order to amplify and confirm the view of the subject which he had introduced.

To this statement we may more readily accede, since it is often the manner of Clement, in making his quotations of Scripture, to intermingle passages taken from different parts of the Bible, without any notice, or any sign of transition from one to the other.*

No. 2. That Clement does not introduce this passage with the *formula* of a quotation, is no proof that it is not one; for he often extracts passages, both from the Old and the New Testament, without using any formula of quotation, or without any intimation that he is about to quote. The singularity of the expression itself exhibited in No. 2, and the fact that it is peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, are the grounds on which I should rest the probability that Clement had in his mind distinctly the manner of expression in our epistle, when he wrote the sentence presented in the comparison.

No. 3. This is so plainly and exactly a quotation of an expression *sui generis* in the epistle to the Hebrews, that to doubt whether it be in reality copied from this epistle, would be to doubt whether Clement has quoted in any case, except where he has given express notice of it. But a doubt of this nature can never be cherished by any one who has read Clement's epistle, and examined the method of his quotations.

No. 4 appears to me a case of quotation from Heb. x. 37, which has the formula of appeal to the Scriptures prefixed, συνιπιμαρτυρούσης τῆς γραφῆς. The passage quoted is found, in the sense in which it is used by Clement, in the epistle to the Hebrews. Another passage from which we might suppose the quotation to be taken, viz. Mal. iii. 1, is quoted at length, in immediate connexion with the one exhibited in the table, plainly because Clement deemed it to be a parallel one; so that we cannot choose the passage in Malachi, as the source of his quotation. There remains, then, besides Heb. x. 37, only Hab. ii. 3, which affords any special resemblance to the quotation of Clement. But the passage in Habakkuk relates wholly to a vision or prophecy, and not to a *person* as in Heb. x. 37; and to a person Clement evidently applies it. Moreover the reading *χρονισί*, which Clement exhibits, (and this without variation, if Walton may be trusted,) agrees with the form of the words in Heb. x. 37, but not with the form in Hab. ii. 3. which is *χρονίση*. The probability is then altogether in favour of the supposition, that the passage is quoted from the epistle to the Hebrews.

No. 5 is so alike in Clement and in our epistle, I can hardly persuade myself that the expression in the latter was not in Clement's mind, when he wrote the passages here extracted from him. Still, it does not appear to be a case. I readily concede, on which a conclusion respecting actual quotation or imitation can be built with entire certainty.

No. 6, although it does not exhibit an exact use of the *language* in our epistle, contains, in my view, one of the most convincing proofs of quotation. The arrangement of these examples together, as in the epistle to the Hebrews; the manner of characterizing their actions or their rewards, viz. that they flowed from *faith*; and the almost exact similarity of ideas, in cases where these are peculiar to the writer of our epistle, all combine to prove (I had almost said) the certainty that Clement had Heb. xi. before his eyes, or at least before the eye of his mind. In what other part of Scripture are these examples so arranged together? And where else is found such a method of presenting them

* E. g. Clement (Epist. ch. 1.), after quoting from Is. xxvi. 20, adds another quotation (from what book it is uncertain) without any note of transition. So in cap. liii. after quoting Deut. ix. 12 seq., he goes on to quote other passages from different places, without any notice of transition. And so frequently, in his epistle, where he arranges together various quotations.

to our view? In fact, imitation thus exact of a passage so peculiar in its style and manner, is better proof that the passage was before the eye of Clement, or at least in his mind, than exact coincidence of language in some such cases would be. In a short passage, such coincidence might be accidental, arising merely from similarity of views or of idiom. But *accidental* coincidence as to the mode of reasoning and representation here, seems to be fairly out of the question.

No. 7 seems pretty evidently to be a kind of parody upon the corresponding passage in the epistle to the Hebrews, or a paraphrastic imitation of it. On the manner in which this is introduced, I shall make further remarks in the sequel.

No. 8. In Clement's epistle, the passage is in the sequel of the sentence extracted in No. 3. Now as the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has exhibited the same order of thought, Heb. xi. 37 and xii. 1, 2, is it not probable that Clement had the corresponding passages of that epistle in his mind, when he wrote the one presented by the comparison? The similarity of costume in the two passages can hardly fail to strike the attentive reader.

No. 9 may at first seem somewhat doubtful, because it is possible that it comes from the passage in Prov. iii. 11, 12. But on nearer examination, we find in Prov. iii. 12, *ἐλέγχει*, while in Clement and in Heb. xii. 6, the reading is *παιδεύει*. The strain of reasoning upon the passage shows pretty clearly, that Clement had in mind the corresponding passage in the epistle to the Hebrews; for the close of the quotation from him, is evidently an expression of the sentiment in Heb. xii. 10.

No. 10 exhibits an appellation of the Saviour (*δεξιτέρα*), which is peculiar to our epistle. There is, moreover, an evident similarity between Christ as *δυνάμενον συμπαθεῖν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν*, Heb. iv. 15, and Clement's *προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν*.

No. 11 cannot, of course, be much relied on in the present case; as no decisive reason can be offered, to prove that Clement *must* have quoted from our epistle. He may have quoted from Num. xii. 7. From the tenor of the passage and the context, however, I am inclined to believe that he did quote from Heb. iii. 2 or Heb. iii. 5; but I cannot attach much weight to this supposition.

In order now to make a fair estimate of the comparison which has been made, and the weight of evidence to be adduced from it, it is necessary that we should have correct views of the manner of Clement's quotations in general, and the principles on which they are grounded.

I have examined the whole of this writer's quotations, both from the Old and New Testament, with a view to ascertain whether any thing can be determined as to the *authority* which he attaches to them, from the *manner* in which they are made; and also to ascertain, by a view of the whole, what his particular manner of quotation is. The result of this examination I will now briefly state.

1. Clement names no book of either Testament. He appeals, indeed, to the words of the prophets; but their names he evidently uses to indicate their *persons*, and not, as we do, the titles of their books. The importance of this fact, considered in connexion with the same usage by the writers of the New Testament, in respect to a critical examination of the genuineness of the titles prefixed to the books of Scripture, has been already adverted to in a preceding part of this introduction, sect. 10.

2. Clement habitually appeals to the books of either Testament, with or

without any formula to give notice of a citation. He often prefixes *γίγνεται*, *λέγει*, *εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς*, *φῆσιν ὁ λόγος ἅγιος*, and the like formulas to his quotations. But nearly as often, particularly in the New Testament, he cites without any notice or formula at all; evidently taking it for granted that his readers will at once recognize the quotation, without any pains on his part to designate it.

8. I find no satisfactory evidence of quotation from the Apocrypha, or any apocryphal writer now known. The instances of quotation from the Wisdom of Solomon, chap. xii. 27, alleged by Wotton, are plainly too far fetched to appear probable; and the reference to the book of Judith, ch. lv. of Clement, is only a reference to the story concerning her, which Clement evidently believed. There are, it is true, a few cases of apparent quotation, either from books not found in our present Scriptures, or from traditionary accounts; just as there are some quotations of this nature in the New Testament, which are not found in the Hebrew Scriptures. But there is no satisfactory evidence, that Clement received any of the known apocryphal writings, either of the Old Testament or the New, as canonical.

With these facts in view I cannot well account for it, that Eichhorn in his introduction to our epistle should say, when speaking of the weight of Clement's testimony in respect to the canonical authority of it: "Clement indeed acknowledged the existence of the epistle, because he has borrowed whole passages from it. But still, he no where cites it *formally*; as is the case, when he makes use of the other canonical writings of the New Testament. How much then can be educed from him, in respect to the credit to be attached to this epistle? Would he not have *formally* cited it, and named Paul as the author of it, if he had regarded it as canonical, and as coming from Paul?" Einl. sec. cclxxi. From this he concludes, that we can merely prove the existence of it in Clement's day; but nothing in respect to the credit which he attached to it.

But, as we have already seen, Clement is just as far from formally citing the other books of Scripture, as he is from formally citing our epistle. Often as he has quoted Paul's epistles, he never once appeals to his name, except in connexion with the mention of the first epistle to the Corinthians, where he could not well avoid it. With this exception, he has not even once named a single book of the New Testament, copiously as he has every where drawn from it.

Allowing, then, that Clement has not *formally* cited the epistle to the Hebrews, it amounts to no proof that he has not used it as Scripture. But we are not obliged to allow so much. In No. 1. above cited, from Heb. i. 7, it appears that Clement has prefaced his quotations with *γίγνεται γὰρ οὕτως*; which is one of the highest appeals that he makes to the volume of inspiration. This very passage, too, is produced by Eichhorn as an example of Clement's quoting from our epistle; but the *γίγνεται γὰρ* is wholly overlooked.

Bleek, in his Review before cited, p. 10, has undertaken to show that no satisfactory proof can be elicited from Clement's citations of our epistle, that he believed it to be authentic or canonical; and he expresses his wonder, that I should appeal to the instance in question as being one which offers any evidence of this. He says, that 'if Clement had not meant to appeal to the original Psalm, Ps. ii. 7, by *γίγνεται γὰρ οὕτως*, he would have inserted this at the *beginning* of his quotation from Heb. i.; for in the context immediately preceding, Heb. i. 3, 4 is in part cited by Clement.' But in this remark, the whole structure of the passage in Clement is obviously overlooked. This writer had been recounting the blessings which Christ procures for men; to

which he adds, "By him the Lord willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge, τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως; who is the brightness (splendour, radiance, ἀπαύγασμα) of his majesty, being so much superior to the angels, as he hath inherited a more excellent name [than they], Heb. i. 3, 4." He then adds, "Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως, *for it is written*, Thou art my Son, this day," etc. Now the phrase *for it is written*, stands here just where the purpose of the writer demands that it should be inserted, viz. just where *appeal to decisive authority* was directly resorted to by Clement. This writer had just affirmed that Christ was superior to the angels, quoting the words of Heb. i. 4, in order to express this sentiment. How then is this to be confirmed? would of course be the natural question in the mind of Clement, and of his readers. The answer is by an appeal to the application of Ps. ii. 7 to the Messiah, which is made by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. Now the application in question is made in the very next verse (i. e. in Heb. i. 5.) after the one which Clement had just quoted, viz. Heb. i. 4. The very nature of the case shows, that the appeal must be, in Clement's mind, to the *authoritative* application of Ps. ii. 7 to the Messiah, in order to establish the assertion which he had just made, viz. that Christ was superior to the angels. For if Ps. ii. 7 did not apply to Christ, then quoting it would be nothing at all to Clement's purpose. How then does Clement decide for himself, and how does he expect his readers will be satisfied, that it does apply to Christ? Why plainly from the fact, that Heb. i. 5 applies it to him. What then is this but an appeal to *authority*? And how can the force of γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως fall any where else, except on Heb. i. 5? It must be very plain, indeed, that the formula of the words is not all which is appealed to here by Clement; most evidently it is the *application* of them, the *authoritative* application of them which was to satisfy the minds of his readers, that is the principal point in question. But surely it will not be contended, that this application is found any where else by Clement, in this case, except in Heb. i. 5.

That Clement, after citing the passage in Heb. i. 5, which comes from Ps. ii. 7, should add Ps. ii. 8, is perfectly natural. The words of Heb. i. 5 he well knew were taken from Ps. ii. 7; of course when he cited these words in Heb. i. 5, the association of ideas would instantly carry back his mind to Ps. ii. 7 and the sequel; which sequel he here very naturally adds, inasmuch as it was to his purpose in proving the superiority of Christ to the angels, which he had before averred. But then, after all, the *application* of all this to the Messiah, and of course its relevancy to the point in question and its authority, depend entirely on the use made of it by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. To this use Clement appeals, plainly deeming it sufficient in his own mind, and expecting it to satisfy his readers. If prof. Bleek will review the nature of this whole appeal, and the certainty that the mind of the writer in the whole passage, even as he himself acknowledges, is upon Heb. i., and that the appeal is to this, he may perhaps find little reason to "wonder" at the use which I have made of the passage and the appeal in question. The nature of the appeal is plainly such as to afford an unanswerable proof, that Clement appeals to the *authority* of our epistle in order to make out his proof.

There is another instance also in Clement, ch. xxiii., where the quotation from Heb. x. 37 is quite probable, and which is prefaced by συνεπιμαρτυρούσης τῆς γραφῆς; supra No. 4. In respect to this, Bleek alleges that I have very imperfectly cited the passage from Clement. Accordingly, he has supplied my alleged deficiency; which is καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἤξει ὁ Κύριος εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος [B. ἅγιος only] ὃν ὑμεῖς προσδοκᾶτε. Now as this last supplement

to my quotation is a passage from Mal. iii. 1, and has *no* parallel in the epistle to the Hebrews; and as the one which I have quoted is from Heb. x. 37 (see remarks on No. 4 above), or from Hab. ii. 3, and has a parallel in our epistle; and as my only object was to quote passages where parallels are found; I am altogether at a loss to know how my quotation is *very imperfect*.

“The argument from this passage Bleek meets with the assertion, that it is “a free and contracted citation out of Hab. ii. 3 and Mal. iii. 1.” But what has Mal. iii. 1 to do with the citation in question? Surely nothing. Then as to the “freeness and contraction” of the citation, it is *verbatim* and *literatim* the same as Heb. x. 37; and the same as in Hab. ii. 3, with the exception, that there we find *χρονίον*, but in Clement, *χρονισί*, as it is in Heb. x. 37; an argument too, this last circumstance, that Clement quoted from our epistle.

Now, how is it to be made so certain as Bleek affirms it to be, that Clement quotes Hab. ii. 3, and not Heb. x. 37? The external proof, as to the *form* of words, is clearly in favour of the latter; as all must admit. And this is all the evidence that can be had; for the context in this case gives us no certain clue. Is a categorical assertion, then, to decide the point in question; or are we to be guided by what evidence we have?

So long as there can be no doubt how these questions just put are to be answered, prof. Bleek will excuse me, if I abide, for the present and until some new evidence comes to light, by my former opinion. I have stated, that an appeal to the *authority* of Heb. x. 37 is probably made here, by *συμπεριμαρτυρούσης τῆς γραφῆς*; is it shown not to be so?

In regard, moreover, to the instances in No. 6, it will not be questioned, that the writer had in his mind the passages in Heb. xi. which refer to the persons named, inasmuch as there is either a plain quotation from the peculiar diction of these, or a palpable imitation of the turn of sentiment in them. But who that reads Clement, chap. ix.—xii., can refrain from the feeling, that he refers to these examples thus cited, in the same manner that he does to any part of the Old Testament Scriptures, i. e. as binding and authoritative?

If No. 7 be regarded, also, as a paraphrastic imitation by Clement of the corresponding passage in the epistle to the Hebrews, then is this a third direct appeal to the divine authority of our epistle; for he introduces the passage by saying, “Search in the Scriptures the true sayings of the Holy Spirit.”

Thus much for the allegation of Eichhorn, that Clement has no where cited our epistle *formally*, as he does the canonical Scriptures. But further; the conclusion which this writer draws from the assumed facts stated by him, is as erroneous as the facts themselves. One might indeed have expected, in a matter so weighty as that of Clement’s testimony, and one in which the evidence is so accessible, that so manifest an error in regard to Clement’s mode of quotation should not be committed. Nothing can be more evident to a critical reader of Clement, than that no conclusion can be drawn from the *mode* of his quotation, against the supposition that he believed the book quoted to be canonical. The fact that he appeals to our epistle more frequently than to any other part of the New Testament; that he no where appeals, so far as we can discover, to any apocryphal writings of either Testament; above all, that he appeals to our epistle by quoting passages from it in order to confirm and impress the truths which he is inculcating, and appeals to it in the same way and for the same purposes as he appeals to the most acknowledged parts of Scripture; the fact, too, that Clement was the companion and fellow labourer of Paul, and was also bishop of the church at Rome, the metropolis of the world; that he wrote in the name of the church

there to the church at Corinth,* and that he addressed to them passages from the epistle to the Hebrews, in such a way as necessarily to imply that this epistle was already well known and familiar to them; these facts, taken all together, make on my own mind a strong impression, that the evidence is as clear and convincing, that in the age of Clement our epistle was considered a part of the sacred writings of the Scripture, as it is that any other book of the New Testament was considered as a part of them.

Bleek, Review p. 10, himself acknowledges, that no evidence can be adduced from the manner in which Clement cites our epistle, that he regarded it as of an authority which was inferior to that of other books of the New Testament. But he avers, p. 9, that we are not able to determine, from the manner in which Clement cites the New Testament, what credit it then had in the church. This, he says can be determined only when citations are made κατ' ἐξοχήν. But are they not made so? E. g. chap. xiii. of Clement, "*Remember the words of the Lord Jesus,*" etc., then citing Luke vi. 36—38; chap. xxiii., "*Far be this Scripture from us, where he saith,*" etc., quoting James i. 8. and 2 Pet. iii. 4; chap. xxxiv. "*For he saith,*" etc., quoting 1 Cor. ii. 9, not Is. lxiv. 4, where the order and diction of the passage are both different; chap. xl. "*Remember the words of the Lord Jesus,*" etc., quoting Luke xvii. 1, 2. Is there any room for doubt or dispute here, whether Clement viewed these passages as canonical or authoritative? Certainly none.

If, then, Clement has, as Bleek allows, given no more reason to call in question the authority which he attached to the epistle to the Hebrews, than that which he attached to any other book of the New Testament; and if he has cited other books κατ' ἐξοχήν, which is certain; then how is it so very plain that 'I have erred in my estimate of the credit in which our epistle stood with Clement,' as Bleek supposes? I have examined more than once, every quotation of Clement, from the Old Testament and from the New; and I venture to say, that no sober critic will be able to make out any difference in the modes of quotation, which can go fairly to show that Clement has quoted them in a different way, or entertained different views of their authority. If so, then why should it be called in question, that Clement appealed to the New Testament writings as authoritative, i. e. inspired? In the examples given above, is not this certain? If you say, that in quoting from Luke, Clement has spoken of *the words of the Lord Jesus*, and not of the authority of Luke; my reply is, that he cites the words of the Lord Jesus from Luke, and by so doing, affords evidence entirely satisfactory, that he believed the narration of Luke to be *true and authentic*? And is not a book of Scripture *canonical*, which is true and authentic?

Indeed I do not see how one can read, with an unprejudiced mind, the appeals which Clement makes to the epistle to the Hebrews, more frequent appeals than he makes to any other book of the New Testament, without feeling that he regards the contents of this epistle as of an authoritative nature, in his own mind; and that he expects they will be so regarded by his readers. In fact the tone and manner of Clement's epistle throughout is such, as to afford evidence that the epistle to the Hebrews was a kind of model for him, which he has striven to imitate. It is not without ground, that Walton, the most critical and able editor of Clement, says "Hanc [epistolam] præcipue præ aliis sibi imitandam proposuit sanctus pater [Clemens]; quod constat ex plurimis aliis locis, magnaue ex parte ex materia ac serie

* C. i. Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παρεκκλήσις Ῥώμης, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ. τ. λ. is the commencement of Clement's epistle.

hujus epistolæ, sicut prius observatum fuit ;” Note on p. 83. Can all this be so, and yet Clement not regard this epistle as *canonical* ? I am unable to perceive any degree of probability on such a supposition.

Bleek finally suggests, that if the epistle to the Hebrews was regarded as canonical at Rome in the time of Clement, it would be difficult to comprehend how it could have lost its credit at this place so soon in after times, as it is well known that it did.

The suggestion is not new ; and the answer to it is, that this case is not so strange or unique, as the objection might lead one to suppose. The Apocalypse was in general, I believe one may safely say in universal credit, among all the oriental churches, until about the middle of the third century ; and not long after this, it was pretty generally doubted or rejected by them. If it be said, this was occasioned by the *Millennarian* dispute ; it may be said with the same kind of probability, that the discredit into which the epistle to the Hebrews fell, for a time at Rome, was occasioned by the dispute with the Montanists. But of this, more hereafter.

Let us see, now, what was the impression which in ancient times Eusebius had, from reading Clement's epistle. Speaking of monuments preserving apostolic doctrines, he says, καὶ [ἐπιστολῇ] τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογούμενῃ παρὰ πάντων, ἣν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διευτυπώσατο· ἐν ᾗ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθεῖς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ βητοῖς τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφέστατα παρίστησιν ὅτι μὴ νεὸν ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα· ὅθεν εἰκότως ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου: that is “ [We count also the epistle] of Clement, acknowledged by all, which he wrote in behalf of the church at Rome to the church at Corinth ; in which, exhibiting many of the sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, he makes use of some expressions taken from it in the very words of the epistle, by which he most clearly shows that this epistle is no recent composition ; whence it seems likely, that it is to be reckoned among the other writings of the apostle [Paul].” Hist. Ecc. III. 38. I am not able to see how one who reads critically the epistle of Clement, can avoid the conviction that he has quoted it as Eusebius avers, and that he has appealed to it as Scripture.

Of other writers, belonging to the first half century after the apostolic age, we have but few remains ; and most of these are imperfect. Some near resemblances to passages in our epistle to the Hebrews may be found in them ; but after a careful examination of them, I have not thought them sufficiently definite and important to become the subject of discussion here ; I shall merely subjoin them, and leave them to the consideration of the reader.

The following are the passages usually compared :

Heb. iii. 5. Μωϋσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ᾧ ὅλος τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ὡς διεκρίθη . . . 6. Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν αἶμα αὐτοῦ, οὗ ἀπὸς ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς.

Heb. x. 25. Μὴ ἰγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἰτίσιν αὐτῶν καθὼς ἔθος τισίν.

Heb. xii. 17. . . . μετανοίας γὰρ τόσον οὐκ ἔστι.

Heb. iv. 12. . . . κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας . . . οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἰωπίου αὐτοῦ.

Barnabas, Epist. ch. xiv. Μωϋσῆς, διεκρίθη ὡν, ἰλασθῆναι [viz. τῆς πλάκας]. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἰδοῦναι, ὡς λάσος κληρονομίας, κ. τ. λ.

Barnabas, Epist. ch. iv. Non separatim debetis seducere vos, tanquam justificati.

[Old Latin version ; the original Greek here being lost.]

Hermas, Simil. viii. 8. His igitur non est locus penitentiae.

Polycarp, Epist. c. iv. . . . λήθη αὐτὸν οὐδὲν, οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἰγνῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

Heb. vi. 20. Ἰησοῦς . . . ἀρχιερεὺς γινόμενος,
comp. vii. 3, 24, iv. 14.

Heb. xiii. 9. Διδαχαῖς ποιήσας καὶ εἶναις μὴ
περιφρίσθαι . . . ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἐφιλήθησαν οἱ περιπατή-
σαντες.

Heb. x. 28, 29. Ἀβιθέσαι τὸ νόμον Μωϋσίου
χωρὶς αἰκτεμῶν ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἢ τρισὶ μέγιστον ἀποθή-
σκου. Πᾶσα δακτύλι χύρνος ἐξασθήσεται τιμαρτίας,
ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπατήσας, κ. τ. λ.

Polycarp, Martyr. . . . διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχι-
ερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; (quoted in Eusob. Hist.
Ecc. p. 133, D.; so, also, in the Latin ver-
sion of Polycarp, published by Usher). Add,
from the same version, ch. xii. . . . et ipse
sempiternus pontifex, Dei filius, Christus
Jesus. Lardner, II. 830.

Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes'os, ch. vii. Μὴ
πλάσασθαι ταῖς ἱεροδοξίαις, μηδὲ μεθύμασιν τοῖς
παλαιαῖς ἀναφιλίσιν εὖσιν.

Ignatius, Epist. ad Ephes. ch. xvi. Εἰ δὲ οἱ
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἶκον διαφθείροντες, θανάτῳ κατα-
δικάζονται πᾶσα μᾶλλον οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν
νοθεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες αἰωνίαν τίσανσι δίκην, ὅτις ἔσ-
ται καὶ θάνατος ὑπὸ μόνῳ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, κ.τ.λ.

The passages may be found in Cotelierius; or in Lardner, Cred. I. pp. 43, 44, 131, 217, II. 830, I. 177, edit. 1734. See also Eich. Einleit, sect. 271, note 2. Several of them, especially one from Polycarp naming Christ the *eternal high priest*, look very much like a *quotation*. But in a matter so weighty, it is not best to place very much dependence on them, as the similarity may be accidental.

Justin Martyr is the first considerable writer of the second century whose works are come down to us. He was born about A. D. 103, and flourished about A. D. 140. In his dialogue with Trypho the Jew the following passage occurs: "This is he, who, after the order of Melchizedek, is king of Salem and eternal priest of the Most High," p. 341. He elsewhere calls Christ, αἰώνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερέα καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ Χριστὸν μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, p. 323. C. In another place he says of Christ: Καὶ ἀγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος, Apolog. I. p. 95, D.; which name, ἀπόστολος, is given him only in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Bleek admits that these passages "seem like quotations." Truly they do. And are they not made in the same way as Justin quotes other passages of the New Testament, and for the like purposes? In Palestine, then, as well as at Rome, we find evidence of the early credit of our epistle, and indubitable proof of its existence.

In addition to the facts already stated respecting the early existence and credit of the epistle to the Hebrews, it should be noted, that the *Peshito* or old Syriac version of the New Testament, made in all probability during the second century; and the old Latin versions made during the same period, and probably within the first half of it; both contain the epistle to the Hebrews, Bertholdt Einleit. p. 637 seq., 717 seq. This is a fact of very great importance; for these versions were in common use and authority, among the churches of the East and the West. It is not pretended, so far as I know, that either of these versions, at this period, comprised any book which is now known to be apocryphal. Undoubtedly they did not comprise any which were then deemed apocryphal.

Bleek suggests, Review p. 20, that 'it is not yet made out, how old the Latin versions above mentioned were; nor whether our epistle, if in them, was considered a part of the canon; nor, in fact, whether it was at all comprised in them.' It is indeed true, that no *circumstantial* critical history of the early Latin versions is extant among the Fathers; for where is an example of such a history of any book among them? But it is true also, that Augustine speaks of them as made *primis fidei temporibus*, De Doctrina Christ. II. 11. Tertullian speaks of a Latin translation as being in use, in usum exit; De Monogam. 11, Advers. Prax. 5, Advers. Marcion. ii. 9, v. 4. Sometime

then, before the close of the second century, such a translation must have been made. And can there be any good reason to doubt, that it was the earliest of all the translations of the New Testament, when we take into consideration the need there was of such a version in the Roman empire, particularly in Italy and proconsular Africa? How can it be accounted for, too, that neither Augustine nor Jerome, who speaks so often and so much of the old Latin versions should never once mention that the epistle to the Hebrews was omitted in them? Could Jerome have failed to mention this, on the occasion of his newly translating the epistle?

The silence of these fathers on this subject, where they had so much and so direct occasion to mention it, is good ground, at least, for supposing that they knew nothing of the epistle to the Hebrews being omitted in the old Latin versions. That there were a considerable number of these, is evident from the manner in which they are mentioned by Jerome, *epist. ad Damasum*, and by Augustine, *De Doctr. Christ. ii. 11*. Yet in respect to none of them have we any hint that our epistle was omitted; a thing absolutely unaccountable, on the supposition that it was not included; and especially so, when we consider how frequently Jerome and Augustine have hinted at the division of opinion in the Latin churches about the epistle to the Hebrews, and how decided they were in favour of its Pauline origin and of its authenticity.

I cannot help thinking, then, that facts such as these do sufficiently "make out," that the old Latin versions included our epistle. And that they would not have included it, had it not been considered a part of the canon, by the churches where these versions were made, seems to be too evident to need any confirmation.

Here, then, is a strong evidence, that the epistle to the Hebrews was widely circulated among Christians, a short time after the apostolic age. In the west, the *Itala* and old Latin versions in all probability comprised it; in Greece or the middle region, the church at Corinth are addressed by Clement as being familiar with it; and in the east, the Syrian church, wide spread as it was, comprised it in their canon.

From near the close of the second century onward, the history of the canonical credit of our epistle intermingles itself with the controverted question, *whether Paul was the author of it*. On this account, I shall not pursue separately the history any farther at present, as it must necessarily be investigated, in the course of discussing the important question, which still remains for consideration.

The sum of what has been shown under our present head of discussion, is, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, probably but a short time before this event; that in about thirty years, at most, it had acquired such currency and credit, that the church at Rome, the metropolis of the world, in a letter addressed by their bishop to the church at Corinth, made repeated appeals to it as a book of divine authority, and in such a way as to imply a knowledge and acknowledgment of it by the Corinthian church, similar to their own; that Justin Martyr, about A. D. 140, has evidently appealed to its contents as sacred; that about this time, or not long after, it was inserted among the canonical books of the New Testament, by the churches of the East and the West; and that, consequently, it must have had, at a period very little after the apostolic age, a currency and a credit not at all, or at most very little, inferior to that of other acknowledged books of the New Testament. Better evidence than this of early and general reception by the churches, it would be difficult to find, in respect to a consid-

erable number of books in the New Testament; with less than this we are obliged to content ourselves respecting several of them.

Bleek, Comm. p. 436 seq., gives a very different view of this subject. He represents it as uncertain whether the old Syriac version admitted the epistle to the Hebrews because it was believed to be Paul's; although he concedes, all along, that only such books were regarded by the ancients as canonical, as had the stamp of apostolical origin. The church of Rome he regards as universally rejecting our epistle, until the latter half of the fourth century. The later Arians doubted its canonical authority. In modern times, Cajetan and Erasmus of the Romish church also doubted its Pauline origin. Among the Protestants, Calvin, Beza, Luther, Carlstadt, Chemnitz, J. Schroeder, Hunnius, L. Hutter, and others, have some of them denied the Pauline origin and canonical authority of the epistle; while others have placed it in the second or third rank of canonical books, regarding it rather in the light of a book profitable for Christian edification, but not of itself decisive in a controverted question as to matters of faith. Among this number Bleek has placed himself, at the close of his section on this subject.

Cajetan, Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, the Remonstrants, e. g. Limborch and his associates, and the Socinians, e. g. Socinus de Auctorit. Sac. Script. 1. 2, while they doubt or deny the Pauline origin of the epistle, admit, or at least do not call in question, its canonical authority. Calvin even ascribes it to the artifice of Satan, that some deny its authority; see his *Argumentum* to his Commentary on the epistle.

This is not the place to controvert some of the positions of Bleek, in regard to the views of the ancient church. I must refer the reader to the sequel, in which the testimony of the ancients is adduced and examined.

In regard to the doubts concerning the full canonical credit due to our epistle, that have been expressed by Luther himself and some of his distinguished followers, one may venture to say, that there is reason to suspect Luther of being somewhat influenced in his criticism, by his views of theology or exegesis; for he finds, or thinks he finds, "wood, hay, and stubble," as well as "gold, silver, and precious stones," in our epistle: Walch's edit. of Luther, xiv. p. 146 seq. That for such a reason he rejected the epistle of James, is notorious. Then the question between the Lutherans and Roman Catholics assumed such a shape, that every thing which the Catholics admitted on the ground of ancient tradition, that could be well denied or rendered doubtful, was in fact denied by the leading disciples of Luther in the first and second generation. Now as there were doubts in some of the ancient churches, and particularly in the Romish, about the Pauline origin of our epistle; and as the modern Romish church fully admitted its Pauline origin; so it was some matter of triumph for Luther and his followers, to set the ancient church at Rome against the modern one, and thus to exhibit the want of consistency in a church that claimed to be infallible.

When the heat of this controversy passed away, the Lutheran church in general returned to the common sentiment in regard to the origin of our epistle. It is only of late, that opposition to its Pauline origin and canonical authority has again sprung up, mostly among the neological critics of Germany.

Admitting, however, the early existence and general credit of this epistle, there still remains the most difficult of all the questions which have been raised respecting it: "Who was its author? Was it Paul, or some other person?" This very important question deserves, and must receive, a particular and thorough discussion.

XIII. WAS PAUL THE WRITER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS?

From whatever source the epistle to the Hebrews is derived, every reader of it must perceive that it comes from a man of deep feeling, of a benevolent heart, of extensive knowledge, and of views in respect to the *spiritual* nature of Christianity, as exalted as can be found any where in the New Testament. Every attentive reader of the Mosaic law, moreover, must feel, that the epistle to the Hebrews is the best key to unlock the treasures which are secreted there; and that it affords us a disclosure in respect to the general nature and object of the Jewish dispensation, which Christians much need, and which can no where else be found in a manner so full and satisfactory.

But this, however correct or important it may be, cannot establish the fact that Paul wrote the epistle. We must not virtually assume this position from reasons *à priori*, or because we may wish it to be so. It is as uncritical to believe without any evidence, as it is to reject evidence when it is offered. It is uncritical also to establish, or rather to attempt establishing, a position that concerns a simple matter of *fact*, by any reasoning *à priori*. To investigate the present question in a becoming and candid manner, we must lay aside prejudice either in respect to the affirmative or negative of it; and also our previous opinions, which have been derived merely from education, and have not been established on the basis of proper evidence.

The epistle to the Hebrews has no *subscription*. Consequently we are left either to conjecture who the author was, or to gather it from evidence external or internal. Conjecture in respect to an epistle the claims of which are supposed to be authoritative, can give no real satisfaction to the thorough inquirer. Circumstantial evidence is that, then, to which we must necessarily resort, since the signature of the author is wanting.

I make these observations here, because it has seemed to me, that very much more has been demanded by some critics in order to prove that Paul wrote this epistle, than the nature of the case admits or even requires. Their demands would amount to nothing less than the signature of the writer himself, or direct testimony that he wrote it, given by witnesses present when he did so.

In the investigation of the question, 'Who was the author of an anonymous letter that is almost 1800 years old, written in an age and country where literary records, if they at all exist, are accidental and not designed?' it cannot be justly required, that proof of a direct, unequivocal, and positive nature should be produced. Where is the anonymous letter of antiquity that could ever be assigned to any particular author, if demands such as these were made in respect to it?

The question is not, whether the point in dispute can be rendered *certain* by plain and indubitable testimony, for then how should it ever have been disputed? but, all things considered, whether there is not a *probability* in favour of supposing Paul to be the author of it—a probability deduced from evidence external and internal—which is sufficient to quiet our reasonable doubts, and to command our prevailing belief.

It is not modern critics only, who have been divided on this question. The ancient Christians early differed in opinion about it, for several centuries; the Latin or occidental Christians, after the second century, more generally rejecting it from their canon, as they did not reckon it to be Paul's; while the Greek, or rather the oriental, Christians generally received it as coming from the hand of the apostle Paul.

I shall divide the evidence in respect to this question, into *external* and *internal*. By the former, I mean whatever can be gathered from the Christian fathers, or ancient writers, or the tradition of the churches, respecting the epistle; and by the latter, the characteristics of the epistle in respect to sentiment, style, and diction, compared with the acknowledged letters of Paul, and also certain facts which are adverted to in the epistle itself.

The great deficiency of genuine early Christian records, for many years after the completion of the New Testament, is a fact acknowledged and lamented by all who study either the early history of the church, or that of its sacred books. A few fragments only we have, of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Papias, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, and some others; in most instances too short, and too imperfectly preserved, to afford any strong ground of satisfaction to the critical inquirer.

XIV. TESTIMONY OF THE ALEXANDRINE CHURCH.

THE evidence that the epistle to the Hebrews was early recognized as one of the sacred books, has been already exhibited. The first testimony that we have respecting Paul's being the author of the epistle, is that of Pantænus, the head of the celebrated Christian school at Alexandria in Egypt, who flourished about A. D. 180. This testimony was inserted by Clement of Alexandria, the disciple of Pantænus, and his successor in the famous school just mentioned, in a work of his entitled *ὑποτυπώσεις*, *Institutions* or *Sketches*. This work is now lost; but Eusebius has preserved an extract from it, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Lib. VI. c. xiv. Pantænus himself was the most learned Christian of the age in which he lived, and one whose weight and authority in the churches were very great.

Clement, in the extract preserved by Eusebius, is endeavouring to assign a reason why Paul had not subscribed his name to the epistle to the Hebrews. After giving his opinion in regard to this point he adds, "As our worthy presbyter [so he here calls Pantænus] has already said, Since the Lord himself was sent by the Almighty as an apostle to the Hebrews, Paul being an apostle to the Gentiles, on account of modesty does not subscribe himself as the apostle to the Hebrews, both out of reverence for his Lord, and because, being a preacher and an apostle to the Gentiles, by a kind of supererogation he wrote to the Hebrews."*

Two points are equally clear from this testimony; the first, that Pantænus entertained no doubt of Paul's being the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, the whole passage implying as well as asserting this; the second, that still, either from the suggestions of his own mind or from those made by others, objections have been raised against this opinion, because the epistle lacked the usual subscription or inscription of Paul. The attempt to solve these doubts, necessarily implies that they had been suggested from one of these sources; but from which, we cannot tell with certainty. Still, if they arose from objections, is it not probable that some allusion would have been made to them?

I am very ready to allow, with some recent critics, that the attempt at solution is but a poor specimen of critical reasoning, and that it is insufficient to

* Ἡ δὲ δι' ὅς ὁ μακάριος ἱερεὺς πρεσβύτερος, ἐπὶ ὃ Κύριος ἀπόστολος ὦν, τοῦ Παντοκράτορος ἀποστάλην πρὸς Ἑβραίους, διὰ μετρίότητά ὁ Παῦλος ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀποστολαίμους οὐκ ἠγγράφει ἑαυτὸν Ἑβραίων ἀπόστολον, διὰ τι τῇ πρὸς τὸν κύριον τιμῇ, διὰ τι τὸ ἐν περιστάσει καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστῆλαι, ἰδιῶν κέρκεα ὅτι καὶ ἀπόστολος. Lib. VI. 14.

accomplish what Pantænus designed to accomplish. For how was it necessary, as he seems to suppose, that Paul should have subscribed himself *an apostle to the Hebrews*, if he had put his name to the epistle? If he declined doing this, "because his Lord and Master was the apostle of God to them," as Pantænus says, still he might, as on other occasions he actually does, have called himself *an apostle of Jesus Christ*; or he might, as he twice does, have called himself *a servant of Jesus Christ*, Phil. i. 1, Tit. i. 1; or he might, as he twice does, have simply written his name *Paul*, 1 Thes. i. 1, 2 Thes. i. 1. Why should he have been any more *diffident* with respect to doing this in the present case, than in any other?

As to his *diffidence* arising from being an apostle to the Gentiles, which made him, as Pantænus supposes, decline subscribing his name in an epistle to the Hebrews, so much weight cannot well be attributed to it. The writer of our epistle has told the persons addressed of his circumstances, and of his companions; he has also asked their prayers that "he might be speedily restored to them;" all which necessarily implies, that his name was not designed to be wholly concealed, and could not be so concealed, from those whom he directly and originally addressed; so that neither of Pantænus' reasons for Paul's declining to subscribe his name, appears to have any considerable weight in it.

Eichhorn and Bertholdt, it must be acknowledged, have refuted the good father's critical reasoning on which I have just animadverted; but they should not, as they appear to have done, substitute this for a confutation of his *testimony* also. Bertholdt moreover maintains, that Pantænus has simply expressed an *opinion* that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; an opinion merely his own, and not founded on any tradition. This he endeavours to prove by the following argument. 'It is clear that Pantænus' expressions imply the existence of persons, in his time, who maintained the opinion that Paul was not the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Now if general tradition maintained that he was, how could there be any such persons? For at this time, it was easy to trace a tradition of this nature up to its primary source,' Einleit. p. 2918.

But has there ever been a period since the gospels or epistles were written, in which more or less of them were not discarded by some, and doubted by others? Have there not been some such men as Ebionites, Alogi, Marcionites, and others of similar character, in every age and almost in every country? And can it be a valid objection to a book, or to testimony respecting it, that such men have rejected it or doubted it? If so, then the whole New Testament must be given up at once, and the effort to maintain its genuineness abandoned as a task utterly hopeless; for what part of it has not been discarded by some of these, or such like sectarians?

Does Pantænus, I ask, tell us whence the doubts in question arose; whether from his own mind, from heretics, or from the members of the catholic church? Not a word of this. Be it then that they came from whatever quarter you please, or from all quarters; the weight of his testimony is increased, rather than diminished, by the objections. For how does the case now stand? Pantænus had heard objections to the apostolic origin of the epistle suggested, by members of the catholic church, or by heretics; or he had sometimes entertained them in his own mind; yet such was the strength of his conviction, arising from the evidence opposed to these doubts, that Paul was the author of this epistle. He speaks of it as being his, without intimating that there is any good ground to call it in question.

Now whence did Pantænus derive such a conviction—Pantænus, who was at the head of the first Christian school in the world; who resided near Palestine, and where constant communication was all the time kept up with that country; Pantænus, who lived within a century after the apostolic age? It cannot be shown, nor in any way rendered probable, that he had any favourite or peculiar sentiment to be supported by the epistle to the Hebrews, which was the reason why he defended its apostolic origin. I am aware of the allegation made by some, that the epistle to the Hebrews was already received in the churches as one of the sacred books; and that, as some doubted respecting it because it wanted an apostle's name to sanction it, Pantænus, in order to save its credit and defend the custom of the churches in receiving it as canonical, assigned the reasons produced above why Paul did not subscribe his name to it. But is not this, after all, conceding the very point which it is meant to deny? "The epistle to the Hebrews was already received by the churches; therefore Pantænus defends it!" Indeed! And how came it to be received? Whence this general credit already obtained? A credit so strong, a custom of reception so general, as to inspire Pantænus with entire confidence in its canonical authority, and raise him above all the objections which had been suggested. And how comes it, that no epistles should have made their way into the canon, amid all the conflicting opinions, and various apocryphal and supposititious writings of the early ages of the church, but those which either bear an apostle's name, or were by general consent assigned to an apostle? This is a fundamental question, in respect to the great subject of the authority of our New Testament canon. It is an *articulus stantis vel cadentis auctoritatis*, in respect to it. And the answer to this question plainly is, that the catholic church in the primitive age, taken as a body, were governed by the maxim, that no book or epistle could be properly regarded as canonical, except such as was written by an apostle, or under his direction.

I am far from denying that particular churches, and even particular regions of country, did, near the close of the second century, and afterwards, regard as sacred some of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and of the New. The quotations from them by the Christian fathers, is conclusive evidence of this. But then such books, for the time being, were of course estimated as holding a rank entitled to the credit of inspired books. And in respect to the *apocryphal* writings of the New Testament, it is clear that they were regarded (where they were admitted as canonical,) as either coming from the hands of apostles, or as having been written with their approbation or under their inspection. Nothing can be more evident, than that there was a constant verging of the church as a body, toward the point of limitation in respect to canonical credit, that has just been stated. That some churches and persons should have committed mistakes respecting the extent to which the principle adverted to would carry them, is not at all to be wondered at, considering the state of literary knowledge at that period. But that such mistakes were not committed by the predominant part of the churches, is demonstrated from the state of the New Testament, ever since the earliest period; the received books of which are only those which were regarded as being of apostolic origin or revision, and were *generally* believed to be so.

Such being the fact, we may ask, and we ought to ask, How came the epistle to the Hebrews into the canon; so that Clement of Rome in the very first century, and Pantænus in the next, refer to it as Scripture? Why plainly, because an apostolic origin was attributed to it. Pantænus regards

this as certainty; and Pantænus says, that the apostle who wrote it was *Paul*; διὰ τὸ . . . τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν [Παῦλον].

I readily concede, that he is not a witness contemporary with Paul. But he is a witness, (and one of the very best the age afforded, in which he lived and was so distinguished as a man of knowledge,) of what the opinion of the churches *then* was. Is it not evident, that in the passage under consideration he is defending the usual opinion of the churches in regard to our epistle; and that he is *not* merely delivering his own private sentiments? The manner in which he speaks, plainly declares this.

Moreover, that he did speak the opinion which was prevalent and general at this period, is rendered still more probable by the fact, that at least as early as the time in which he lived, probably earlier, the Syriac translation in the East, and the old Latin version in the West, as we have already seen, were completed; both of which went into general use in those countries, and both of which comprise the epistle to the Hebrews. In regard to the Syriac, it may be further noted, that while it was made too early, as it would seem, to comprise the 2d epistle of Peter and the 2d and 3d epistles of John, (which for various reasons came later into circulation than the other epistles,) it still comprises the epistle to the Hebrews. Are not these facts, then, when taken together, good evidence that the credit of this epistle was early and widely diffused, and that it was regarded at a very early period, by the great body of the churches, as of apostolic origin? To which of the apostles it was assigned by current belief, and of course by current tradition, Pantænus informs us.

Let it be distinctly noted, that all this took place within about a century after the apostolic age (and probably less); "when tradition," as Bertholdt says, "might be easily traced back to its origin." Does not, then, the testimony of Pantænus, whom Photius (Cod. 118) represents to be not only a hearer of those who had seen the apostles, but of some of the apostles themselves, supported as it is by concurrent testimony of the canon of the churches in the East and in the West, amount to satisfactory evidence, in regard to general ecclesiastical tradition, at the time in which this father lived? And if so, does not this plead strongly for the probability that Paul was the author of the epistle?

I am unable to distinguish the testimony in question of Pantænus, from that of other writers whom Bertholdt quotes as good support for the genuineness of other books of the New Testament. How many hundred testimonies has he quoted, where the witness does not say whether he delivers his own opinion or recites tradition! Yet Bertholdt takes these and such like testimonies as legitimate evidence, when he sets out to establish the genuineness of any books of the New Testament, or of any ancient writing. Why then should he resort to the extraordinary, the unsupported, I may say, improbable supposition, that Pantænus has, in the case before us, only delivered his own *private* opinion? Even if it were so, the questions, On what was the opinion grounded? what induced him to believe so? would present serious difficulties in respect to the suggestions which Bertholdt has made; as I have already shown.

At any rate, the principle which Bertholdt assumes here, would render it utterly impossible ever to establish the genuineness of any of the New Testament books; and, I may add, of any other ancient book. A principle fraught with such consequences, cannot, either with propriety or safety, be admitted into our critical investigations.

I regret to add, that Bleek, in his recent work on the epistle to the He-

brews, after a brief recitation of the testimony of Pantænus, remarks at the close, p. 98, that this testimony does not declare whether the conviction of Pantænus originated from historical tradition, or later critical investigation; hereby intimating, that unless this could be known from the testimony, very little weight can be attributed to it. What is this but virtually to destroy not only the great body of evidence, in regard to the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, but of most classical authors also? Is this critical justice and impartiality? How much of all the testimony that exists in respect to any ancient writing, expressly tells us whether the person who gives it derives his views from the judgment of his own mind, or from historical tradition? And what monument of antiquity can stand, before such an ordeal as Bleek thus virtually proposes?

The importance of this discussion, which treats of testimony so early and respectable in regard to the subject in question, will, I hope, be a sufficient apology for the length to which it has been protracted.

PANTÆNUS was succeeded, in his school, by the celebrated CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, near the close of the second century. Clement, as he tells us in the first book of his *Stromata*, p. 274, Lardner, Cred. II. 462, had travelled in Greece, Italy, the East, and Egypt, in quest of knowledge, and employed masters in all these countries. With Pantænus he settled down in Egypt; and he represents this teacher, though last in time, as first in merit. He compares him to the Sicilian bee, that had gathered flowers from the prophetic and apostolic meadows; and represents him as filling the minds of his hearers with pure knowledge.

Clement, then, was well qualified to judge what was the general usage and tradition of the churches, in respect to the canon of Scripture; as he had traversed a great part of the regions where churches were planted. His testimony, extracted from a work of his entitled *Ἰστοριώσεις*, is preserved by Eusebius in his Ecc. Hist. L. VI. c. 14. "In his book," says Eusebius, "Clement affirms that Paul is the author of the epistle to the Hebrews; and that, as it was addressed to Hebrews, it was originally written in their language, and afterwards translated by Luke for the use of the Greeks; which is the reason why the colouring of the style is the same in this epistle and in the Acts of the apostles. The reason why Paul did not affix his name at the head of it, probably is, because the Hebrews had conceived a prejudice against him and were suspicious of him. Very prudently, therefore, he did not place his name at the head of the epistle, so as to divert them from the perusal of it."*

Eichhorn and Bertholdt have endeavoured to show here also, that Clement's testimony is only his own *private* opinion, or at most, that of his master Pantænus. Eichhorn attacks the apology which Clement makes for Paul's omitting to prefix his name to the epistle; and seeming to triumph over this, he dismisses the whole of the testimony along with it. Bertholdt has pursued a course somewhat different. Pantænus he represents as giving one reason why the name of Paul is omitted; Clement another. This contradiction, he avers, proves that neither Pantænus nor Clement rested on tradition as their support, but only followed their own conjecture.

* Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἱστορίαις . . . τὸν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὴ εἶναι φησὶ γυγνῆσθαι δι' Ἑβραίους Ἑβραϊστῇ φωνῇ. Δουκῶν δὲ φιλοτίμως μελετημένοντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶντα εἰσίστασθαι κατὰ τὸν ἑρμηνείαν ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν ἀράξων. Μὴ προγογγῆσθαι δὲ τὰ Παύλου ἀπίστευτοι, αἰνέτους Ἑβραίους γὰρ φησὶ ἐπιστάλλων ἀρλόγησιν ἀπαρτίσαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν αὐτὸν, οὐκ οὕτως πάντες οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπίστευον αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον θύς. Lib. VI. 14

This conclusion is somewhat singular. What is the point in question? Simply, whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews. Pantænus says that he did; Clement asserts the same; both, as it appears, without any doubt or hesitation in their own minds. How came they by this confidence? Clement derived it, says Bertholdt, from his master Pantænus. But from whom did Pantænus derive it? Whence did he get so much confidence respecting this point, as to overcome all the obstacles thrown in the way of such a belief? He appears to have been a man of great sobriety, knowledge, diligence, and excellence of character. He was no innovator; nor does it appear that he had any pride of speculative opinions and conceits to foster. But because he answers the doubts that had been suggested against Paul's being the author of the epistle to the Hebrews in one way, and Clement in another, "this," says Bertholdt, "is *contradiction*, and it shows that neither of these fathers grounded his opinion on tradition, but on his own conjectures." *Contradiction* in what? Are these two fathers agreed on the great point in question, viz. whether Paul was the author of the epistle? This is conceded. Where then is the contradiction? "They are not agreed how the doubts raised against it should be solved." What follows? "Why," as Bertholdt avers, "that they grounded not their opinions on tradition." That is, if this have any appropriate meaning, that tradition had not brought down to them the *mode* of solving these doubts; since they were not agreed in the mode of solving them. But what if tradition had, as is most probable, handed down to them neither doubts nor solutions; and that the solutions they proposed were of *newly raised* doubts, which about this time began to appear in some of the occidental churches—solutions drawn, as I would most freely concede, from their own personal views, rather than from tradition; what, I ask, has the *manner* of solving these doubts to do with the main point at issue? Nothing at all; and be it that Eichhorn has triumphed over both the good fathers, Pantænus and Clement, in showing the incompetency of their reasoning to solve the doubts then raised, it leaves their testimony, as to the great point at issue, quite untouched.

I am not disposed, however, to concede so much to Eichhorn's reasoning, in respect to the assertions of Clement. If Paul did write the epistle to the Hebrews, and direct it to a church in Palestine, every one acquainted with his history knows, that the Hebrews in that country, at least very many of them, were affected towards him as Clement has represented them to be; and this might be a proper and adequate reason for not setting down his name at the head of his epistle.

"But Paul," says Eichhorn, "has not shrunk from openly professing his name on all other occasions." This may be true. But to what other part of the church did he write, circumstanced as the Jews of Palestine were? Does not a prudent man change the *mode* of his address, as circumstances may require?

"But after all, the author has not concealed himself. At the close of the epistle, he has developed circumstances which must certainly make him known." I grant it, in respect to the church whom he immediately and primitively addressed; but the case would not be the same in respect to other churches, for whom, also, there can be but little doubt, the epistle was ultimately designed. At least, those who read it would have first been subjected to the influence of its reasoning and its eloquent and powerful remonstrances, before they would come to make the inquiries about the author, suggested by the circumstances at the close. May not the author who could write such an

epistle, well have trusted to its power in disarming prejudices, which the appearance merely of a name at the outset might have heightened? And might not Clement, who travelled through the East and over so many countries, have thus become acquainted with the manner in which the difficulty was commonly solved which he proposes? This solution, although Eichhorn thinks it to be so incompetent, is still a much more probable one than that of Pantæus; nay, I must think that it is in itself by no means destitute of probability. How can it be shown in any way to be incongruous, that such a reason should have influenced Paul to withhold his name?

But further; Bertholdt says, "Another proof that Clement did not ground his testimony on tradition, is, that he declares the epistle to have been originally written in Hebrew; and that Luke translated it into the Greek language; and thus he merely undertakes, in his own way, to account for the diversity of style between this epistle and those of Paul, and its similarity to that of the Acts of the apostles."

Be it so, then, for the sake of argument. But still, what is the amount of this? Nothing more than that Clement undertakes to meet an objection, raised from the *style* of the epistle; and to show how this style could be somewhat diverse from Paul's, and yet the epistle derive its origin from that apostle. How can this determine that Clement did not ground his belief of Paul's being the author of the epistle on the tradition of the church, rather than on his own conjecture?

In fact, that Clement should have remained entirely unmoved in his opinion, by all objections made to Paul's being the author of our epistle, proves just the reverse of what Bertholdt has endeavoured to establish. It proves, beyond all reasonable controversy, the *strength* and *constancy* of his opinion which triumphed over all such obstacles; and which to do this, must, as it seems to me, have been supported, in his own mind, by the general voice of the churches among whom he had travelled.

But further to invalidate the testimony of Pantæus and Clement, Bertholdt suggests, that "they were inclined to favour the epistle to the Hebrews, on account of the Alexandrine spirit which reigns in it," [he means the spirit of allegorizing and finding secondary senses to language;] and "to establish the credit of a favourite letter, they attributed it to Paul, being supported in this by the apparent similarity which it has to his writings."

Now since this is altogether *gratuitous* conjecture, it might not improperly be answered by conjecture that such was not the case. I will suggest, however, that it is by no means certain, either that Pantæus or Clement were natives of Alexandria. The probability is, that they came there partly as learners, but principally as teachers; and that their opinions were not formed, merely by the fashion of interpreting the Scriptures at Alexandria. Besides, what ground is there to suppose that these fathers, conscientious and deeply imbued with reverence for the Scriptures as they were, would have been persuaded by attachment to the Alexandrine spirit of allegory, to foist a book into the canon of the New Testament as Paul's, when they had no evidence on which to ground such an opinion? And how comes it, that at this very period, this same epistle was inserted in the canon, in the Itala of the western churches, and the Peshito or old Syriac version of the eastern ones? Did Pantæus and Clement effect this? They had no concern with the management of either of these churches. Christians then in the East and West, far distant from Alexandria, did ascribe canonical authority to this epistle; and if they did so, there is of course good reason to believe, that they ascribed the

epistle to an apostle as the author. What probability can there be, then, that Clement and Pantænus ascribed this epistle to Paul, merely on the ground of their own *private* opinion or local prejudices?

In addition to the above principal passage from Clement, others may be cited which serve to show the uniformity and the strength of Clement's conviction, in regard to the Pauline origin of our epistle. E. g. Stromat. ii. p. 362, where in the midst of a literal quotation from Heb. xi. 1, 2, 6, Clement adds, *κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον*, according to the divine apostle, i. e. Paul. Again, p. 364, after quoting Heb. xi. 3, he adds, *φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος*. In p. 420 he cites Heb. vi. 19, 20, in connexion with Gal. v. 6, and both as the declarations of Paul. Ibid. iv. p. 514 seq. he cites Heb. x. 32—39 and xi. 36—39, expressly calling them the declarations of the same apostle who wrote Phil. iv. 11—13, which he had just cited. In p. 525, he attributes Heb. xii. 14—16, xiii. 4, to the same apostle who wrote Tit. ii. 3, which he had just cited. In p. 577 he cites Heb. v. 12—vi. 1. expressly as the words of Paul; and again, in p. 645, he cites a part of the same passage in the same manner.

All this testimony Bleek sets aside, by the very same remarks which he makes, as above cited, on the testimony of Pantænus. How easy it would be to explain away, in this manner, the force of all ancient testimony respecting any monument of antiquity, who can fail to perceive?

The sum of testimony for the second century has now been presented. Its importance is greatly magnified, by its proximity to the time when the epistle was written, and when tradition respecting it might be traced back, as Bertholdt avers, without much difficulty, by a sober and interested inquirer. That at the close of the first century, the epistle to the Hebrews was not only extant, but in full credit as a canonical writing at Rome, we have seen in the examination of the testimony of Clement of Rome. That at the close of the second century, it occupied a place in the canon of the eastern, the western, and the intermediate churches, follows from the testimony that has now been examined. That Paul was the author of this epistle, appears to have been the firm belief of the most celebrated theological school then existing; and that this belief harmonized with that of the churches in general, who required evidence of apostolic origin or approbation, in order to entitle an epistle to a place in the canon, seems quite probable, and is contradicted by no circumstances with which we are acquainted.

We may now advance to the former part of the third century, and examine a few of the principal witnesses.

THE celebrated ORIGEN, second to none of the fathers, except Jerome, as a critic, and in general learning superior to them all, the disciple and the successor of Clement at Alexandria, is, in all respects, a most important witness to be examined. He spent his life in the study and explanation of the Scriptures; and his testimony in regard to the canon of Scripture, at the time when he flourished, A. D. 220, is of greater weight than that of any other individual of the same period.

The most explicit testimony of Origen is that which Eusebius has preserved, Ecc. Hist. VI. 25; being an extract from one of Origen's homilies on the epistle to the Hebrews. The passage runs thus in Eusebius; "In respect to the epistle to the Hebrews, Origen decides thus in his homilies upon it: The character of the style of the epistle to the Hebrews has not the unpolished

cast of the apostle's language, who professes himself to be a man unlearned in speech, i. e. in phraseology. Besides, this epistle, in the texture of its style, is more conformed to Greek idiom; as every one must confess, who is able to distinguish differences in style. Moreover the ideas in this epistle are admirable, and not inferior to those which are confessedly apostolic; and that this is true, every one must concede who has attentively read the writings of the apostles. A little further on he adds, If I were to give my opinion I should say, the phraseology and the texture belong to some one relating the apostle's sentiments, and as it were commenting on the words of his master. *If any church therefore hold this to be an epistle of Paul, let it receive commendation on account of this (ὡδοκιμαίτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ),** FOR IT IS NOT WITHOUT REASON (οὐκ ἰσχύ), THAT THE ANCIENTS HAVE HANDED IT DOWN (παρεδιδύκασιν, have had a tradition) AS BEING OF PAUL. Who wrote the epistle [γράφας, penned it or committed it to writing], God [only] knows with certainty; but the report which has reached us is, that some affirm it to be written by Clement, bishop of Rome; and some by Luke who wrote the gospel and the Acts."† Euseb. Hist. Ecc. VI. 25. Lard. IV. p. 235.

This passage has been appealed to for different purposes, by writers of different sentiments; by some in order to show that Origen doubted, by others to show that he did not doubt, about Paul's being the author of the epistle in question. Omitting an account of what others have said, let us endeavour to elicit the sentiments of Origen, by considering this passage in connexion with other passages to be found in his writings.

1. It is plain that Origen felt the force of the objection against the authorship of Paul, drawn from the style and manner of the epistle, in the same way as his preceptor Clement had before done; and to meet this objection, he suggests a reason *similar* to that which Clement had suggested. Clement says, that the epistle was first written in Hebrew, and then translated by Luke into Greek; and thus he endeavours to account for the supposed diversity of style between this epistle and those of Paul. But Origen does not appear to have at all supposed that it was written, at first, in Hebrew. He supposes it to have been for substance, delivered, dictated, or spoken by the apostle, and penned down by some one who used his own diction, commenting as it were on the words of his master. In this way the *sentiments* are regarded as apostolic and authoritative; while the *diction* is considered as arising from one not an apostle; and thus the full credit of the epistle is maintained, while the objection to this credit, drawn from the diversity of style, is apparently removed.

2. It should be noted, that Origen does not say, whether the objections against the epistle to the Hebrews being the production of Paul, arose from his own mind, or from the allegations of others. Most probably from both sources. He appears to have had a full conviction, that there was a diversity

† Bleek translates, "so verdienet sie auch deshalb keinen Tadel," i. e. *it deserves no blame on this account*; a cold negative enough for ὡδοκιμαίτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Is this being impartial?

† περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐν ταῖς αἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἑρμηνείαις ταῦτα διαλαμβάνει· ὅτι ὁ χαρματὶς τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγραφημένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωματικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ἀμολογέσασθαι αὐτὸν ἰδιότῃ ὡς εἴη λόγῳ, τοῦτίστι εἴη φράσει. Ἀλλὰ ἵσταν ἐπιστολὴ συνθεῖται τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνιστικῇ, ὥς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνει φράσεων διαφορὰς ἀμολογέσαι δεῖ. Πάλιν τι αὖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ θαυμάσιόν ἐστι, καὶ οὐ διωτὶς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀμολογημάτων· καὶ τοῦτο αἰ συμφέσαι ὡς αἰσὶν αὐτῶν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῆς ἀποστολῆς. Τούτους μὲν ἵσταν ἱερὸν λίγαν· Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφανόμενος ὡς αὐτῶν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἵσταν· ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις, ἀπομνημονεύσαντες σπουδὴν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν, καὶ ἀσπερὶ σχολαστικῶς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ὡς τοῦ διδασκάλου. Εἰ τις οὖν ἐκαστὸν ἔχει ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ ὡς Παύλου, αὐτὴ ὡδοκιμαίτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Οὐ γὰρ αἰσὶν αἱ ἀρχαῖαι ἀνδρὲς ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παρεδιδύκασιν. Τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀλλοῦ θύει εἶδεν· ἡ δὲ αἰς ἡμᾶς φράσασθαι ἱστορία, ὑπὸ τινος μὲν ληγόντων, ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γινόμενος ἱεροποιὸς Ῥωμαίων ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν· ὑπὸ τινος δὲ, ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς Πράξεις. Ecc. Hist. VI. 25.

of style in it; and to remove the difficulty about the credit of the epistle, which arose in his mind from this circumstance, he resorted to the supposition just mentioned. We can have no reasonable doubt, that at this time there were some, who alleged that this epistle did not come from the hand of Paul; as Pantænus and Clement had, before this, made an effort to remove objections against it.*

3. The very manner in which Origen attempts to remove objections, shows that he gave full credit to the *apostolic* origin of the epistle. 'The *thoughts*,' he avers, 'are apostolic, and worthy of an apostle; but the *diction* is derived from another.' And when he says, *It is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as belonging to Paul*; and then adds, "but who wrote it, God knows; some attributing it to Luke, and some to Clement;" nothing can be plainer, than that he means to suggest, that he considers it to be uncertain who *penned* it, i. e. reduced it to writing; for he had just asserted that the *thoughts* were suggested by the apostle, while the *diction* arose from him who reduced them to writing. To suppose, as has been supposed, that Origen means to assert, that God only knows from whom the *sentiments* of the epistle sprung, or who the author in this sense was, is to suppose that Origen has directly contradicted himself in the very same paragraph. Therefore,

4. When Origen says that some attribute it to Luke, and some to Clement, the probability clearly is, from the connexion in which this stands, that he means to say, 'Some attribute the penning or writing of it down, to the one or to the other of these persons.' If this be so, and it appears to be very plain that it is, it only serves to show, that Origen did not consider the tradition about Luke and Clement as well established; and especially so, as the traditional reports were not agreed respecting the amanuensis or recorder of the epistle. It is possible, I acknowledge, that Origen meant to say that some attributed the real authorship to Luke or Clement; although I cannot think that this opinion has any probable support in the passage of Origen now under consideration, if it be explained by any just rules of interpretation. Bleek, however, with some other critics, have taken it for granted that Origen did speak here of real authorship. But besides the absolute prohibition to do this, contained in the preceding context, it is clear that in ancient times, Origen's words, or rather the story about Luke and Clement, were not understood in such a way. E. g. Euthalius (fl. 460), who knew of doubts about the Pauline origin of our epistle, says, when speaking of this epistle, *πρὸς γὰρ Ἑβραίους τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ γραφίσα, ὅστιρον μεθερμηνεύσθαι λέγεται, ὡς μὲν*

* Origen, in Matt. xxiii. 27, Opp. T. iii., seems to intimate, that there were some who doubted the authority of our epistle. "Sed pone aliquem abdicare epistolam ad Hebræos, quasi non Pauli." Yet this may be nothing more than hypothetical. Bleek builds more on this than it is fairly capable of supporting, when he deduces from it, p. 103, the conclusion, that our epistle was not every where received as Paul's. The fact may have been true; and doubtless it was; but the ground of proof lies not, with certainty, in the passage of Origen now in question.

But there is another passage of Origen, Epist. ad Africanum, in which he speaks of the *βουλόμεναι τὴν ἀθετοῦσαν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ὁ Παῦλος γεγραμμένην*, the inclination of those who reject the epistle as not being Paul's; and he then adds: "With one who does thus, other reasons must be privately employed, in order to show that Paul was the author of the epistle."

Bleek complains, Review, p. 12, that I have omitted the two preceding passages of Origen, in my first edition of this work; and he says that in these Origen clearly states that the Pauline origin of our epistle was denied. This is true of only one of the passages; and in the other, Origen very clearly shows that he was of a different opinion from those who denied that Paul was the author. In what respect, then, would the insertion of the passages in question have altered my statements? I have fully admitted that some, in the time of Origen, denied the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, and that what Origen says implies this. What more do the citations in question prove than this?

τινις, ὑπὸ Λουκᾶ, ὡς δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ, ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος, i. e. *for the epistle being written in the Hebrew dialect, it was afterwards interpreted, as some say, by Luke; as many others, by Clement.* Euthalius, it is to be noted, was a resident at Alexandria. Here then is evidently the very *ιστορία* of Origen; and can we well suppose that this was not the usual and traditional interpretation of it? See the passage in Zacagni Collect. Monum. Vet. etc. p. 523, and in Bleek I. p. 143. See also the remarks on the testimony of Eusebius, No. 3.

5. It is clear that Origen ascribes his own belief, and the belief of the churches of his time, that the epistle was Paul's, to ancient tradition. "If any church receive this epistle as Paul's, let it be commended for this; for it is not without reason, *that the ancients (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) have handed it down (παρεδίδωκαν) as Paul's.*" Here two things are asserted; first, that the tradition of its being Paul's is well grounded, in Origen's view, *ὅτι σιγῇ παρεδίδωκαν*; and secondly, that it is an *ancient* tradition, for *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* so thought and said.

I cannot well account for it, that Eichhorn and Bertholdt have kept out of sight this direct testimony of Origen to the tradition of the churches. Eichhorn has indeed quoted it (§ 271), but made no comment upon it; while Bertholdt has broken the paragraph into two parts, and quoted what precedes the clause in question in one place (p. 2944), and that which follows it in another (p. 2956); while he has *wholly omitted* the clause under consideration. The opinion of Pantænus and Clement, that Paul wrote this epistle, had previously been ascribed by these critics, either to their own conjectures, or to the influence which the views of the church of Alexandria had over them in respect to this subject. Origen also is represented by them, as struggling between his own convictions and the prejudices of the times, in respect to the point in question, and as falling at last upon the conjecture, that 'the *sentiments* are the apostle's while the *diction* is another's,' in order to reconcile his own views and the current prejudices of the Alexandrine church. These critics have been very careful to render *prominent* the expression of Origen, *who wrote it, God [only] knows; report attributing it to Clement and to Luke*; and they have quoted this too, without adverting at all to the evident meaning of it, which is, 'who penned or wrote it down, is uncertain; report attributing it to different men;' using the expression just as if Origen had simply said, '*who was the author of the epistle, God only knows.*' See Berth. Einl. § 648. Eichh. § 271. Besides this, Bertholdt represents Origen as asserting, that an *ancient* tradition, brought down even to his time, attributed the *authorship* of the epistle to Luke, p. 2955, or to Clement, p. 2958; but that Origen, believing neither of these ancient traditions, declared that 'God only knows who *composed* it.' One cannot help remarking, how leaning towards a favourite hypothesis will help to obscure one part of testimony, and make another to stand out in relief. That *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες*, as Origen asserts, *have not without reason declared the epistle to be Paul's*, this critic has passed over with profound silence. On the other hand he says, "it is an *ancient* tradition," "propagated down to the time of Origen, that either Clement or Luke *composed* it." But Origen himself does not say this. His words are simply, "Who wrote it [i. e. penned it down], God knows, *ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία*, but a report has come to us, that it was either Clement or Luke." Now where is the *ancient* tradition, brought even down to Origen's time, ascribing the *composition* of the epistle to two different men, neither of whom Origen believed to be the author? So far from this, Origen says not a word here of *ancient* tradition; nor even of tradition at all. He does not say that either

ἱστορία παλαιά, or παράδοσις παλαιά, brings down this report; but simply ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία, i. e. *report has come to us, or it is reported, there is a report says*, that either Luke or Clement wrote it. Now he might have used the same expression, I freely concede, if such report had been ancient; but he might use the same, too, in reference merely to the reports of his day; at which time, no doubt, various difficulties were raised in some of the churches, respecting the Pauline origin of the epistle. Certainly, then, Bertholdt has no right to represent Origen in the manner he does, as averring that *ancient tradition* assigned the authorship of the epistle to Luke or to Clement.

Indeed, the language which Origen employs in this case, would seem to be *designedly* different from that which he employs in the sentence wholly omitted by Bertholdt, which runs thus: "If any church holds this epistle to be Paul's it deserves commendation for this; because οὐκ εἰκὴ the ancients have handed it down to us, that it is Paul's." Observe the expressions ἀρχαῖοι and παραδιδώκασιν, words altogether appropriate to the designation of truly ancient tradition, and not to be mistaken; while the report concerning Luke and Clement is announced simply by ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία, leaving it wholly indeterminate whether this report is recent or ancient; for φθάσασα surely does not of course designate the *antiquity* of the report. Why Bertholdt should thus magnify this part of Origen's assertion, and wholly omit all notice of the other, which cannot be misunderstood and is not liable to misconstruction, is best known to himself. But thus much may properly be said: If the testimony of the ancients, or moderns, is to be managed in this way, then we may assert, with equal truth, our inability to prove any thing, or our ability to prove *aliquid ex aliquo*.

That Origen was not in the doubtful state about the epistle, which the critics just named represent him to be, may be clearly evinced from other passages in his writings, even if the one already examined were to be regarded as dubious. For example; Comm. on John, II. p. 18. ed. Huet. "According to this the *apostle* says,"* and then quotes Heb. v. 12. That by this apostle he meant Paul, other passages in the same commentary clearly show; e. g., "In the epistle to the Hebrews the same Paul says,"† p. 56; again, "Paul in the epistle to the Hebrews,"‡ p. 162. In his book against Celsus, he says: "For it is written by Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians . . . and the *same apostle* says;"§ and then he quotes Heb. v. xii. contra Cels. p. 482. ed. Bened. In his treatise on prayer, he quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as an epistle of the same apostle who wrote the epistle to the Ephesians, De Oratione I. p. 250, ed. Bened. In a homily preserved in a Latin translation, he says: "Paul himself the greatest of the apostles, writing to the Hebrews says;"|| and then he quotes Heb. xviii. 18, 22, 23. He also appeals to this epistle as *authoritative* in establishing any position; e. g. Comm. in John, II. 57, 58, ed. Huet.

In Princip. III. 1. § 10, Heb. vi. 7, 8, is cited as an example which the apostle used in the [epistle] to the Hebrews." Ibid. IV. 13, he twice cites words out of Heb. viii. 4, which are inserted as Paul's words among other passages taken from his acknowledged epistles. Ibid. IV. 22, he cites Heb. xii.

* Κατὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅτι κ. τ. λ. loc. cit..

† Καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος φησὶ κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

‡ Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

§ Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἡμῶν Κορινθίους ἐπιστολάσσιν . . . ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς . . . φησὶ, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως χεῖραν ἔχοντι, κ. τ. λ. loc. cit.

|| Ipse ergo apostolorum maximus . . . Paulus . . . dicit, ad Hebræos scribens etc., Homil. III. in Num. p. 281, edit. Benedict.

22 seq. with Gal. iv. 26, ascribing both to the same apostle. The same passage he cites as the words of the apostle, Lib. contra Cels. VII. 29. In Præfat. ad Princip. he cites Heb. xi. 25, 26, as the express testimony of Paul. In his Principia (Vol. I. edit. de la Rue) are other testimonies of the same nature, on pp. 55, 56, 65, 82, 92, 141, 187. In his Exhort. ad Martyr. he quotes Heb. x. 32—36 as Paul's. In Homil. I. in Jerem., he quotes Heb. i. 4 as the words of the apostle. Ibid. Homil. IX., he cites Heb. vi. 1 as the words of the apostle; also in Homil. XVIII., Heb. viii. 5 is cited. In Præf. in Johan. (ed. Huet. II. p. 2), Heb. iv. 14 is cited in the same way. Ibid. 22, the same passage is again cited in the same way. Ibid. Tom. III. p. 64, he says, *Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος φησι*, quoting Heb. xi. 16. In Tom. IX. p. 40, he ascribes Heb. viii. 5 to the apostle; as also Heb. ix. 28. In Tom. X. p. 162, he ascribes Heb. xii. 22, 23, to Paul. Tom. XXXII. p. 416, he cites Heb. i. 3, as the words of Paul. In Homil. VII. in Jos., he ascribes *fourteen* epistles to Paul, which of course included our epistle.

These testimonies can leave no doubt what the opinion of Origen was, as to the real *authorship* of the epistle, however he might account for what he deemed the peculiar colouring of the style. It is surely quite a subordinate question, Who was the amanuensis or translator of Paul? The important question is, Did the *sentiments* originate from him? Is he the real author of them? If Origen has not developed his opinion respecting these questions, beyond all doubt, I know not that it is in the power of language to do this. If he has not most explicitly averred, that the *then ancient* tradition taught this, and for good reason, I am unable to conceive how he could have averred it.

Bleek, after citing the passage from Origen on pp. 70, 71 above, remarks, p. 107, that "Origen felt himself compelled, in his critical conscience, to deny Paul's proper authorship of the epistle, and to content himself *with ascribing only the thoughts of the same to this apostle*; while the development of these thoughts is attributed to one of his disciples and companions." He is candid enough however to admit, that "Origen does not explicitly say, whether, in his view, this development was made by the direction of Paul himself, or without it; and consequently he does not say, whether we are to regard the *apostle* as speaking in the epistle, or only him who wrote it down," p. 107.

In regard to these criticisms, I would inquire, in the first place, What is it which makes the *real authorship* of any epistle? Is it the thoughts themselves, or the livery in which they are clad? I have always been accustomed to suppose, that the *person itself* of a man makes a man; and this, whether it is decked in one kind of costume or another. Says Origen, τὰ νοήματα [τῆς ἐπιστολῆς] τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστὶν ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά; see pp. 70, 71 above. Which, now, are the real matters of importance in an epistle? The thoughts (νοήματα), or the diction and synthesis, φράσις καὶ σύνθεσις? This may be settled in favour of prof. Bleek's sentiment, when it shall be decided that the bark of a tree is more substantial than the wood, or when the shell is proved to be more important than the nut.

Paul the author of the *sentiments* in a letter, and yet not substantially the author of the letter; and Origen, in his critical conscience, bound to deny that Paul was the author! It may be so; yet it must be first shown that the *ideas* (νοήματα) of a letter, are not the letter, but that it consists in something else.

It is true, indeed, that there is a certain kind of authorship which may be predicated of him who regulates the form of diction, and the order of composi-

tion or synthesis. But is not this the authorship which belonged, for example, to the private secretary of the late emperor of France; and which belongs to all other secretaries, under men of like qualifications? Who can mistake the real *authorship* in all the communications of Bonaparte? His were the *νοήματα*; the *φράσεις καὶ σύνθεσις* belonged to his secretaries.

Of what possible importance can it be, then, as to the question respecting the real authorship and authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, whether Paul himself wrote it down, or not? While the *νοήματα* are his, that settles all the questions which can be of any great consequence. And so much, Bleek, admits fully, Origen ascribes to him.

As to the other point, viz. that 'Origen does not say whether he who wrote the epistle did it by his direction and authority or not;' it is true that the passage of Origen in question (*supra* pp. 70, 71), does not say this in so many words. But does not the assertion, that *τὰ νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἰστί*, imply this? And does not *ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά* and *τὰ εἰρημύνα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου* imply this? And if they do not, still the numerous, direct, and unequivocal testimonies just cited above, (to which more might easily be added if it were necessary), show that Origen not only believed Paul to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, but that he every where appeals to it as fully sanctioned by his authority.

6. Let us ask, how far back testimony must have gone, in order to be *ancient* in Origen's time? Nothing can be weaker than the assertion, that Origen refers, in his *ἀρχαίων ἀνδρες*, to Clement and Pantænus; both of whom were his contemporaries, and lived until he was about thirty years of age. Pantænus died about 211, as Jerome affirms; Clement, about A. D. 217 or 220; and Origen was born A. D. 184 or 185. Now as Origen lived but little more than a century from the apostolic age, nothing can be plainer, than that the *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀνδρες* must mean, either those who were conversant with the apostles, or at least the generation succeeding them. This not only confirms what I have already endeavoured to prove, from Clement of Rome, from the testimony of the Italic and Syriac versions, and from Pantænus and Clement, viz. that the epistle to the Hebrews was canonical in the primitive age of the church; but it shows, beyond reasonable doubt, that Pantænus and Clement believed Paul to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, in common with the churches of their times, on the ground of ecclesiastical tradition, and not from their own conceit, or their own prejudices in favour of Alexandrine notions.

7. It appears that Origen was strongly impressed with the conviction, that the style of the epistle to the Hebrews was different from the usual one of Paul. Yet so firm was his conviction that the epistle for substance did originate from Paul, that he has not only often ascribed it directly to him *obiter*, but given us at large his views, viz. that he considered Paul as the author of the *thoughts* or *ideas*. At the same time he endeavours to account for it, without prejudice to this opinion or to church tradition, that the costume of the epistle is not Pauline, by supposing a disciple of Paul to have recorded the conceptions of his master in his own language. That Origen should have adhered to what he declares to be tradition of the *ancients* respecting the author of this epistle, under such circumstances, and beset with such doubts, exhibits in a most striking manner the strength of his convictions, and the weight of tradition in its favour.

8. The allegation made by Eichhorn and Bertholdt, that Origen conceded the epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul's from forbearance to the prejudices of the church at Alexandria, and out of love to the allegory which is in it, the

credit of which he would wish to defend, has no real support. In regard to his prejudices in favour of the church at Alexandria, we cannot suppose them to have been very strong; for he was banished from this place, in the midst of his public labours, when he was about forty-eight years of age, and he spent the last twenty-two years of his life principally at Cesarea and in its neighbourhood, never returning again to Alexandria. Yet in works published long after he resided at Cesarea, he ascribes to Paul the epistle to the Hebrews. And in regard to the *allegory* of this epistle, if this were the principal reason for receiving it into the canon, then why did he not also receive the epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and many other pieces of a similar nature, in which the ancient church abounded? We may well be permitted to ask, indeed, why should we ascribe any other motive to Origen for receiving this epistle, than what he declares to have been a sufficient and commendable one in the churches, viz. that *the ancients*, NOT WITHOUT REASON, *had handed it down as Paul's*?

Bleek (Review, p. 13) avers, that Origen does quote the epistle of Barnabas, and also the Shepherd of Hermas, as canonical books; and that Clement of Alexandria also does the same. But is it not certain, that although apocryphal books are quoted by both these writers in a way similar to that in which they sometimes quote the books of Scripture, still, in other places, they show that they only quote them as being credible, serious, and edifying books? That a distinction, after all, was made between books *apostolical* and books which were not so; and especially that this was made by Origen, who can doubt or deny? The state of the canon itself, in the days of Origen, shows clearly enough what the views of the churches at large were, in relation to this subject.

9. Bleek also alleges (Comm. I. p. 107), that 'from the passage on pp. 70, 71, above, it appears that Origen knew of few churches at that time, who acknowledged the Pauline origin of our epistle; otherwise he could not have said, *εἰ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς τοῦ Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκίμειται καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ*. This, says he, looks like an *apology* for such as held the epistle to be Paul's; and that such an opinion was only an uncommon exception to the general usage.'

Yet he feels constrained to admit, that what Origen says (*εἰ τις ἐκκλησία κ. τ. λ.*), may be *hypothetical*. Truly it may; and considering the manner in which Origen has every where expressed himself, in regard to the epistle to the Hebrews, it *must* be hypothetical. Did Origen need to apologize for himself and others, who believed that *οὐκ εἰμὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν [ἐπιστολὴν] παραδιδάσκοντες*? I trow not. He means to say merely and simply, that 'any and every church, which believes the epistle to be Paul's, deserves commendation for it, for the belief rests on good grounds, as the tradition of the ancients maintains.' How very diverse this sentiment is, from that which Bleek has deduced from the passage, must be sufficiently plain. And for the correctness of the deduction which I have made, I appeal most cheerfully to the judgment of every competent and unbiassed reader.

In regard to the *ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* of Origen, Bleek (I. p. 108) states, 1. That the expression is too *general* to allow of any great weight being attached to it. Then, 2. That Origen might have used the expression, if he meant to refer merely to Pantænus and Clement of Alexandria. And 3. That we must suppose, either that Origen did not consider *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* as indicating men so ancient as that certain dependence could be placed on their testimony; or, if they were really ancient, still he considered them as testifying merely that the

epistle was in *some sense* Paul's; otherwise he never could have said, *τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς αἶδε.*

On these allegations I remark, 1. The assertion that the expression *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* is too *general* to carry any weight with it, does not seem very consistent with its meaning only Pantænus and Clement; which certainly is *particular* enough, if that will give weight. In regard to the phrase in question applying to these fathers, I must refer the reader to No. 6 above.

2. The *general* phrase is the thing of all others which evidently gives it most weight. For when is traditionary evidence strongest; when that tradition is *general*, or when it is merely partial and local? General tradition is that very thing of all, with which we ought to be best satisfied.

3. If Origen was not satisfied with the testimony of the *ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες*, why then does he commend the churches which give credit to it, for believing it? Why does he say that the tradition of the ancients is *οὐκ εἰκῇ*? Could he have more directly affirmed the reverse of Bleek's proposition?

4. As to the supposition, that Origen, in case he really meant *ancients* by *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες*, designed nothing more than to affirm, that they testified to Paul's authorship in *some sense or other*; there is no room for dispute here. Origen has, in the most express manner, in the context immediately preceding, told us in what sense he believed Paul to be the author. "The *νοήματα* are his; the *φράσεις καὶ σύνθesis* come from one of his disciples writing down and commenting on the *ειρημένα* of his master." There is no room, then, for disputing here what kind of authorship Origen means to aver. Nor do the scores of references, every where made in his writings to our epistle as belonging to Paul, and *authoritative* in consequence of this, leave any room to doubt in what sense Origen attributed authorship to Paul, in respect to the epistle in question.

The whole turns on the single point, therefore, whether the man to whom belong the *νοήματα* of an epistle, is really the author? And this will be decided against the views which I have defended, when it is decided, that the author of the *ideas* or *thoughts* in a piece of writing, is not the author of that writing.

The opinion of the church at Alexandria appears to have been uniformly the same after the age of Origen. I shall very briefly notice it here, as testimony later than his, from this quarter, can amount but to little more than proof, that the opinions of himself and his predecessors continued to be held without variation. Besides, it is a matter of general accord, that no doubts existed in the church here, after the time of Origen, in regard to the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who flourished about A. D. 247, attributed the epistle to Paul; and he quotes as his, apud Euseb. Hist. Ecc. VI. 41. So did Hierax, probably a teacher in the celebrated Christian school at Alexandria, about 282. It was received as Paul's by Peter, about 300, who was bishop of Alexandria, and died as a martyr under Diocletian, Routh. Reliq. III. p. 333. About the same time, Hierax or Hierakas, at Leontopolis in Egypt, appeals to the epistle as Paul's, Epiphan. Hæres. LXVII. No. 2.

It was received as Paul's by Alexander, bishop in the same city, about 313, Theod. H. Ecc. I. 3; by Antonius, a contemporary of Alexander, and special patron of the order of monks in Egypt, Galland. Biblioth. Pat. IV. 665; by the celebrated Athanasius, bishop of the same place, about 326, Opp. I. 767;

where this father recites the whole catalogue of canonical books, both of the Old and New Testament, and assigns *fourteen* epistles to Paul, arranging the epistle to the Hebrews before those to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. Bleek acknowledges, that this father never once intimates a doubt about the Pauline origin of our epistle, nor that he had ever heard any doubt concerning it suggested by others, either in Egypt, or from any other quarter. How could this be, if doubts about this subject prevailed in the churches as extensively as Bleek has persuaded himself that they did?

To the distinguished persons in Egypt may be added, of those who fully believed Paul to be the author of our epistle, Oriesis, about 350, Galland. Bib. Pat. V. 40; Marcus Diadochus, probably a bishop in the last half of the fourth century, *ibid.* V. 242; Didymus, the learned teacher of Jerome and Rufin, and master of the catechetical school at Alexandria, about 370, Galland. Bib. Pat. VI. 313; Marcarius, a contemporary of Didymus, and surnamed *the elder* or *the great*, Galland. Bib. Pat. VII. 178; Marcus, surnamed Eremita, Galland. VIII. 3 seq., who contends against certain views of the priesthood of Melchizedek, for the support of which an appeal was made to the epistle to the Hebrews, vii. 1 seq., and yet Marcus does not once call in question the authority of the epistle, or intimate that there were any doubts concerning it; Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, 385—412, Galland. Bib. VII. 603 seq.; Cyril the successor of Theophilus, 412—444, a distinguished man, Opp. I. pp. 61, 63, et passim, who, in his controversy with Nestorius respecting the separation of the human and divine natures of Christ, often appealed to the epistle to the Hebrews, and never once intimates that there were any doubts about the genuineness or authenticity of the epistle; Isidorus Pelusiota, Opp. I. ep. 7, 94, 444, et al. in loc.

I cannot sum up the whole of the Alexandrine testimony better than in the words of Bleek, to whom I acknowledge my indebtedness for several valuable additions, which I have here made, to my original work on the testimony of the Alexandrine or Egyptian church.

“We find it confirmed, then, on all sides, that since the time of Origen, in the Alexandrine and Egyptian churches, the belief that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews was universal, and met with no gainsayers. Constantly do we find this epistle made use of by writers, as being of Pauline origin; and this without the expression of the least doubt on the part of any, or without manifesting any fears that doubts of this nature could be suggested by others,” I. p. 142.

Most fully do I accord with this; and I thank prof. Bleek for the candour which it exhibits. But he will permit me now to ask, How is it possible to account for all this, on the supposition, which he makes, that Origen was filled with doubts and difficulties about the genuineness of the epistle, and that he knew of but few churches which admitted its Pauline origin? Can it be said, that Origen had no sway as a critic, in the Alexandrine churches? I trust no one acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity will make such an assertion. The facts then which Bleek himself acknowledges, are absolutely unaccountable ones, on the supposition that he has given a correct view of the testimony of Pantænus, Clement, and Origen. Nothing can be more certain, than that the subsequent *canonical creed* of the Egyptian churches originated from the views of these three distinguished men.

Here, then, prof. Bleek and myself are at issue on a point of fact, as well as of exegesis; and I can only make the appeal to every unprejudiced reader, to determine for himself.

One thing more I must say, before I quit the present topic. In the ancient Christian churches, no school of theology flourished so early, none was ever so celebrated as that of Alexandria. None ever had such distinguished and liberal minded and learned teachers. Here criticism first assumed a form, and ventured on claiming its rights. How can Bleek and others account, then, for such views as prevailed here, in respect to the origin of the epistle to the Hebrews? It is a difficult problem indeed; above all it is so, when we consider the proximity of Egypt to Palestine, and the constant intercourse between the two countries. How came Pantænus and Clement, who had travelled over most of the Christian world, to adopt such views as they did respecting our epistle?

To all these questions, it does seem to me, only one probable answer can be given; and this is, that *GENERAL TRADITION among the churches every where, at this time, or nearly every where, assigned the authorship of the epistle to Paul.*

I do not wonder at the zeal of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Ziegler, Bleek, and others, who have decided against the Pauline origin of our epistle from its style, or by their own feelings when reading it, to obscure and put in the background the testimony of the early Alexandrine fathers. But to do this, is impossible. A man must set aside all the ordinary principles of weighing testimony who does it. He must refuse to the affirmative testimony the same justice which he claims, in order to give weight to the negative testimony. He must affirm, as Bleek and others have done, that the testimony of Clement and Origen is not competent to decide the Pauline origin of our epistle, because they have not told us, whether their views were the result of their own reasonings, or derived from tradition; which in the case of Origen, is manifestly incorrect. But suppose, now, we put the question to Bleek, and to others of the like opinion, Do the *negative* witnesses whom you adduce, tell us whence they derive their opinion? The answer to this question is plain enough, to any one conversant with the subject; and this answer, as a general one, is *No*. How, then, do these critics bring themselves to attribute any weight to these negative witnesses? Why plainly because they testify in favour of a cause, respecting which they have before determined, on *à priori* grounds, or others which are not more valid, that the negative is the right side of the question, and when this is once determined, testimony to the contrary must be disposed of in the best way that ingenuity can devise.

If those who are involved in the censure implied by these remarks, retort upon me the same accusation, I cheerfully appeal to the candour of that portion, a large one, of the public who are not parties in this dispute, whether I have not distributed a consistent measure, and the like measure, of justice, to all the witnesses whom I have examined. Before this tribunal matters of such a nature must be tried; and I will cheerfully submit to the final decision.

XV. TESTIMONY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES.

FROM Egypt let us now repair to the eastern region, and see what the tradition of the churches was in that quarter.

We have already seen that Justin Martyr, a native of Samaria, quotes from our epistle about 140. After Justin, there were no considerable writers in this part of the church, whose works are still extant, until the time of Euse-

bis. Methodius, however, bishop first of Olympus in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, seems to ascribe this epistle to Paul, about 292, Lard. VII. 261. His words, after quoting Rom. vii. 14, are these: [The apostle] τὰς εἰκόνας ἐμπεριέχων τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, with a seemingly evident reference to Heb. x. 1; although Bleek says, (p. 144,) that they are *offenbar* (*evidently*) nothing more than the words of Methodius himself. How this is evidently the case, when the resemblance to Heb. x. 1, (σκιάν . . . τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν) is so great, I am not able to perceive. Another passage still more evident, may be seen in Lardner; *ubi supra*. The epistle was probably received as Paul's by Pamphilus, presbyter at Cesarea, about 294; as it stands in the midst of Paul's epistles, in a manuscript copied from one of Pamphilus, id. VII. 325.

The letter sent out by the Council at Antioch, in respect to Paul of Samosata, (about 264,) probably written by Malchion a presbyter of Antioch, (Hieron. Catul. 71,) contains passages which are cited from our epistle, and one of which is directly ascribed to the same apostle who wrote the epistle to the Corinthians, Euseb. H. Ecc. VII. 30. Bleek acknowledges that this shows the Epistle to the Hebrews as standing in good credit at that time at Antioch, [and of course with the bishops assembled in the Council there,] so that the Pauline origin of it had nothing to fear from any gainsaying of opposers. I. p. 146. See Routh Reliq. Sac. I. 477.

We know from the fact that the epistle to the Hebrews was included in the Peshito, that in Syria it was regarded as a canonical book in the second century.

Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, also, (about 325,) repeatedly quotes the epistle to the Hebrews as the production of an apostle; *Iterum apostolus dicit*, quoting Heb. iv. 9, 11; *Sicut beatus apostolus*, quoting Heb. xi. 15, 16; see Galland. Bib. Pat. V. I. seq.

Ephrem Syrus, as all confess, abundantly ascribes this epistle to Paul; and this celebrated father was a disciple of Jacob of Nisibis.

After him, there is no doubt on the part of any, so far as I know, that all the different parties in the Syrian churches acknowledged the canonical authority and apostolical origin of the epistle to the Hebrews.

But the most important testimony from the Eastern church, (next after that of Origen, who lived at a period so much earlier, and spent in Palestine the most important part of his life, viz. the last twenty years of it,) remains to be recited. I refer to the testimony of Eusebius of Cesarea, the well known historian of the church, who has taken so much pains to collect evidence from all quarters respecting the canon of Scripture. I shall produce his testimony in a collected view, in order to facilitate the comparison of it; and then subjoin a few remarks.

Lib. III. c. 3. "Fourteen epistles are *clearly* and *certainly* Paul's; although it is proper to be known, that some have rejected that which is written to the Hebrews, alleging, with the church at Rome, that it is spoken against as not belonging to Paul."* A little after this, in the same book, c. 25, he reckons among the books of Scripture, which he calls ὁμολογούμενοι, (i. e. *not contradicted* or *gainsayed*, viz. by such authority as to create any doubts, or to any considerable extent in the church,) the *epistles* of Paul; in which, beyond all question, he includes the epistle to the Hebrews; for he afterwards particularizes the epistle of James, of Jude, 2 Pet., and 2d and 3d John, as those

* Τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ περὶ πολλὰ καὶ σαφῶς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες εἰσι γὰρ μὴν τίτις ἠθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς καὶ Παύλου εἶπαι αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φέρονται, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν. Hist. Ecc. III. 3.

books which are ἀντιλεγόμενοι, i. e. *called in question, contradicted*.* Yet in VI. 13, he seems to intimate, that, in some sense at least, this epistle was among the ἀντιλεγόμενοι, as he mentions it along with Wisdom, Sirach, the epistle of Barnabas, of Clement, and of Jude. In the same book, c. 38, after saying that Clement of Rome had made many extracts from the epistle to the Hebrews, he adds: "Wherefore, not without reason this epistle is reckoned among the writings of Paul. For when Paul had written to the Hebrews, in their vernacular language, some say that Luke made a translation of it, and some that this Clement did, of whom we have been speaking."† In Lib. VI. c. 20, he mentions, that "Caius in a dispute against Proclus, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, blames the temerity and audacity of his opponents in composing new writings, and mentions only thirteen epistles of Paul, not numbering that which is inscribed to the Hebrews. Moreover, even to the present time, this epistle is reckoned by some of the Romans, as not belonging to Paul."‡

In Eusebius we meet with the first ecclesiastical writer, who has designedly made out a full and regular catalogue of the canon of the New Testament; and who made extensive investigation, in regard to the opinions of the church respecting this subject. From a view of his testimony, collected and compared together, it is clear:

1. That there were, in the East, some who doubted whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; and that they appealed, in support of this opinion, to the church at Rome. It is clear too, that in the time of Zephyrinus (about 212), there were persons in the western church, and probably at Rome, who denied that this epistle was written by Paul; for Caius reckons only thirteen epistles of Paul, probably omitting that to the Hebrews. And that this denial continued down to the time of Eusebius, in the church at Rome, (his words are, *παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισιν, by some of the Romans,*) is clearly signified by this historian.

2. His assertion of the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, is as unequivocal and strong as language can well make it. "Fourteen epistles," [of course the epistle to the Hebrews is included, there being but thirteen without it,] "*are CLEARLY and CERTAINLY Paul's, πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς.*" And again, he reckons this epistle among the books which are ὁμολογούμενοι, i. e. *generally recognized, admitted*. These declarations Eusebius makes, with a full view of the objections urged against this epistle by some. It is clear, then, that he did not consider those objections as respectable enough, or sufficiently extensive, or well grounded, to raise any serious doubt in his own mind about this matter, or to weigh at all against the current and general opinion of the church on this subject. Consequently, nothing can be more directly to the purpose than this testimony, for demonstrating the strength

* Μὲτὰ δὲ ταύτην [sc. τὴν τῶν Πράξεων γραφὴν] τῆς Παύλου καταλειπτίαν ἐπιστολὰς αἱ εἰς κ. τ. λ. . . . ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. Τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενων . . . ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου . . . καὶ Ἰούδα, ἣτι Πέτρου δυνίερα ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ ἡ δομαζομένη δυνίερα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου. Hist. Ecc. III. 25.

† Ἐν ᾧ [sc. ἐπιστολῇ Κλήμεντος] τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθῶς, ἧδε δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξὶ βη- τοῖς τισιν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφίστατα περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγράμματος. "Ὅθεν εὐλόγως ἰδεῖν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὑποκαταλιχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Ἑβραίους γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρὸς γλώττης ἐγγράφως ἀμιλημένους τοῦ Παύλου, αἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λευκᾶν, αἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξη- νῶσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφὴν. Lib. III. 33.

‡ Ἦλθε δὲ ὡς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαίου λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πατὴρ Ζεφυρίνου, πρὸς Πρέβιον τῆς πατὴρ Φρύγας αἰρέσεως ὑπερμακρυῶντα πεποιημένους· ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι' ἰσχυρίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προσιτάμειν καὶ τέλμας ἐπιστομίζον, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δικατηρίων μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς. Ἐπὶ καὶ ὡς δυνίερα, παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισιν, οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν. Lib. VI. 20.

and generality of the opinion in the church, at the time of Eusebius, that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews. For as Eusebius has been careful, even when asserting that the epistle is clearly and certainly Paul's, to note that there are some who dissent from this opinion, and also to collect, in various instances, accounts of disagreement in respect to it, it may be regarded as quite certain, that he viewed opposition to it as neither well founded, nor extensive enough to raise any serious doubts about the correctness of the common opinion of the churches.

3. It is pretty evident that Eusebius had heard of the objections drawn from the style of the epistle, which Clement of Alexandria and Origen had before endeavoured to answer. Eusebius thinks that Paul wrote it in Hebrew, and says that some attributed the translation of it to Luke, and some to Clement; while his own opinion is, that the translation is to be ascribed to the latter.

It will be recollected, now, that Origen, residing at the same place, Cesarea, had, nearly a century before, mentioned the very same report or tradition. The passage in Eusebius shows, therefore, the uniformity of the tradition; it serves also to show, that when Origen adverts to it, he means to say, as I have above supposed him to say, that God only knows who *penned* or *wrote down* the epistle; not *who was the author of the sentiments*, for these he directly attributes to Paul; just as Eusebius attributes the authorship to Paul, and the diction to Clement.

4. One thing more is evident from the testimony of Eusebius. While he records, with fidelity, the fact that there were some in that quarter of the church who doubted the Pauline origin of this epistle, he tells us, at the same time, that *those who did deny it, alleged the example of the church at Rome, in order to justify themselves in so doing*. The necessary implication of course is, that they could not support themselves by any creditable example in the oriental churches. Would they have made an appeal for support, to a church abroad at so great a distance, if they could have found it at home and in their own quarter? Most surely not; for at that period, the church of Rome was inferior in credit to a number of other churches in the East. The very nature of this appeal shows, that respectable support for the denial of the Pauline origin of our epistle, could not be found in the East.

Eichhorn has, indeed, cited the above testimony of Eusebius; but he has passed it without comment, excepting the single remark, that 'the reason of Eusebius for supposing Paul to have written the epistle to the Hebrews, was, that it was very old, and was cited so far back as the time of Clement of Rome;' a reason which, if it were well founded, would of course make Paul the author of all very old ecclesiastical writings, which had been often cited and were anonymous.

Bertholdt has exhibited more sensibility to the testimony of Eusebius. He confesses that Eusebius founds his judgment respecting the books of the New Testament, on the tradition of the oriental church. The repeated asseverations of Eusebius as to this point, did not permit him to conclude otherwise; although Eichhorn has left out of sight every circumstance of this nature. But then, says Bertholdt, "Did this tradition go back to the apostolic age? Undoubtedly not," he answers; "it went back only to Pantænus and Clement of Alexandria, who grounded it only upon supposition, or on their own personal views and feelings." And then he goes on to assert, that 'the epistle to the Hebrews was first favourably received at Alexandria, because it was so congenial to the allegorizing spirit of that place; thence the credit

of it diffused itself to Antioch in Syria ; and what Antioch and Alexandria believed concerning it, would in process of time be believed by all the other churches in Egypt, and in the East. Thus it came about, that in Eusebius' time there was such a general consent among the churches of his neighbourhood, in the belief that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.'

It is not *necessary* to answer this, except by saying, that from beginning to end it is a series of *suppositions* wholly unsupported by a single historical fact, and wholly incapable of being supported by any known facts. The examination through which we have already passed, has, I trust, afforded sufficient evidence that the suppositions in question are *contrary* to facts, and destitute therefore of any actual support as well as of any tolerable degree of probability. What connexion had Antioch with Alexandria? And how should a single Egyptian church and school, planted and instituted late in the apostolic age, if not after it, influence all the churches of the East planted by Paul and the other apostles, and nurtured by their personal hearers and disciples, so as to make them receive a supposititious book into their canon? And why should not a multitude of other allegorical books, like the Shepherd of Hermas, written in or near the apostolic age, have been advanced to a place in the canon by the Alexandrine church, and thence have diffused their credit among all the eastern churches? But it is unnecessary to proceed with such questions. If principles of argument and methods of weighing testimony respecting ancient writings may be adopted, like those which Eichhorn and Bertholdt have adopted here in order to maintain the theory which they had espoused, any ancient writing whatever may be proved to be either spurious or genuine, as shall best suit the notion of any individual. He has only to make out a series of bold and confident *suppositions*, and his work is done.

5. In regard to the passage quoted above, p. 99, from VI. 18, in which Eusebius seems to rank the epistle to the Hebrews among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*; it would seem, on the whole, that he must here have reference merely to the fact, that there were *some* persons who contradicted the epistle; and the other quotations here exhibited, show that he was fully aware of this. His own opinion is too clearly and positively given, to render it feasible to call it in question. Nor is it probable that he has contradicted himself. The testimonies which will be added in the sequel, will render this sufficiently plain.

Thus much for the *direct* and special testimony of Eusebius; which, considering the nature of his researches and his fidelity in communicating the results of them in respect to the Scriptural books, is of greater weight than that of any other writer, in regard to establishing the point that respects the *canonical* credit of the epistle to the Hebrews. We shall now see, that these direct and positive declarations are indicative of a conviction, which all his works tend to confirm that exhibit any quotations from the epistle to the Hebrews.

In his Commentary on the Psalms (in Montfaucon. Nova. Collect. Tom. I.), on Ps. II. p. 15, he says, *περὶ αὐτοῦ φησὶ ὁ Παῦλος*, quoting Heb. xii. 22, and Gal. iv. 26. In the like manner he refers to these two passages associated, and as the language of Paul, on pp. 191, 201, 313, 360, 388, 431, 481, 539. In the same way both these passages are cited by him, in Essaiam xlix. 11, De Eccles. Theol. II. 20. De martyr. Palæst. c. 11. The passage in Heb. xii. 22 is also cited in pp. 49, 50, 437, 451, 645, and in Esa. xxv. 6, xl. 9. In p. 57, Heb. xi. 1, and 1 Cor. xiii. 13 are cited as words of the same apostle. In p. 101, Heb. iii. 18 are cited as the apostle's words, so p. 165, Heb. viii. 1, 2; p. 248, Heb. xi. 38; p. 475, Heb. vi. 18; p. 615, Heb. ii. 14. Vol.

II. (edit. Montfaucon), p. 437, Heb. xi. 37; De Eccles. Theol. I. 19 § 10, Heb. xi. 24; *ibid.* § 12, Heb. iv. 14. In his *Præparat. Evangel.* (edit. Paris, 1628), p. 171, Heb. vii. 7, vi. 17, 18, vii. 20—25. *Ibid.* p. 592, Heb. viii. 5 is cited as ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος. In his *Hist. Ecc.* II. 17, he says, ὁποίας ἢ τε πρὸς Ἑβραίους, καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους τοῦ Παύλου περιέχουσιν ἐπιστολαί i. e. *such as the epistle to the Hebrews, and several other of the epistles of Paul contain.*

These are evidence sufficient, to show that Eusebius was not at one time of one opinion, and at another time of another; but that his conviction relative to the subject in question, was steadfast and uniform through life. And this will also serve to show, that when he seems to include our epistle among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, as has been mentioned above, he could not do this because he was doubtful in his own mind; or because there was any good reason on the part of others to doubt, for then how could he say, "Fourteen epistles are clearly and certainly Paul's?" but simply because of the fact which he well knew, that there were some who did oppose the canonical credit, or at least the apostolical origin, of our epistle.

I DEEM it unnecessary to detail the testimony of writers in the oriental churches, subsequent to the time of Eusebius. I shall merely advert to them, because it is not denied by any respectable critics, that, subsequent to this period, the epistle to the Hebrews has ever been regarded in the East as Paul's. Even in the midst of all the Arian controversies which were agitated in Egypt and in the East, neither party, as such, appears to have called in question the authority and apostolical origin of the epistle to the Hebrews. It was only in later times, and after the catholic church began so often to appeal to Heb. i. for proof to establish the divine nature of Christ, that some of the Arian party began to call in question the authority of the epistle.

Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, about A. D. 300; as did the author of the Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to Athanasius, and written about 320; Adamantius, about 330; Cyril of Jerusalem, about 348; the council of Laodicea, about 363, in their 60th Canon, directly ascribe *fourteen* epistles to Paul; Epiphanius, about 368; Basil, about 370; Gregory Nazianzen, about 370; Amphilochus of Iconium, a contemporary of G. Nazianzen; Gregory of Nyssa, about 371; Titus, bishop of Bostra, about 371; Diodore of Tarsus, about 378; Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, about 392; and Chrysostom, about 398. The apostolical canons (Can. 85) ascribe *fourteen* epistles to Paul; and they were probably reduced to their present shape during the latter half of the fourth century.

In addition to these *personal* testimonies, if I may thus characterize them, it should be stated, that the arrangement itself of the epistle to the Hebrews, in many ancient Codices and authors, shows that it was regarded as one of Paul's epistles. In the catalogues of the sacred books by Athanasius, in the Synopsis ascribed to him, in the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, in Theodoret's Commentary, in Euthalius, Zacagni. p. 548, in MSS. Cod. Alex., Vatican., Ephremi, Coislin., in Codd. minusc. 16, 17, 22, 46, 47, 57, 71, 73, and some others, the epistle to the Hebrews stands next after 2d Thessalonians, i. e. in the *midst* of Paul's epistles. The same arrangement is also found in some of the Coptic (Memphitic) MSS.

Bleek (I. p. 171, seq.) supposes, that if the early churches had believed the epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul's, they would of course have arranged it

among or after those to the Romans and the Corinthians, in consequence of its rank as to length and importance. That they *generally* put it at the close of all Paul's epistles, he thinks can be the result only of doubt about the author of it, or about the canonical credit due to it.

But is it not obvious, that such important conclusions, in the face of open and direct testimony too, cannot be drawn from facts of such a nature? That our epistle was *anonymous*, was enough to occasion its being arranged *after* those to which the name of the author was affixed. Some, in process of time, arranged it after those acknowledged epistles of Paul, which are directed to particular churches; as we have just seen above. But in all this, the circumstance of being *anonymous* is enough to account for the arrangement. Matters of this kind in ancient times, were the result of obvious circumstances, or of accident, or even of caprice. E. g. Isaiah is placed by the Talmud after Jeremiah and Ezekiel; but by the Masorites, in the order in which it stands in our present bibles. So the books of the Hagiography are differently arranged, in different MSS., and in different countries. Yet all this determines no critical question of importance. And equally plain is it, that the arrangement of the epistle to the Hebrews can determine neither who the author was or was not, nor even who he was supposed to be. We may go so far safely, viz. we may believe that those who put it in the *midst* of Paul's epistles, did believe that it belonged to this apostle. But that those who arranged an *anonymous* epistle, after those to which an author's name was prefixed, disclaimed his authorship in regard to the former, it would be difficult indeed to show.

Other testimonies might be named, which are mentioned in Lardner's collection of testimonies, but it is superfluous. The object for which these have been adduced, is merely to show the *unity* and *universality* of the opinion in the oriental churches, that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, subsequently to the time of Eusebius, on whose testimony I have already dwelt.

In fact, not a single writer of any respectability in the catholic church in all the East, has been produced, who rejected this epistle; an extraordinary circumstance, indeed, if the belief of its apostolic origin was not altogether a predominant one in Egypt, and throughout all the eastern world. That there were individuals in this part of the church, who doubted or denied the authenticity of it, will certainly be admitted by every unprejudiced inquirer. But that there was any thing like a respectable or widely diffused party, who denied it, can be supported by no competent evidence whatever.

XVI. TESTIMONY OF THE WESTERN CHURCHES.

In the western churches the case was certainly different. We come now to take a view of their opinion.

We have already seen, that Clement of Rome, at the close of the apostolic age, has frequently quoted this epistle, and in the same way and for the same purposes that he quotes other parts of the Scripture; and consequently we cannot entertain reasonable doubts that he regarded it as a part of the sacred records. Eusebius long ago drew the same conclusion. "Clement," says he, "in his epistle acknowledged by all, which he wrote to the Corinthians in behalf of the church at Rome, exhibits many sentiments that are contained in the epistle to the Hebrews, making use of the very words of the epistle in several sentences, by which he shows most clearly, that this writing is not recent; whence it seems probable, that it is to be reckoned among the other writings

of the apostle," Ecc. Hist. III. 38. (See the original Greek, in p. 58 above.) That it had such credit in this quarter of the church, for some time after this, is favoured by the fact, that the *old Latin version* probably comprises it; which was made either before A. D. 150, or, as almost all acknowledge, before A. D. 200.

The first *negative* evidence to be found among the western churches, respecting the question before us, is that of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in France, during the latter part of the 2d century. Neither the country from which he sprung, nor the time of his birth or death, are known with any certainty. Eichhorn has placed him at A. D. 150, evidently in order to throw his testimony as far back towards the apostolic age as possible. Lardner places him at A. D. 178, a much more probable era. He was a disciple of Polycarp, when very young; for he states himself, that when a child, he was a hearer of Polycarp, in Hither Asia, V. 20.

Photius (fl. A. D. 858) tells us in his *Bibliotheca*, that Stephen Gobar, a writer of the middle ages, says, that Irenæus and Hippolytus, declare "the epistle to the Hebrews not to be Paul's," Cod. 152, Eich. p. 519. Whence Gobar drew his conclusion, Photius does not inform us; nor does it any where appear. In all the writings of Irenæus, now extant, no such assertion is contained; but then several of his writings are lost. That Irenæus was acquainted with the epistle to the Hebrews, and that he has cited it, is directly testified by Eusebius; who says, that "he wrote a book of various disputations, in which he mentions the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book called the Wisdom of Solomon, quoting some expressions from them,"* V. 26. But Eusebius does not say whether he quotes them as Scripture or not; and as the book of Irenæus to which he adverts has perished, we have now no certain means of judging. Storr, Cramer, and some other critics, have called in question this assertion of Gobar, and have supposed that it is only a conclusion which he drew, from the fact that Irenæus had not quoted the epistle to the Hebrews in his works. But this reasoning must of course be hypothetical. We have the bare assertion of Gobar, without the grounds; and as Irenæus has made no use of the epistle to the Hebrews, in his works still extant, the probability would seem at first sight to be, that Gobar has given a correct statement. The passages produced by Lardner as possible quotations, have indeed a close affinity with some passages in the epistle to the Hebrews; but still they may have been taken from the Old Testament instead of this epistle, Lard. I. 368—370. Neither can the fact that Irenæus has quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, (which is sufficiently vouched for by Eusebius,) determine the question in respect to the nature of his testimony; for surely he may have quoted books which he did not regard as Scriptural. On the whole, in the present state of evidence, it would seem that we ought to admit it as probable, that Irenæus did not include the epistle to the Hebrews in his canon; but on what ground, is uncertain. It may indeed have been the case, that this epistle, originally addressed to Hebrews in Palestine, had not yet obtained circulation and credit among that part of the church in Asia Minor, where Irenæus lived when he was a youth. It is not improbable, too, that he went in early life, with Polycarp his teacher, to Rome; and that he remained there until he was sent to Lyons in France, where he became the successor of Pothinus in the bishopric of that city. In this way it may be accounted for, that Irenæus came to cherish doubts respecting the epistle to the Hebrews; which, we

* Καὶ βιβλίον τι [sc. ἰγρηψὶ Εἰρηναῖος] διαλέξαν διαφέρον, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ τῆς λογιώμενης σοφίας Σολομῶντος, μνημονεύει ῥητὰ τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος, κ. τ. λ. Hist. Ecc. V. 26.

shall see, began to be somewhat extensively cherished in the Roman churches, during the latter half of the second century.

At the same time one cannot but remark, that it appears quite singular, when Eusebius expressly mentions Irenæus as having quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, that he should not, on this occasion or some other, have at all adverted to the fact of his having denied the Pauline origin of this epistle, if indeed such were the fact. This is the more singular, because Eusebius has devoted a chapter of considerable length, in his work, entirely to giving an account of the manner in which Irenæus had mentioned the sacred books; and in this chapter there is not a word of Irenæus quoted, respecting the epistle to the Hebrews, *Ecc. Hist.* V. 8.

Moreover Eusebius has evidently been careful and particular, on all occasions where the epistle to the Hebrews was specially treated of, to mention objections to it; or where persons of consideration in the church were named who rejected it, to state this fact. Eusebius also must have had the writings of Irenæus in a more perfect state and much more complete, than Gobar who lived so long afterwards. And as Irenæus was a writer for whom Eusebius evidently cherished a high respect, it is really very difficult to account for it, that he should not have once adverted to the opinion which Gobar affirms was held by Irenæus. Indeed, that Gobar derived his conclusion from the fact that Irenæus has omitted to cite the epistle to the Hebrews, seems almost a necessary deduction from all these circumstances taken together.

Difficult, however, as this would seem to be, the supposition that Irenæus did not acknowledge our epistle, is somewhat strengthened by the united asseveration of Gobar and Photius himself (*Eichhorn*, p. 519), that Hippolytus, whom Photius calls a disciple of Irenæus, and who probably flourished about A.D. 220, asserts of the epistle to the Hebrews, that it is not Paul's, *Eichh.* p. 520. This Hippolytus is called, by Eusebius, a bishop of some place; but neither he nor Jerome knew its name. The probable opinion is, that it was Portus Romanus, *Lard.* III. 89, seq. The assertion in question was made, as Photius states, in a book of Hippolytus against heresies, which he compiled from a work of Irenæus. But as the work is lost, all that remains is the statement of Gobar and Photius; which seems, however, to be entitled to some credit.

In a Review of the first edition of this work, (in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*,) the writer has with great diligence, and not a little acuteness, endeavoured to show, that there are quotations in the works of Irenæus still extant, out of the epistle to the Hebrews. The instances produced by him, and also by *Lardner*, I. 368—370, certainly have a great resemblance to some expressions in our epistle. Yet the resemblance is not such as seems to be decisive; and even if the fact of quotation be admitted, a fact which, as we have seen, Eusebius directly affirms in regard to a work of Irenæus which is now lost, still, unless the quotation is evident, and also of such a nature as to show that Irenæus attributes scriptural authority to it, it would not establish the point in question. It remains an inexplicable problem, moreover, that Eusebius should no where have found passages in Irenæus, which acknowledge the Pauline origin of our epistle; at least, he tells us of no such ones: and that Irenæus, in all his writings still extant, does not once quote the epistle to the Hebrews, although he might have done it to great advantage against the Gnostics. For these reasons, I cannot persuade myself that the passages produced by the Review are sufficiently decisive to warrant a change of my opinion in regard to the testimony of Irenæus.

In accordance with this denial of the Pauline origin of our epistle, is the testimony of Eusebius in respect to Caius. Caius is called, by Photius, a presbyter of the church of Rome; which is quite probable, although Eusebius and Jerome simply state that he was a presbyter, without naming the place of his residence. He flourished, it is most probable, about A.D. 210. The statement of Eusebius is as follows:—

“ There hath come to us a dialogue of Caius, a most eloquent man, held at Rome under Zephyrinus, with Proclus a patron of the Montanist heresy; in which, reproving the rashness and audacity of his opponents in forging new writings, he makes mention of only thirteen epistles of the holy apostle, not numbering that to the Hebrews with the others; and even to the present time, some of the Romans do not reckon it to be Paul's.” Lard. III. 24. Eus. VI. 20. See the original in p. 82 above; and compare Photius Biblioth. Cod. 48.

The new writings or scriptures here mentioned, were the prophecies which the enthusiastic Montanists feigned to have delivered by inspiration, Montanus having declared himself to be the Paraclete; see Euseb. V. 14, 18. Jerome states, that Caius denied the epistle to the Hebrews to be Paul's; De Vir. Illus. voc. Caius. But Eusebius and Photius simply say, that he omitted it in his account of the canonical books; which however virtually implies, under such circumstances, what Jerome declares.

In what circumstances this dialogue was composed; whether it was first actually held, for substance, with Proclus, and afterwards written down; or whether it was only written, (like the dialogues of Plato, Cicero, and others,) in order to represent the sentiments of Proclus, and confute them; whether it was held publicly, with the approbation of Zephyrinus and his presbyters, or not, we are not informed, and have no certain means of discovering. But I think it must be regarded as probable, that Caius would not venture upon the publication of such a dialogue at Rome, without the concurrence or approbation of the church there, either implied or expressed.

Other evidence also is adduced, that doubts whether the epistle to the Hebrews was Paul's had already begun at Rome, and in the west, toward the close of the second century. Muratorius, (Antiqq. Ital. medii Ævi, Tom. III. p. 854), has published a fragment of an anonymous author, who probably lived near the close of the second century, that contains a catalogue of books which he deemed canonical, and which lacks the epistle to the Hebrews, those of James, Peter, and 3d John; while it contains some apocryphal books. Speaking of Paul's epistles, this anonymous writer says, “Fertur [epistola] etiam ad Laodicenses. Alia apud Alexandrinos Pauli nomine ficta ad heresin Marcionis, et alia plura; quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest, fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit.” That is, “An epistle is in circulation addressed to the Laodiceans. Another is current with the Alexandrians, forged in the name of Paul, for the sake of promoting the heresy of Marcion, and many other things; which the catholic church cannot receive, for it is not proper to mingle gall with honey.”

Critics have supposed, that by the *alia apud Alexandrinos*, this writer means the epistle to the Hebrews, which was received by the Greeks or Alexandrians. But perhaps it may be doubtful whether our epistle to the Hebrews is meant, as this anonymous writer admits several books not canonical into his catalogue, and excludes several others which are so. Besides, he mentions another fictitious epistle, viz., that to the Laodiceans. Why may not this epistle among the Alexandrians, forged in the name of Paul, in favour

of the Marcion heresy, be wholly different from our epistle to the Hebrews, which has not, and never had, the name of Paul affixed to it? And then how could this writer say, *forged in favour of the Marcionite heresy?* a heresy which denied the divine origin of the Jewish religion, and rejected the God of the Old Testament; two fundamental articles on which our epistle to the Hebrews is built. Nothing could be more directly opposed to Marcion than this epistle. The probability therefore is, that our epistle to the Hebrews is *not* designated by the anonymous writer in question. But if it really be the fact that he did mean to designate it, his consummate ignorance of the nature of its contents, forbids us to attach any weight of importance to his testimony.

It may be added, that Zimmermann, *Dissert. de Fragmento a Muratorio repertum*, etc., 1805, and De Wette, *Einleit. ins N. Test.* § 21, Anmerk. c, have called in question the *antiquity* of this Fragment, and have assigned it to the *fourth* century.

But more definite and satisfactory evidence, that about the close of the second century there were doubts among the western churches whether our epistle was of apostolic origin, may be adduced from the works of Tertullian. This father, who flourished about A. D. 200, says in his book *De Pudicitia*, c. 10, "There is an epistle of Barnabas inscribed to the Hebrews; therefore by a man of such authority, that Paul placed him next to himself in respect to abstinence; 'Am I and Barnabas only without power to do this?' And certainly this epistle of Barnabas is more received among the churches, than the apocryphal *Pastor* of adulterers," [he means the *Shepherd of Hermas*]. "Warning therefore the disciples, that leaving the first principles," etc. [quoting Heb. vi. 1, etc.].*

That Tertullian also alludes to the epistle to the Hebrews, in other passages, seems to me quite probable, from the instances of this nature produced by Lardner, II. 608—612. But it no where appears, what credit he attached to this epistle. It is plain from the passage quoted, that he ascribed it to Barnabas; and not improbable, that the churches in his neighbourhood, and perhaps at Rome, did the same at this period. It is also plain, that he does not ascribe *full* canonical credit to it, because he does not consider it as the work of an apostle; otherwise he would have vehemently urged its authority upon his opponents, as the passage which he quotes seems extremely apposite to his purpose, which was to prove that lapsed Christians could not again be received into the bosom of the church. That there was a division of opinion among the churches of his day, at least in the region where he lived, seems to be plainly indicated, by his saying that this epistle was more correct, and of more authority in the churches, than the *Shepherd of Hermas*; which latter, however, we know to have been early admitted as part of the sacred records, by a number of churches in the West.

On the whole, it seems to be plain that Tertullian did not admit our epistle to be Paul's; and it also seems probable, that there were churches in that region of Africa in which he lived, who doubted or denied that it was his.

Bleek, who cites the testimony of Tertullian says at the commencement of it (p. 111), "If we look to the church in Proconsular Africa, we meet with *fine testimonies* [schöne zeugnisse] for the views of this church," etc.; meaning

* Volo, tamen, ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superinducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore; 'Aut ego solus et Barnabas, non habemus hoc operandi potestatem?' Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ, illo apocrypho pastore mœchorum. Monens itaque discipulos, 'Omissis omnibus inutilis,' etc. *De Pudicitia*, c. 20.

that the testimony here is very decisive *against* the Pauline origin of our epistle. But let any one try these *fine testimonies* before a critical tribunal like that to which Bleek has summoned Pantæus, Clement, and Origen, and employ the same principles which he has employed in deciding their claims, and these *schöne Zeugnisse* would vanish into utter insignificance. How difficult it is, when one has a point which he is fully resolved to make out, not to betray partiality in judging of the weight of testimony! Where is there any thing in all the testimony of the Western churches which compares, in point of explicitness and directness, with that of the Alexandrine fathers in question?

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, comes next as a witness for the negative of our question. He flourished about A. D. 248, i. e. the next generation after Tertullian, who died about A. D. 220. From Cyprian, however, no direct testimony can be adduced. It is agreed that he nowhere quotes the epistle to the Hebrews in his works; which we cannot well account for, if he admitted its authority. There is but one passage hitherto produced from him, which seems to have a bearing on our question. It is as follows; "The apostle Paul, who was mindful of this authorized and well known number, [he is speaking of the number *seven*,] writes to seven churches."* This would of course exclude the epistle to the Hebrews, as there are seven churches addressed besides this. But still, I cannot consider this testimony so decisive as Lardner, Eichhorn, and Bleek do, in respect to Cyprian's canon. For as the epistle to the Hebrews has no address, Cyprian, it is easy to suppose, may have had reference only to such of Paul's epistles as have an address to churches prefixed, which are seven in number. I cannot, therefore, regard this passage as amounting to much.

I am the more confirmed in this opinion, (notwithstanding the strong assertions of Bleek, that the mention of *seven* churches shows decisively that Cyprian rejected our epistle), because I find that the epistles of Paul are mentioned in the same way by councils and by fathers, who certainly admitted the epistle to the Hebrews to be his. For example; the council at Hippo, A. D. 393, and the council at Carthage, A. D. 397, (at both of which Augustine was present, and acted a conspicuous part,) in the catalogue of canonical books which they set forth in their Canons, make mention of Paul's epistles in the following manner, viz. *Pauli apostoli epistolæ TREDECIM; ejusdem ad Hebræos, una*; Mansi Collect. Concil. III. 924, 821. Yet another council at Carthage, in A. D. 419, who accorded with the two councils already mentioned, reckon *fourteen* epistles of Paul. In like manner Isidorus Hispalensis, (about 500,) mentions the epistles of Paul. His words are remarkable, and deserve to be cited here as throwing light on the subject in question. "Paulus apostolus *quatuordecim* epistolis prædicationis suæ perstrinxit stilum. Ex quibus aliquas propter typum septiformis ecclesiæ *septem* scripsit ecclesiis, conservans potius *nec excedens numerum sacramenti*, propter septiformem sancti Spiritus efficaciam. Scripsit autem ad Romanos, Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., et ad Hebræos." That is, "The apostle Paul used his pen in *fourteen* epistles of his preaching. Among these, some he wrote to *seven* churches by way of similitude to the *sevenfold* church, preserving, or rather not exceeding, the *sacred number*, on account of the *sevenfold efficacy* of the Holy Spirit." [He probably alludes here to such an efficacy as is described in Isa. xi. 2.] "Now he wrote to the Romans, Co-

* Et apostolus Paulus, qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit. De Exhort. Mart. cap. XI.

rinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and to the Hebrews," Opp. Tom. V. p. 215.

Is it not singular enough, that the number *seven* should not only be retained here, while *eight* epistles are expressly recounted, but that the writer should formally give a reason why Paul did not exceed the number *seven*? What can be plainer, then, than that the mode of reckoning *seven* might be usual, even where more were ascribed to Paul? The simple reason of this is implied in what Isidore says, viz. that the number *seven* being the *express* number where Paul is named, and according with the views in ancient times respecting sacred numbers, it was a usual thing to speak of Paul's epistles to seven churches; and this would tally, of course, with John's epistles to the same number of churches, in Apoc. i—iii.

Had these circumstances been well considered by Bleek and others, they probably would not have made so much of the circumstance in question as they have done. See further, on this subject, the testimony adduced in connexion with that of Augustine in the sequel.

In regard to Cyprian, however, the fact that he has no where quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, considering how many writings he has left behind him, and how many occasions he had to quote the sentiments contained in it, is a circumstance that seems to render it probable, either that he was unacquainted with the epistle, or that he did not admit its canonical authority, or that others doubted it so much that he did not deem it expedient to quote it.

Novatian, a presbyter of Rome (A. D. 251), the founder of the Novatian sect, is supposed by some critics not to have received the epistle to the Hebrews. This inference is drawn from the fact that he does not appeal to it, in behalf of the sentiments which he maintained respecting the exclusion of lapsed heretics from readmission to the church; nor does he appeal to it in his book *De Trinitate*, nor in his treatise *De cibis Judaicis*, where one would naturally suppose that he would have direct and urgent occasion to appeal to it.

There are passages in his writings, however, in which he seems to refer to the epistle to the Hebrews, e. g. "It is asserted of Christ by prophets and apostles, that he sitteth at the right hand of the Father;"* comp. Heb. i. 3. Again, "Christ is found to be greater and better not than one angel only, but than all the angels."† The last of these passages in particular, looks very much like a quotation from Heb. i. 4.

Bleek, who has dwelt on the *silence* of Novatian in regard to the epistle to the Hebrews, and urged the importance of this negative testimony, has omitted to take any notice of these passages. The *silence* of any writer, at the best, can never amount to any thing more than a kind of negative argument in respect to any book whatever. Who can with certainty tell, whether doubts about the authenticity of the book, or lapse of memory, or some other cause, occasioned the silence in question?

Be the case as it may respecting Novatian himself, his followers, about thirty years afterwards, admitted the epistle in question; as is clear from the testimony of Philaster, about A. D. 380, on this subject, who states that they received the usual canon of the Old and New Testament, Philast. Hæres. 82.

Victorinus, bishop of Petavio in Pannonia, near the close of the third century,

* At eum sedere ad dextram Patris, et a prophetis et ab apostolis approbatur. De Reg. Fid. c. 26.

† Qui non uno, sed omnibus angelis et major et melior invenitur. Ibid. c. 27.

in his book *De Fabrica Mundi*, mentions *septem ecclesie apud Paulum*. Routh. Reliq. Sac. III. 235 seq. In another supposed work of his, Comm. in Apocalypsin (Biblioth. Max. Pat. I. p. 569 seq.), he expressly states the seven churches to which the apostle wrote, omitting of course that of the Hebrews. But as the genuineness of this work has been strongly suspected, and for pretty cogent reasons, much weight cannot be attached to this testimony. Even if its genuineness be admitted, the mention of seven churches would not seem to prove any thing; see above, p. 91 seq.

In addition to this it may be remarked, that Lardner, in his collections from this same Victorinus, has adduced some passages which tend very much to show, that Victorinus was acquainted with our epistle and imitated its language.

Phœbadius, bishop of Agen in Gaul, about 385, in his *Lib. contra Arianos*, does not appeal to the epistle to the Hebrews. But then as he seems principally to rely on the testimony of John relative to the subject of which he treats, nothing very satisfactory can be deduced from this. See his works in Galland. Bib. Pat. V.

The like is the case with Zeno, bishop of Verona, about 368, who in his ninety *Sermones* does not cite the epistle to the Hebrews, Galland. V. The commentary on the epistles of Paul by an unknown author, (which was once ascribed to Ambrose, but now to *Ambrosiaster*, a mere fictitious name for a person unknown,) probably written during the latter half of the fourth century, does not quote from the epistle to the Hebrews by ascribing it expressly to Paul; but he clearly quotes from it as Scripture; e. g. in *epistola ad Hebræos scriptum est, quia Levi, etc.*, quoting Heb. vii. 9, etc.

Optatus, bishop of Mileve, about 364—375, in his book *De Schismate Donatistarum*, does not quote the epistle to the Hebrews.

This is all the *negative* testimony that I have been able to find, in the churches of the West, previously to A. D. 400; excepting what is implied in some of the statements made by a few of the Latin writers, to whom I shall advert in the sequel.

We have already seen, in the passage cited from Tertullian, an intimation of a difference of opinion among the western churches in respect to the epistle to the Hebrews, as if some received and some rejected it. On the other hand, Lactantius, about 306, who does not often quote Scripture, at least with any good degree of accuracy, seems to me to have some indubitable references to the epistle to the Hebrews, which Lardner has drawn out at length (VII. 185—188); but as they only seem to recognize the authority of the epistle, but do not ascribe it to Paul, I shall not adduce them here. I cannot, however, think it to be candid in Bleek, to aver that these references are *no ground* for supposing Lactantius to have thought differently from others in the Romish church, on the subject of our epistle. If others refrained from quoting it, where it would have been greatly to their purpose, and Lactantius did not refrain, does this indicate no difference in opinion.

The epistle to the Hebrews was clearly received as Paul's by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, about A. D. 354; by Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, about 354; by Victorinus a famous rhetorician at Rome, about 360; by Ambrose bishop of Milan, about 374; by Philaster bishop of Brescia in Italy, about 380; by Gaudentius his successor, about 387; and by Rufinus, about 397.

Bleek has been careful to note, that Hilary, Lucifer, and Victorinus, *very* seldom make use of the epistle to the Hebrews: yet the instances of quotation which he produces are of the most unequivocal nature, as to the question

in regard to its *Pauline* origin. Such being the case now, in regard to those whose opinion we have certain means of knowing; why may it not be the case, that others have omitted to quote it at all, in such works of theirs as are still extant, and yet have believed it to be of Pauline origin? Why then should so much stress be laid on mere *omitting to quote*, as the writer in question frequently appears to lay?

In regard to others of the authors above mentioned, it is clear that they cite from the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, and argue from it against opponents, just as though they neither knew of, nor expected, any opposition to its apostolical authority. Such is the case with Ambrose. Philaster, although he shows clearly that he knew there were some who admitted but thirteen epistles of Paul, argues in a way which proves that this opinion, in his view, was altogether unfounded; and such is the case with others.

But the testimony of Augustine and Jerome, whose influence appears to have been effectual in re-establishing the credit of the epistle to the Hebrews among the western churches, deserves to be adduced here, as it serves to show, that the Latin churches had not been united in respect to the point in question.

Jerome in his epistle to Dardanus, has the following passage. "This is to be maintained, that this epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not only received by the churches of the East as the apostle Paul's, but has been, in past times, by all ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language; although most [Latins] think that Barnabas or Clement was the author. And it matters not whose it is, since it belongs to some ecclesiastical man, and is daily commended by the reading of it in the churches. But if the custom of the Latins does not receive it among the canonical writings," etc.* Again; "Among the Romans, it is not received down to the present time as an epistle of Paul."† This general assertion seems to mean only, 'that such is, or has been, the predominant custom among the Romans;' for in his epistle to Evagrius, Jerome says, "which epistle to the Hebrews all the Greeks receive, and *some* of the Latins."‡ In his epistle to Paulinus he says, "Paul the apostle writes to seven churches; for his eighth epistle to the Hebrews, is placed by *most* out of the number of his."§ And again, in his Comm. on Matt. xxvi. he says; "Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews, although *many* of the Latins doubt concerning it, says," etc.||

As an epistle of Paul, or, which is the same, of an *apostle*, Jerome cites the epistle to the Hebrews in a multitude of passages; e. g. epist. 26 ad Pam-mach. Opp. Tom. I. 168 (edit. Paris, 1648); adversus Jovin. I. 3, II. p. 323; ibid. II. 1, p. 361; ep. 34 ad Julian. Tom. I. p. 210; Comm. in Esaiam, Tom. IV. p. 21; ibid. p. 28; and in a great many other places.

Bleek has adduced several passages from Jerome, where he says, respecting

* Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi apostoli Pauli suscipi; licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur. Et nihil interesse cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur, Quodsi autem Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, etc. Epist. ad Dardanum.

† Apud Romanos, usque hodie, quasi Pauli epistola non habetur. Opp. Tom. III. p. 46.

‡ Quam epistolam ad Hebræos, omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum. Epist. ad Evagrium.

§ Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit; octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur. Epist. ad Paulinum.

|| Paulus, in epistola sua quæ scribitur ad Hebræos, licet de ea multi Latinorum dubitent, etc., loc. cit.

our epistle, *Si quis vult recipere eam ; Sive cuiuscunque alterius eam esse putat ; Si quis tamen ad Hebræos epistolam suscipit*, etc.; and from these he draws the conclusion that Jerome, at times, speaks *doubtfully* of the epistle. But what can be plainer, when all the testimony of Jerome is put together, than that the doubtfulness in question has no respect to his own opinion, but to that of others?

On a comparison of all these different passages together, the following appears to be the result of Jerome's testimony.

1. That the majority of the Roman churches, in his time, did not receive the epistle as Paul's; "it is placed by most out of the number of Paul's epistles."

2. But some of the Latin churches did receive it still, in accordance with the custom of the Greek, i. e. oriental churches; *omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum*.

3. The reception or rejection of this epistle, as described by Jerome, refers; one passage only excepted, to receiving it as *Paul's*, or refusing to admit *Paul* as the author. Jerome does not say, that the Roman churches condemned it as spurious. Nay, that he does not mean to say this, is very plain from his own express words; for after averring that "most persons [Romans] regard it as written either by Barnabas or by Clement," he goes on to say, *nihil interesse cuius sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebratur*. That is, it matters not about the person of the author, since he was an ecclesiastical man, and the churches every day read his epistle. But how much this exactly means, it is difficult to say; for the writer adds, *Quod si Latinorum consuetudo non recepit inter canonicas scripturas*, etc. By *canonical* Jerome seems to understand *apostolical*, or having that authority which the writings of an apostle has. So much is plain, then, viz. that in the days of this writer, the churches made a distinction between writings *apostolic* and *not apostolic*; and if so, it must have been by giving to the former a rank higher and more authoritative than the latter. On the whole we must understand Jerome as meaning to aver, that while *some* of the Latin churches admitted Paul to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, and regarded this epistle as canonical in the highest sense, most of these churches doubted whether Paul was the author, and consequently gave the epistle but a secondary place in their canon; or rather, they read it with the other books of Scripture for edification, but, probably, did not appeal to it as *authoritative*.

The testimony of AUGUSTINE is direct, and sufficiently ample. In his book *de Doctrina Christiana*, IL 8, he mentions in his catalogue of canonical books, *quatuordecim epistolas Pauli apostoli*; among which he particularizes the one *ad Hebræos*. It is true, that in the context here he speaks of a difference to be made among the canonical Scriptures themselves, the *ὁμολογούμενοι* being preferable, in point of weight, to the *ἀντιλεγόμενοι*. Yet this distinction determines nothing respecting what he thought of the *authorship* of our epistle; certainly nothing against his own express opinion that it is Paul's.

In other places he speaks directly to the same purpose; e. g. Serm. 55, 5, *Audisti apostolum exhortantem*, etc., quoting Heb. xii. 7 seq. Serm. 82, 8, *Audi ergo quid dicit apostolus*, etc., citing Heb. xiii. 4. Serm. 159, 1, *ad Hebræos dicit apostolus*, etc., quoting Heb. xii. 4. Serm. 177, c. 11, Heb. xiii. 5 is cited next after 2 Cor. viii. 13, and both as the declarations of the same apostle. Epist. ad Rom. exposit. inchoat. § 19, de quo tunc loquebatur *apostolus* . . . ut hoc significaverit *apostolus*, after quoting Heb. x. 26.

Often he cites the epistle to the Hebrews as a part of *Scripture*; e. g. En-

arv. in Ps. 130, § 12, quos reprehendit Scriptura, dicena, etc., quoting Heb. v. 12, Contra Maxim. Arian. II. 25, aperuit Scriptura, ubi legitur, etc., quoting Heb. ii. 9.

Very often he cites the epistle in question as "epistola quæ scribitur ad Hebræos; epistola quæ est ad Hebræos;" or, "epistola quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos."

These modes of citation, Bleek thinks (p. 225), show that Augustine was *uncertain* about the author of our epistle. How this can well be affirmed, in direct opposition to such plain, and explicit, and repeated declarations as those quoted above, I am not able to see. And in respect to the manner of reference to our epistle, which is now in question, what more is needed to explain it, than that the epistle is *anonymous*, and that Augustine knew that some of the Latin churches doubted its authenticity, or at least, its Pauline origin? This was enough to lead him to references of such a nature as those before us; without his being at all doubtful, in his own mind, with regard to the question, Who was the author of the epistle?

That Augustine was acquainted with the fact, that *some* of the Latin churches denied our epistle to be Paul's, is clear. But that he knew, as it has sometimes been represented, that a great majority of these churches made such a denial, has never been proved, and so far as I know, seems to be altogether incapable of proof. Indeed the exact reverse of this is certain, from his own words; "*Plures apostoli dicunt; quidam vero negant,*" De Civit. Dei. XVI. 22. In his book *de Peccat. mer. et remiss.* I. 27, he says of our epistle, "*quanquam nonnullis incerta sit;*" and in the same passage, he testifies, that "the authority of the oriental churches moves him," viz. to receive the epistle as canonical, because they admit it as such. In his *Expos. inchoata Epist. ad Romanos*, § 11, he speaks of the usual salutatory address at the beginning of the epistle as being purposely omitted, in order to avoid offence to the Jews; "*unde,*" continues he, "*nonnulli eam in canonem Scripturarum recipere timuerunt.*" From this declaration two things are plain; viz. First, that *some* only (not the majority, *plures*, as he says in the passage above), feared to receive our epistle as canonical. Secondly, that the church at this time insisted on evidence of apostolical origin or sanction, in order to receive any book of the New Testament as truly canonical.

Again, in his book *de Fide, Spe, et Caritate*, cap. 8, he says, 'In epistola quippe ad Hebræos, qua teste usi sunt illustres catholicæ regulæ defensores, fides esse dicta,' etc. quoting Heb. xi. 1; which shows clearly, that in his view the more eminent men in the church admitted the canonical rank of this epistle.

After all this testimony, Bleek represents Augustine as *doubtful* in his own mind, about the origin and authority of our epistle, p. 227 seq. Yet, in the very same paragraph, he represents Jerome and Augustine as being the principal instruments in bringing the Latin churches to admit the epistle to the Hebrews as of apostolic origin and authority. How could this be, if their testimony is so doubtful and so feeble as Bleek has represented it to be? Would it not have served rather to increase than to dissipate the doubts in question?

But how this testimony can be fairly represented as *doubtful*, so far as the opinion of the two fathers in question is concerned, I am unable to perceive; and the very effect attributed to it by Bleek himself, (and truly attributed), shows that the ancient churches of the West did not entertain the doubts about it which he does.

It should be specially noted here also (although I have once before had oc-

casion to advert to the following facts), that the Council of Hippo, A. D. 393; the third Council of Carthage, A. D. 397; and the fifth Council of Carthage, A. D. 419 (at all of which Augustine was present, and acted a conspicuous part); all decided in favour of the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews; the first in Can. 36; the second in Can. 47; and the third in Can. 29. The first two speak of *thirteen* epistles of Paul, and then add, *ejusdem ad Hebræos una*; the third reckons *fourteen*.

Bleek, who cites these testimonies, seems not to be aware that they have an important bearing on many passages in his book, where he argues against the Pauline origin of our epistle, because only *thirteen* of Paul's epistles are named by one and another writer. From the Canons of the two first Councils named above, it is plain that *thirteen* epistles may be expressly attributed to Paul, without denying that he wrote another anonymous one. It is clear, that when thirteen are mentioned by these Councils, they mean thirteen which bear the apostle's name; and nothing more. The fifth Council at Carthage, which follows throughout the canonical catalogue of books set forth in the others named above, reckons fourteen epistles as Paul's, without any circumlocution.

One other remark should here be made. Bleek represents Jerome, who survived all these Councils, as being doubtful in his mind about the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, because he knew that so great a *majority* of the churches in his time were against it. But do the decisions of these Councils favour such a representation as this? Rather, do they not directly contradict it (at least in regard to Proconsular Africa), and show, that at least in the greater part of it, the epistle to the Hebrews was fully acknowledged as coming from the hand of Paul?

The Council of Hippo held in A. D. 393; the third Council at Carthage, in A. D. 397; and the fifth Council at the same place, in A. D. 419 (see above), all receiving our epistle as Paul's, mention that an appeal to the church at Rome is to be made, in confirmation of the canon which they had admitted. What then did they expect from the church at Rome? Denial or confirmation? If the first, they would surely have proceeded doubtfully or hesitatingly in fixing their canon, as far as it regards our epistle; but this they have not done. Of course, they expected the latter.

That they had reason to expect this, would appear pretty plain from the fact, that Innocent I., bishop of Rome, in an epistle written to Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse (A. D. 405), at his request, and containing a catalogue of the *canonical* books, mentions among the rest, *Pauli apostoli epistolæ quatuordecim*, Galland. Bib. Pat. VIII. p. 563. How can it be doubtful, then, what the Latin churches in Italy *generally* thought, at this period, concerning the epistle to the Hebrews?

Yet this same Innocent, as Bleek concedes, in his other epistles does not quote the epistle to the Hebrews; and this, he candidly allows, must have been *accidental*. Why not then concede thus much, in regard to many other of the Fathers, whom he represents as *rejecting* our epistle, because they do not quote it in their works now extant?

As the epistle to the Hebrews appears to have been doubted or disputed, to some extent, in the Latin churches of the third century, and down into the fourth, the question very naturally occurs, What afterwards wrought such a change in the views of the Romish churches? To this Bleek answers, 'The authority and example of the oriental churches.' But why did not these operate *sooner* on the churches of the West? Rome did not become *more* de-

pendent in process of time upon the eastern churches, but *less* so. What wrought upon Hilary, and Lucifer, and Victorinus, and Ambrose, and Philaster, and Innocent? not to speak of Rufin and Jerome, and Augustine. It is difficult to answer this question, except by the suggestion, that the temporary causes, which had occasioned doubt or dispute about our epistle, being removed and forgotten in the lapse of time, the general and prevalent sentiment of the Christian churches at last regained its full influence in the West. At any rate, those who represent the views of the ancient churches in general as so doubtful and uncertain with regard to the epistle to the Hebrews, as Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Schulz, Bleek, and some others do, must find it a difficult problem indeed to solve, how the western churches could have come, so early and so generally as they did, to the opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was of apostolical origin and authority.

That the opinion of Innocent, bishop of Rome at the beginning of the fifth century, was extensively cherished at the same place, and generally in the West, near the close of this century, is evident from the fact, that in A. D. 494, Pope Gelasius, at Rome, and a council of seventy bishops with him, included, in a catalogue of canonical books which they made, *fourteen* epistles of Paul, to whom *epistola una ad Hebræos* is attributed. Bleek himself admits, that this is "authentic testimony, not only for the opinion of the Romish churches at this period, but also for the other churches in the West," p. 234.

I have now traced the history of this epistle down to the fifth century, in the Egyptian, the Eastern, and the Western churches. Lower down it is altogether unnecessary to trace it; as all admit that it has had a *general* currency in the Christian churches every where, since that period; although a few individuals are not wanting, who have doubted or denied its Pauline origin.

XVII. RESULT.

WE now come to the result of this investigation. In the Egyptian and Eastern churches, it is probable that there were, at a pretty early period, some few who had doubts whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews; but no *considerable* person or party in this quarter is definitely known to us, who entertained these doubts; and it is manifest from Origen and Eusebius, that there was not among these churches any important opposition to the general and constant tradition of the church that Paul did write it. Not a single witness of any considerable respectability is named, who has given his voice, in this part of the church, for the negative of the question which we are considering. What Jerome avers, appears to be strictly true, viz. *ab ecclesiis Orientis et ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi apostoli Pauli suscipi*.

In the Western churches, a diversity of opinion prevailed; although the actual quantity of negative testimony that can be adduced, is not great. Yet the expressions of Jerome as cited above would seem to imply, that the *pre-dominant* opinion of the western churches, in his times, was in the negative. In early times, we have seen that the case was different, when Clement of Rome wrote his epistle, and when the old Latin version was brought into circulation. What produced a change of opinion in the West, we are left to conjecture. The scanty critical and literary records of those times, afford us no means of tracing the history of it. But this is far from being a singular case. Many other changes in the opinions of the churches have taken place,

which we are, for a similar reason, as little able to trace with any certainty or satisfaction.

Storr has endeavoured to show, that Marcion occasioned this revolution, when he came from the East to Rome, and brought with him a collection of the sacred books, in which the epistle to the Hebrews was omitted. But it is very improbable, that an extravagant man, excommunicated by the Roman church itself, should have produced such a revolution there in sentiment. Others have, with more probability, attributed it to the zealous disputes at Rome against the Montanist party; whom the epistle to the Hebrews was supposed particularly to favour. The Montanists strenuously opposed the reception again into the bosom of the church, of those persons who had so lapsed as to make defection from the Christian faith. The passages in Heb. vi. 4—8 and x. 26—31, at least seem strongly to favour the views which they maintained. The church at Rome carried the dispute against the Montanists very high; and Ernesti, Spanheim, Wetstein, Hug, and other critics, have been led to believe, that the epistle to the Hebrews was ultimately rejected by them, because the Montanists relied on it as their main support.

As a matter of fact, this cannot be established by direct historical evidence. But, in the absence of all direct testimony with respect to this subject, it must be allowed as being not improbable, that the epistle to the Hebrews may in this way have become obnoxious to the Romish church. Many such instances might be produced from the history of the church. The Ebionites, the Manicheans, the Alogi, and many ancient and modern sects, have rejected some part of the canon of Scripture, because it stood opposed to their party views. The Apocalypse was rejected by many of the oriental churches, on account of their opposition to the Chiliasts who made so much use of it. And who does not know, that Luther himself rejected the epistle of James, because he viewed it as thwarting his favourite notions of *justification*; yea, that he went so far as to give it the appellation of *epistola straminea*? It cannot be at all strange, then, that the Romish church, exceedingly embittered by the dispute with the Montanists, should have gradually come to call in question the apostolic origin of our epistle; because it was, to their adversaries, a favourite source of appeal, and because, unlike Paul's other epistles, it was anonymous.

That *all* even of the Montanists, however, admitted the apostolic origin of our epistle, does not seem to be true. Tertullian, who took a very active part in favour of this sect, had, as we have already seen, doubts of such an origin; or rather, he seems to ascribe it to Barnabas.

But whatever might have been the cause that the epistle in question was doubted or rejected, by more or less of the churches in the West, the *fact* that it was so, cannot be reasonably disputed. A majority of these churches one would occasionally be led to think, from the latter half of the second century to near the latter half of the fourth, seems to have been generally opposed to receiving this epistle as Paul's, or at least doubtful concerning it; although there were some among them who did receive it.

It remains, then, to balance the testimony thus collected together and compared. *The EARLY testimony is of course, immeasurably the most important.* And there seems to me sufficient evidence, that this was as general and as uniform, for the first century after the apostolic age, as in respect to many other books of the New Testament; and more so, than in respect to several. I cannot hesitate to believe, that **THE WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE FROM TRADITION IS ALTOGETHER PREPONDERANT IN FAVOUR OF THE OPINION THAT PAUL WAS THE AUTHOR OF OUR EPISTLE.**

XVIII. INTERNAL EVIDENCE THAT THE EPISTLE IS PAUL'S.

WE come then next to inquire, whether the *internal condition* of the epistle corresponds with and confirms this tradition. The evidence drawn from this may be divided into two kinds; first, *that which arises from circumstances mentioned or adverted to in the epistle*; and secondly, *that which arises from the style and manner of it*.

XIX. EVIDENCE THAT IT WAS PAUL'S FROM CIRCUMSTANCES MENTIONED OR ADVERTED TO IN THE EPISTLE.

As our epistle no where exhibits the author's name, we can appeal, for internal testimony respecting the author of it, only to accidental circumstances which are developed in it.

(1) The most striking one is that contained in xiii. 23, "Know ye that our brother Timothy is ἀπολειλυμένος, with whom, if he come speedily, I will pay you a visit." From the first acquaintance of Timothy with Paul, he had been his intimate friend and constant companion. That he was with Paul at Rome, during his imprisonment, we know for certainty; because Paul has united him in the salutation prefixed to the epistles written to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon, during his captivity in that city. Timothy was greatly beloved and confided in by Paul, as the manner in which he speaks of him, in several of his epistles, abundantly shows; and Paul often calls him (as here) his *brother*. But the meaning of the word ἀπολειλυμένος, as applied to Timothy, has been much contested; some rendering it *set at liberty*, i. e. from prison; others, *sent away*, i. e. on some errand of Paul's. Giving to ἀπολειλυμένος the first meaning assigned it, viz. *liberated*, objectors have said, that 'we have no account of Timothy's having been imprisoned during the life of Paul, and therefore, the occurrence of his imprisonment must have taken place after Paul's death; consequently the epistle must have been written by some other friend of Timothy, who calls him *brother*, in accordance with the usual style of the primitive Christians.'

Nothing, however, can be more unsafe or uncritical, than the supposition that the Acts of the Apostles, or Paul's epistles, give us a full and complete account of all which happened to the various persons who are named in them. E. g. Aristarchus is called by Paul, in Col. iv. 10, his fellow prisoner; as is Epaphras, in Philem. 23; but where is the history of their imprisonment? The supposition by Bertholdt, that another Timothy, different from him who is so often mentioned in the sacred records, may be meant here, is doubtless a possible one; but is it a *probable* one? Have we any kind of ecclesiastical voucher, that there was another Timothy who distinguished himself in the apostolic age? It is possible that one Virgil wrote the Eneid, and another the Georgics; yet who thinks it to be *probable*? But if this be insufficient, Bertholdt alleges that a different person from Paul may have been the intimate friend and travelling companion of Timothy, while Paul was imprisoned at Rome; and that the passage we are considering, may have come from him. Eichhorn thinks it must have been written by such a friend of Timothy, after the death of Paul; as during his life Timothy closely adhered to this apostle.

All this, no doubt, is possible; and a great many other hypotheses, which could be easily made, present no impossibility. But are they *probable*? And

is not the language which we are considering, more appropriate to the known relation of Paul and Timothy, than to the relation with Timothy, of any other person during that period concerning whom we have any knowledge! The spontaneous feeling of Christian readers, in all ages, has fully answered this question.

But what was the imprisonment, which is adverted to by the word ἀπολεινόμενον? To suppose with Schmidt (Hist. Antiq. Canon.), and many others, that it was an imprisonment at Rome with Paul, is evidently preposterous; for how, if Timothy were already at Rome, could Paul, or any one else there say, *if he come or return speedily*? Must not Timothy have been *absent*, when this was said? If Timothy had been imprisoned abroad, and was then *liberated* (ἀπολεινόμενον), would he not have been the immediate bearer of the news himself to the apostle? I do not allege this as an actual and certain fact, for possibly there may have been circumstances to prevent it. But then it is not in itself very probable, that Paul, in confinement at Rome, would obtain information about Timothy, (who, if absent, was doubtless among some of the churches where Paul had been,) any sooner than those to whom our epistle was written; and who, as it appears from the manner in which Paul speaks of him to them, had a special regard for him.

Why, moreover, raise up all these difficulties in order to maintain an interpretation of ἀπολεινόμενον which accords no better with the *usus loquendi* of the sacred or classical writers, than the rendering *dismissed* or *sent away*? a sense so exactly consentaneous with the relation between Paul and Timothy.

Bleek, in his recent work (pp. 275 seq.), has virtually called this in question, however, and endeavoured to show that the word ἀπολεινόμενον is not susceptible of the sense which I have here given to it; and has repeated the same objections in his Review of the first edition of this work, p. 14. His arguments are in substance these, viz. that if Timothy was *sent away* by the apostle, then the words ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, or ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, or some equivalent expression, would have been added. He suggests also, that if ἀπολεινόμενον means *deputed*, *sent away*, then the place to which, and the errand on which, he was sent, must have been added by the writer. He likewise avers, that ἀπολείω does not mean to *depute*, and cannot mean so, unless circumstances are added to give it such a sense. Hence he concludes, that ἀπολεινόμενον must mean *dismissed* or *liberated* from imprisonment, or something of such a nature, i. e. from some circumstances of this kind which were well known to those whom the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews addressed.

An examination, however, of every instance in which ἀπολείω is employed in the New Testament, has satisfied me that these allegations are unsupported by the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers. Ἀπολείω is used 69 times; and all of these instances, (except the one in Heb. xiii. 23), are in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles. In 20 cases it is employed to designate divorce of married parties; in 10, the sending away or dismissing an assembly or company of men, i. e. sending them to their homes, or to their proper business; in 5 cases it designates the dismissal of individuals in the same way; in 23 cases, it denotes liberating from a state of duress or detention by force, on account of crimes either real or supposed; once it signifies dismissal from the present life, viz. in Luke ii. 19; once it means simply, to *depart*, to *go away*, viz. in Acts xviii. 25; and twice it seems to mean, to absolve from obligations to debt, or service, or something of the like nature, viz. in Luke vi. 37. Yet in all these 62 cases, it is never once followed by a noun denoting either the person by whom the *dismissal*, etc. is made,

or the place to which the persons dismissed are sent, or the object on account of which they are dismissed. In three cases only are the persons or things designated, from whom or which one is dismissed or sent away, viz. in Luke xiii. 12, ἀπολείψαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου; Luke xvi. 18, ἀπολειλυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς κ. τ. λ.; and Acts xv. 23, ἀπελύθησαν . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους. Does this accord with the views of this word which are given by Bleek? Here are a great many kinds of *sending away* or *dismissing*, and yet the object for which or on account of which this is done, is not designated at all in hardly any of them. We have only three cases in all, in which the persons or thing from or by whom or which the dismissal is made, are designated; and one (Mark viii. 8) which expresses the place to which they are ἀπολειυμένοι. All this serves to render it clear, that ἀπολύω is used as a *constructio prægnans*, and that the object for which, place to which, etc., may be expressed or omitted, just as the writer pleases; but that it is usually omitted, where it can be gathered from the context.

As to the affirmation of Bleek, that ἀπολύω never means *to depute to send away on business*, etc., it is sufficient to refer to Acts xiii. 3. where the προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι at Antioch, having ordained Saul and Barnabas, ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς, viz. to preach the gospel to the Gentiles; which last however is not expressed, but only to be gathered from the context. In Acts xiii. 30 also, ἀπελυθίντες is applied to the messengers sent from the church at Jerusalem to that of Antioch; and that it is of the same meaning here with πέμψαι, is clear, for those whom it pleased the church at Jerusalem πέμψαι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν (22), are here said to be ἀπελυθίντες. So again the brethren sent back from Antioch to Jerusalem, ἀπελύθησαν . . . πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, i. e. to carry back the tidings to them from Antioch.

Thus much for the *usus loquendi* of the word, which must be made out not by *a priori* reasoning, but by facts. But Bleek further alleges, that there is no intimation in Heb. xiii. 23, either from the language or the circumstances mentioned, that Timothy was in any way under the direction of the writer, or employed in the way of performing subordinate offices for him. All which can be meant, he thinks, is, that 'Timothy had been imprisoned somewhere, that he was now at liberty, that he was going to Jerusalem, and that in his way thither he would visit the writer, and that if he should speedily come, the writer would go in company with him to Jerusalem.'

If this be so, then we must take it for granted, that the Hebrews addressed knew of Timothy's intention to visit them; and also of his intention to do this by journeying through the place where the writer of the letter was residing; for all this the manner of the writer's communication would necessarily imply. But if all this were true, what need could there be, that the writer should inform the Hebrews, that Timothy was set at liberty? And what evidence is there, that Timothy had been imprisoned where the writer would have any earlier knowledge of his liberation than the Hebrews would? According to Bleek's interpretation, both parties must have fully and definitely known of Timothy's intended journey to Jerusalem; so there was communication between Timothy and both parties. In this case we may suppose, of course, that both would know of his liberation.

But why does not the writer add, from what, or by whom, Timothy was liberated? Bleek must say, if he would be consistent, 'Because the Hebrews knew where he had been incarcerated; and this was therefore unnecessary.' But on the other hand, I ask also, Did not the Hebrews know that Timothy was the constant companion and messenger of Paul? And if so, what need,

when he speaks of Timothy as ἀπολυμένον, of adding *by whom?* He might have said *where*, indeed; and he might also, for good reasons, choose to omit this; so that all objection to the sense of ἀπολυμένον, as meaning *sent away*, on such a ground as this, falls to the ground upon examination and comparison with usage.

I remark still farther, that on the definitive manner in which the writer speaks of Timothy, of his *being sent away*, and of the expectation which he had of his speedy return, and of the relation to himself implied in the whole, does serve to show, and has by a great majority of the Christian churches been considered as showing, some kind of subordination or special connexion between the writer of our epistle and Timothy. At all events, nothing can be made out against this from *philological* considerations.

Let me now add to this investigation, (which has been so long protracted because the subject is so much controverted,) a view of the circumstances of Paul, near the close of his captivity at Rome, which may serve to confirm the opinion defended above, that Paul was the writer of our epistle.

In Philip ii. 19, (this epistle was written while Paul was a prisoner at Rome,) the apostle speaks of sending Timothy to them shortly, as soon as he should see how it would go with him in respect to being liberated from prison, ii. 23; at the same time expressing a hope, that he should himself come to them shortly, 24. What then is more natural than the supposition, that he did send Timothy to them; and that, during his absence, Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in which he tells them that Timothy was sent away, and intimates that he is now assured of being speedily set at liberty, and also that he intends to pay them a visit in company with Timothy, if he should shortly return, viz. from Philippi? Many facts are believed by Bertholdt and all other critics, which have less of verisimilitude to support them than this. Indeed one cannot well see, how mere circumstantial evidence could be better adapted to make the impression of *probability* than this.

I do not feel the weight of the objection made by alleging that Timothy was unknown to the church in Palestine, and that they could have no special interest with respect to the information in question. For, first, Timothy was the well known and beloved companion of Paul, in all his journeyings during his later years, and must have been known as such, wherever Paul was known. Next, there can be no reasonable question, that he was with Paul during his last visit to Jerusalem, previously to the apostle's captivity for two years at Cesarea. Is there any probability, even if he were not with Paul during his journey to Jerusalem, that he did not frequently visit him in his afflictions? And would not the church at Cesarea, therefore, be well acquainted with him? Specially so, as Timothy would be the more acceptable to the Palestine Jewish Christians, on account of his having received the rite of circumcision after he became a convert to Christianity.

Now as all these circumstances do plainly accord with Paul's situation, while a prisoner at Rome; with his relation to Timothy; and with the manner in which he employed him; and as we have not a syllable of testimony that they are applicable to any other person; I do not see how we can be justified, in denying that the evidence deducible from them is sufficient to render it quite probable, that Paul was the author of our epistle.

(2) In Heb. xiii. 18, 19, the writer asks the prayers of those whom he addressed that he might speedily be restored to them; and in Heb. xiii. 23, he expresses a confident expectation of "speedily paying them a visit." From these pas-

sages it is clear, that the writer was then in a state of imprisonment; and also, that he was assured of a speedy liberation, which would enable him to pay the visit that he had encouraged them to hope for.

Compare this now with the situation of Paul at Rome, during the latter part of his imprisonment there. In his epistle to the Philippians, written during that period, he expresses his entire confidence that his life will be prolonged, so that he shall yet promote their religious profit and joy; τοῦτο πεποιθώς, οἶδα ὅτι μὲν καὶ συμπαραμηνῶ παῖσιν ὑμῖν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως, Phil. i. 25. Again, in Phil. ii. 24 he says, πίποισα δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχύως ἐλεύσομαι, *I trust in the Lord that I myself shall speedily come [to you]*. In the epistle to Philemon, also written during the same imprisonment, he says, ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν, *for I hope that by your prayers I shall be restored to you*, 22. So confident was Paul of this, that he bids Philemon *prepare lodgings for him*, ἐτοίμαζέ μοι ξενίαν, 22.

It appears very plainly, then, from these passages, that the writer had a satisfactory assurance in his mind of being speedily set at liberty; although, it is probable, a *formal* declaration of his acquittal had not yet been made by the Roman emperor. This last conclusion I gather from Phil. ii. 23, where Paul declares to the church whom he is addressing, "that he shall send Timothy to them immediately, ὡς ἂν ἀπίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμοί, *whenever I shall know how my affairs issue.*" By this it appears that he was in daily expectation of receiving *official* notice of the determination of the emperor in respect to his case, but that he had not yet received it. That he had private information, however, of the way in which his case was likely to terminate, and information which pretty fully satisfied his mind, is evident from the manner in which he speaks in the passages quoted above, of his intended visit to the Philippians and to Philemon.

Supposing now, as soon as intimation was made by the Roman emperor that Paul would be set at liberty, that intelligence respecting it was immediately communicated to the apostle by *those of Cesar's household* (Phil. iv. 22), who were his Christian friends; supposing that, agreeably to his promise made to the Philippians (ii. 23), he then immediately sent away Timothy to them; and supposing still further, (which surely cannot be regarded as improbable,) that there was some little delay in *formally* making out his sentence of acquittal and carrying it into execution by actually liberating him from prison; then how obviously easy and natural is the expression in Heb. xiii. 23, "Know that our brother Timothy is sent away; with whom, if he speedily return, I shall pay you a visit?" On the supposition that the *close* of the epistle to the Hebrews was written at this juncture of time, nothing can be more probable, than that the promised mission of Timothy, adverted to in Phil. ii. 23, is referred to in Heb. xiii. 23; and consequently that ἀπολυμίνον here means *sent away, dismissed*, as all must acknowledge it *may* mean,) and not *liberated* or *set at liberty*.

The circumstances adverted to or implied in Heb. xiii. 23. Phil. ii. 23, and Philem. 22, have other correspondences which deserve particular notice. In the two latter passages, it is plain that the writer *expects* his liberty and means to send away Timothy to Philippi. In the former, he is *assured* of his liberty, and only waits for the return of Timothy, in order that he may set out to visit the Hebrews whom he had been addressing. In case Timothy did not return *speedily* (τάχιστα), it is plainly implied in Heb. xiii. 23 that the writer meant to set out on his journey without him. There was then some uncertainty in his mind, respecting the time when Timothy would return.

How well all this accords with the journey of Timothy to a place so remote from Rome as Philippi, cannot fail to strike the mind of every considerate reader.

Now laying aside all favouritism for any previous opinions respecting our epistle, can it be reasonably doubted, that there is a concurrence of circumstances so striking as to render it highly probable that Paul wrote it? More especially so, when we consider that the epistle must have been written, about the same period of time when these circumstances happened; for it proffers internal evidence of being written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and yet written so late, that the period when the Hebrews were first converted to Christianity is adverted to as being already a considerable time before, Heb. v. 12, and it is called *ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις*, x. 32. Now the imprisonment of Paul at Rome happened probably A. D. 62 or 63, which was some thirty years after the gospel had begun to be preached abroad; and the close of that imprisonment, in case it continued about two years, Acts xxviii. 30, was about *five* years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Taking all these circumstances together, it must be acknowledged that there is an extraordinary concurrence of them, which cannot but serve much to increase the probability that our epistle was written by Paul, near the close of his liberation at Rome.

The objections which Bertholdt makes against the arguments just presented, do not seem to be weighty. "Would *Paul*," he asks, "promise to revisit Palestine, when the people of that country had just sent him into captivity at Rome? A very improbable circumstance indeed!"

But a nearer consideration of the circumstances attending Paul's case, will remove the appearance of any great improbability. For, first, Paul had been kept a prisoner at Cesarea, two years before his removal to Rome, Acts xxiv. 25—27; and at Rome he lived two years more in a similiar condition, Acts xxviii. 20. These, with the time occupied by his going to Rome and returning from it, would make nearly a five years' interval between his leaving Palestine and revisiting it. Might not some of his fiercest persecutors have died during this period? Or might they not have laid aside their furious zeal?

But, in the next place, supposing our epistle to have been sent to the church at Cesarea, where Paul had been treated with so much kindness during his imprisonment; could there have been any fear in his mind, with respect to paying them a visit? And even if we suppose that Cesarea was not the place to which the letter was directed, but that it was sent to the Christians at Jerusalem; yet the objection brought forward by Bertholdt will not be of much validity. Paul was not to be deterred from going to Jerusalem, by the prospect of persecution. From the time when he first made his appearance there, after his conversion, the Jews had always showed a bitter enmity against him, and persecuted him. Yet this did not deter him from going, again and again, to that city. And why should it now deter him any more than formerly?

Besides, he was now liberated from the accusations of the Jews, by the sentence of the emperor himself. Would they venture to do again the very thing which the court of Rome had decided to be unlawful? Might not Paul well expect, with the decision of the emperor in his hand, to find his personal liberty for the future respected?

"But," says Bertholdt, "we have no account that Paul paid a visit to Palestine after his liberation."

True. But what argument this can furnish against the probability that he did pay such a visit, I do not perceive. Bertholdt himself, in the very para-

graph which contains this objection, says, "who does not know, that the accounts of what befell the apostles and primitive teachers of Christianity are very incomplete?" Every one knows, that Luke breaks off the history of Paul with the account of his imprisonment at Rome. Has any writer given us a well authenticated *supplement* to this? And can the want of any history of Paul, after the period of his imprisonment at Rome, be a proof that he never travelled to any particular place after this, or that he did not live and preach there? Surely this cannot be urged with any show of propriety.

Bleek (p. 283) has suggested, that Heb. xiii. 18, 19 contains no certain intimation that the writer was in a state of *duress* when he wrote the epistle to the Hebrews. But what then can be the probable meaning of ἀποκατασταθῶ? The verb ἀποκαθίστημι means to restore a thing to its former state or condition, which has become diseased, injured, or is in a ruinous state. It is applied to designate the restoring of those who labour under diseases, to a state of soundness, e. g. Matt. xii. 13. Mark iii. 5. viii. 25. Luke vi. 10. It also designates the restoration of the lapsed Jewish commonwealth to prosperity and splendour, e. g. Matt. xii. 11. Mark ix. 12. Acts i. 6. In the passage before us, what can ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν mean, unless it be, that the writer should be freed from the state of duress in which he was, and thus be able to pay them a visit? And he expects this τάχιον, *the sooner*, should they offer up their supplications for him, as he had requested them to do. Ἀποκατασταθῶ alone might signify deliverance from any state whatever of trouble or perplexity; but what τάχιον ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν can mean, unless it means what I have above supposed, it would be difficult, I believe, to show. The very use of the word ἀποκατασταθῶ shows the present straitened and distressed condition of the writer; and the use of ὑμῖν shows, that this condition was of such a nature as then deprived him of the liberty of paying a visit to the Hebrews.

I add only that analogy would lead us to suppose that Paul, when liberated, would go to Palestine, and then to the other churches in Asia Minor. Such was the general course of his travels; see Acts xviii. 22, seq. It is altogether consonant, then, with the usage of Paul, to suppose that he would visit the church at Palestine, after his imprisonment at Rome; and therefore natural to suppose, that Heb. xiii. 23 refers to such an event.

(3) If the reading in Heb. x. 34, "for ye had compassion *on my bonds* (τοῖς δισμοῖς μου)," be correct, it is another argument that Paul is the author of our epistle; for his bonds in Palestine, whither the letter was sent, were well known. That he obtained compassion there, particularly during his two years' abode at Cesarea, will not be questioned. But as the reading δισμοῖς μου is controverted, and δισμίοις (*the prisoners*) is preferred by some good critics, I do not think proper to urge this argument; although the evidence is about equally in favour of δισμοῖς μου, δισμοῖς, and δισμίοις.

(4) The salutation in Heb. xiii. 24, agrees with the supposition that Paul wrote this epistle; ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Paul writing from Rome, which had communication of course with all parts of Italy, and with the Italian churches, more or less of whose members we may well suppose to have been often at Rome, may very naturally be supposed to have sent such a salutation. Indeed, the circumstances render this quite probable.

The objections made against this, do not strike me as forcible. Eichhorn alleges, that οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας must mean, *people who had come from Italy*, i. e. who had left Italy, and were *locally* out of it, when the writer sent a salu-

tation from them. Consequently, he concludes, the writer of the epistle could not have been Paul, during his imprisonment at Rome.

Bleek has recently repeated for substance the same objections, p. 281 seq. alleging that the writer must of necessity be supposed to be *out of Italy* and most probably those also whom he calls *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας*. He finds some difficulty, indeed, in making this latter part out; but on the whole, he thinks we may understand it of Christians who had fled from Italy in the time of Nero's persecution.

In his Review of the first edition of my work, p. 14, he has repeated his objections still more confidently, alleging that the very examples, produced by me to illustrate the meaning which I give to *οἱ ἀπὸ*, do in fact prove the contrary; and this because when *οἱ ἀπὸ* is applied to *persons*, it necessarily implies that they are *out of the place* which is designated by the word that follows *ἀπὸ*: or that the writer himself is not in that place.

In opposition to all this I make the appeal, the only one which can be made, to *usage*, and ask that the following instances may be duly examined. I remark,

(1) That *οἱ ἀπὸ* is manifestly employed, in some cases, as a mere equivalent for *οἱ ἐκ*, i. e. as a paraphrasis or an expression which in sense is a mere *adjective*. When the preposition *ἀπὸ* is followed by a noun, it is often equivalent also to our English words *belonging to*, *pertaining to*, etc. As examples of both these usages, we may take Acts xii. 1, *Herod vexed some τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, of those who belonged to the church*; Acts xv. 5, *there arose some τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων, of those who belonged to the sect of the Pharisees*; Luke i. 2, *οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτέπται, original eye-witnesses*; Luke xix. 39, *and some of the Pharisees ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, belonging to the multitude*, which multitude were then *present* and surrounded Jesus; Acts xxvii. 44, *and some by means of those things τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου, which belonged to the ship*; Heb. xii. 25, *how much more shall we [not escape] if we turn away from τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, the heavenly [admonisher]*.

These may suffice to show the nature of the expression *οἱ ἀπὸ* . . . , and to prove beyond all doubt, that it is not unfrequently employed in the same way as *οἱ ἐκ*, i. e. in the manner of an adjective; for so *οἱ ἐκ* is not unfrequently used, e. g. *οἱ ἐκ ἐριθείας, the contentious*, *οἱ ἐκ νόμου, sticklers for the law*; *τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, heavenly*; *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, Caesar's domestics*, etc.

We have now to apply the phrase *οἱ ἀπὸ* . . . to *place*, and to see whether it may here retain the sense of *pertaining to*, *belonging to*, and this without any necessary implication that the persons spoken of are out of such place, or without any reference at all to the writer as to what place he is in, whether in the one named, or in some other.

John xi. 1, Now a certain man was sick, *Λάζαρος ἀπὸ τῆς Βηθανίας*; and yet we know with certainty from the context, that Lazarus was sick and died at his own home, in this very Bethany; and that the narration has no reference at all to the place of the writer, is equally certain. Acts x. 23, *certain brethren τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰόππης συνῆλθον αὐτῷ [τῷ Πίτρῳ], and on the morrow they came to Caesarea*. Now here the men *τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰόππης*, set out in company with Peter, and they and Peter both are in Joppa when *συνῆλθον* they set out on their journey in company, and it is only on the next day after this, that we find them at another place. Acts xvii. 13, *now when οἱ ἀπὸ Θερμαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι knew that in Berea, etc. . . . they came thither stirring up the populace*. Bleek has replied to this example, (which was produced in the first edition of my work,) by alleging that the writer has reference in his own mind, when he

says *οἱ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι*, to the *subsequent* coming of these persons to Berea, and their demeanour there, Review, p. 14. But it would be rather a singular reason for calling men *οἱ ἀπὸ . . .* because, in the subsequent course of narration, we might have occasion to speak of their being or acting in some other place besides that named in connexion with *ἀπὸ*. Besides; nothing can be plainer than that in the phrase *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι*, *ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* is by the laws of grammatical construction a mere *adjective* in substance. Bleek does not need to be told that circumstances of this nature thrown in between the article and the noun to which it belongs, are adjectives in their very nature, i. e. by the laws and usages of the Greek language; so that here is a cause *definitely* speaking what was claimed for it in the first edition of the present work. If the writer had meant to express the idea for which Bleek contends, he would of course have said *ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἦλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης παρὰ σαλεύοντες κ. τ. λ.* Acts xxi. 16, *συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας σὺν ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ.*, i. e. some of the Christian brethren *belonging to* Cesarea, set out from that place in company with Paul and his friends, or accompanied them; a case of the same nature with that in Acts x. 28 noted above. Here there is surely no reference to the writer as being out of Cesarea, nor to the *τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας* as being out of Cesarea, but to the simple fact, that some of the Cesareans accompanied Paul and his friends on their journey to Jerusalem.

After exhibiting these illustrations of the principle in question concerning the use of *οἱ ἀπὸ . . .* it will be sufficient merely to refer to other examples of the like usage. Matt. xxvii. 57, *Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας*, *Joseph the Arimathean*, i. e. Joseph belonging by birth or origin to Arimathea; surely not Joseph who had lately come from that place, for he was *ἐνσχήμων βουλευτής*, *one of the honourable Sanhedrin* at Jerusalem; comp. the same expression in Mark xv. 43. Luke xxiii. 51. John xix. 38. So the expression *Jesus . . . ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ*, is plainly the same as *Jesus ὁ ὢν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ*, i. e. who belongs there, *Jesus the Nazarene*; comp. Acts x. 38, John i. 46. So *ἀπὸ Κιλικίας*, *a Cilician*, Acts xxiii. 34; *τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι*, *certain Asiatic Jews*, Acts xxiv. 18; (the *position* of *τινὲς ἀπὸ κ. τ. λ.* makes this meaning certain again). Mark iii. 7, *πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας*, *followed him* [Jesus]; yet Jesus was now in Galilee, and did not leave here when the multitudes in question followed him. John i. 45, *Philip ἀπὸ Βηθσαιῶν*, i. e. *the Bethsaidan*, a native of Bethsaida; comp. John xii. 21. John xxi. 2, *Nathanael ὁ ἀπὸ Κανᾶ*, *a native of Cana*. Matt. iv. 25, *great multitudes ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας*, *followed* Jesus, etc.; yet both he and they were in Galilee during all the time of their following him. Matt. xv. 1, *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων γραμματεῖς*, from the position of the words, must mean simply *the Jerusalem scribes*, i. e. scribes who belonged to Jerusalem.

Other instances might easily be added; but I apprehend that Bleek himself will candidly admit that no more are necessary.

From all this it is plain enough, then, that *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας* means neither more nor less than *the Italians*, i. e. those who belonged to the country of Italy; and this, without at all determining whether the writer, or they, or both, were *out of* Italy, at the time when he wrote.

Had the Greek Concordance been consulted, the critics who have occasioned this long philological disquisition, would probably have seen, that where *ἀπὸ* is designed to express *a local removing or distance*, such verbs as *ἔρχομαι*, *διαγίγρω*, *ἀναβαίνω*, *παρίερχομαι*, *ἀποχωρίω*, *καταβαίνω*, *ἀπείχω*, κ. τ. λ. are employed before it, or along with it.

I must continue, then, to entertain my former views respecting *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, until I find some better reason to change them than I have yet been able to find. Nay, I may even venture to call in question whether it is agreeable to the *usus loquendi* of the Greek, to employ *οἱ ἀπὸ* . . . in order to designate persons as those who have gone from one place to another, unless some verb is joined with the phrase which expresses the action of going, etc.; compare for example, Acts xviii. 2. Matt. iii. 7. iii. 13, 16. vii. 23. viii. 1, 11, 34. xii. 43. xiii. 1. xiv. 29. xvii. 9, 18. xix. 1. Mark i. 9, 10, 42. iii. 22. v. 35, etc., etc.

In reference, however, to the whole phrase in question, it is asked, 'How came Italians to salute a church in Palestine? If Paul wrote our epistle at Rome, why did he not say, *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης*? What acquaintance had the Romans with the church at Palestine?'

This objection, however, will not bear examination. The Romans surely were *Italians*; and it is a matter of indifference, whether the writer at Rome said, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης*, or *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, if he meant to send only the salutation of Christians who resided at Rome. But is it at all probable that there were not Christians often at Rome from various parts of Italy, who were acquainted with Paul, and who cherished a friendly interest for the church whom he was addressing? If these also, as well as the *Romans*, wished to send the expression of their friendly regards to the Hebrews, what other phraseology could Paul have adopted, that would be more appropriate than *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, which would embrace Christians in general who lived in the country where the writer was?

Then why should this be thought so strange, when an example of the very same nature may be produced from the acknowledged writings of Paul? This apostle, writing from Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 8.) to the church at Corinth, says, *The churches of Asia salute you*, xvi. 19. May not the same questions be urged here, which objectors urge in the case above? May not we ask, How could the Asiatics be *personally* known to the Corinthians? And why should Paul speak of *the churches of Asia*, and not of that at Ephesus? Plainly the reason of this was, that Christians from different parts of Asia Minor (which is here meant), were collected together in Ephesus its capital, where they had intercourse with Paul, and knew that he was addressing the Corinthians, and desired an expression of their brotherly affection toward them. What is more common, every day, than for single individuals, or societies of men, who have never had any personal intercourse together, to exchange friendly salutations? Could not Paul as well send the salutations of *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, as of the *ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας*.

Such are the various circumstances adverted to in our epistle, which serve to render it probable that Paul was the author of it. From its nature this evidence is *indirect*; but evidence of such a kind is, not unfrequently, as convincing as that which appears to be more direct. The prefixing or suffixing a writer's name to an epistle, is a more easy and obvious method of interpolation, than the insertion of minute circumstances which imply a very intimate acquaintance with a writer's condition and circumstances.

Will any one undertake to show, that the circumstances which are brought into view above, may be more probably attached to some other person than to Paul? If not, then the probability from them is in favour of Paul as the author of our epistle.

XX. EVIDENCE THAT THE EPISTLE IS PAUL'S, FROM A SIMILARITY OF SENTIMENT; AND ALSO FROM THE FORM, METHOD, STYLE, AND DICTION OF THE COMPOSITION.

THE preceding section treated of the facts or external circumstances, to which various passages of our epistle advert; and what is gathered from these may be called, in a certain respect, a kind of *external* evidence. But a comparison of our epistle with the other acknowledged writings of Paul, remains yet to be made. This is a species of evidence, on which some have relied with great confidence; and it is remarkable that it has been appealed to with equal confidence, both by those who defend and by those who assail the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews. Even in very ancient times, so early as the third century, the same occurrence took place. One might, perhaps, naturally enough conclude from this, that no very satisfactory evidence on either side can be obtained; but that the epistle contains things to which both parties may appeal, with some tolerable show of reason. Before coming, however, to such a conclusion, we ought at least to make a thorough investigation, and to weigh well all the arguments which are adduced to support the respective opinions to which I allude.

A comparison between our epistle and the acknowledged letters of Paul, may have respect to the *doctrines* taught in both; or to the *form* and *method*, as well as the *style* and *diction*, of the epistle. When these shall have passed in review before us, the allegations with regard to a *dissimilarity* between the epistle to the Hebrews and other epistles of Paul, may be further discussed.

XXI. SIMILARITY OF DOCTRINES BETWEEN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS AND THE ACKNOWLEDGED EPISTLES OF PAUL.

ARE the *sentiments* in our epistle such as Paul was wont to teach? Do they accord with his, not only in such a general way as we may easily suppose the sentiments of all Christians in the apostolic age harmonized with each other, but have they the colouring, the proportion, the characteristic features of Paul's sentiments? Are they so stated and insisted on, as Paul is wont to state and insist on his?

Before proceeding in my endeavours to answer these questions, it will be proper to state some general considerations in regard to the nature of the evidence in question.

Those who disbelieve the Pauline origin of our epistle are wont to urge very strenuously all the discrepancies between it and the acknowledged epistles of Paul, as to diction, phraseology, ideas, doctrine, etc., and to claim that these decide the point against the probability that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Schulz and Seyffarth have made up almost the whole of their arguments against the Pauline origin of the epistle, from considerations of this nature. Others before them had done so to a considerable extent; and Bleek and De Wette have recently adopted much of this nature from the writers just named.

Now, if there be any weight in this argument, it is incumbent on those who adopt a different opinion, to show that the opposite of this is true, viz. that there is a resemblance (instead of a great discrepancy), between our

epistle and the acknowledged writings of Paul; and if this resemblance can be shown to extend to all the particulars above named, to be striking, and to be minute, then of course, the argument in question is deprived of all its importance and shown to be groundless.

Bleek (Rev. p. 15) expresses his wonder that I should think of deducing any argument in favour of Paul, from such resemblances. He says that the resemblance is still more striking between Paul and the first epistle of Peter; e. g. 1 Pet. i. 3, comp. Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. iii. 1, comp. Eph. v. 22; 1 Pet. iii. 9, comp. Rom. xii. 17; 1 Pet. v. 5, comp. Eph. v. 21; 1 Pet. v. 14, comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 10, comp. Gal. v. 13, (14?); 1 Pet. ii. 13, seq., comp. Rom. xiii. 1—4; 1 Pet. iv. 2, comp. Phil. ii. 14; 1 Pet. v. 1, comp. Rom. viii. 18, etc.

That there are resemblances of expression, in some of these passages, need not be denied. I have examined them all with attention. Some of the references are undoubtedly incorrect, and do not express the meaning of Prof. Bleek; e. g. Gal. v. 13. Phil. ii. 14, or else the corresponding 1 Pet. ii. 10 and iv. 2 are incorrect. As to the others collectively we may say, that the respective writers, in inculcating the same sentiments, have now and then hit upon the same *words*. This is all that can be justly said. Why did not Bleek draw out these parallelisms, and produce them to the view of the reader? The bare inspection of them would show the very contrary of that for which they are alleged. Every reader of Greek has the power of making the comparison for himself; and to every one who does make it, and is competent to judge of the result, I cheerfully commit the question at issue.

Then as to arrangement, colouring, diction, course of thought in general, method of arguing and exhorting—in a word, the *tout ensemble* of the first epistle of Peter,—I hazard nothing in repeating it, that every reader must feel the difference to be wide between this and the epistle to the Hebrews. But if this is not to be appealed to, (and I am altogether willing that a resort to *actual* comparison should be made,) then let the resemblance be drawn out for ocular view, between 1 Pet. and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as I have drawn it out in the following pages between the latter and Paul's acknowledged epistles. The fairness of this appeal will not be called in question.

Bleek wonders that I should think of arguing from the similarity of our epistle to Paul's, (which he acknowledges is great, p. 15,) that Paul was the author of the former. But if *diversity* be an argument *against* sameness of authorship, (and so Bleek and others strenuously contend,) then why is not similarity an argument in *favour* of it? I allow, that there may be similarity arising from intimate intercourse, frequent reading and admiring, etc., between two different writers; but then, on the other hand, it must also be allowed, that diversity, and sometimes great diversity too, may exist, and does exist, between the writings of the same man, at different periods of his life, and in different circumstances. Consequently neither *similarity* nor *diversity*, unless they are of a very marked and specific character, can absolutely determine the question in the one way or the other.

But still, when *diversity* is urged as a powerful and conclusive argument against the Pauline origin of our epistle, it is of course the duty of those who advocate this origin to show, if they can, that just the opposite of this is true, and consequently that there is no ground for such an argument. As a species of *negative* proof, therefore, if nothing more, it becomes expedient to produce

this, and fully to produce it. Why should Bleek find fault with me for doing this, while he insists on diversity of diction, etc., as an argument against the Pauline origin of the epistle in question?

If the resemblances that will be pointed out in the sequel, show nothing more, they show thus much, viz., that there is not in our epistle sufficient *diversity*, to justify any one for pleading this, in order to prove that Paul did not write it. This done, the principal argument of those who do thus plead, is rendered null.

I hope for pardon, then, while I still persist in producing the resemblances in question. Nor are they merely of a *negative* character. We shall see that they are too near, and too numerous, not to have some *positive* weight in rendering it probable that Paul was the author of our epistle.

I begin, as the heading of this Section proposes, with resemblance in regard to *doctrine*.

The resemblance in respect to doctrine may be arranged, for the sake of perspicuity and distinction under the following heads.

I. *General preference of Christianity over Judaism.*

There can, indeed, be no reasonable doubt, that all the apostles and primitive teachers of Christianity, who were well instructed in the principles of this religion, must have acknowledged and taught its superiority over the ancient religion of the Jews. The very fact that they were Christians, necessarily implies this. But still, it is quite certain, that the preference of the new over the ancient religion, is taught by Paul in a manner different from that of other writers of the New Testament; and with more emphasis, in his writings, than in any other parts of the sacred volume.

The grounds of preferring Christianity to Judaism, may be classed under the following particulars.

(1) *The superior degree of light, or religious knowledge, imparted by the gospel.*

In his acknowledged epistles, Paul calls Judaism *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, Gal. iv. 3; and again, *τὰ ἑσθιωτὰ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*, Gal. iv. 9. He represents it as adapted to children, *νήπιοι*, Gal. iv. 3, who are in a state of nonage and pupilage, Gal. iv. 2, or in the condition of servants rather than that of heirs, Gal. iv. 1.

On the other hand, Christians attain to a higher knowledge of God, Gal. iv. 9; they are no more as servants, but become sons, and obtain the privilege of adoption, Gal. iv. 5, 6. They are represented as *τέλειοι*, 1 Cor. xiv. 20; as being furnished with instruction adequate to make them *ἄνδρες τέλειους*, Eph. iv. 11—13. Christianity leads them to see the glorious displays of himself, which God has made with an unveiled face, i. e. clearly, 2 Cor. iii. 18; while Judaism threw a veil over these things, 2 Cor. ii. 13. Christianity is engraven on the hearts of its votaries, *ἡ διακονία τοῦ Πνεύματος*, 2 Cor. iii. 8; while Judaism was engraven on tablets of stone, *ἐντετυπομένη ἐν λίθοις*, 2 Cor. iii. 7.

Such is the brief sketch of Paul's views in respect to this point, as represented in his acknowledged epistles. Let us now compare these views with those which the epistle to the Hebrews discloses.

This epistle commences with the declaration, that God, who in times past spake to the Fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son, Heb. i. 1. ii. 1, seq. Judaism was revealed only by the mediation of angels, ii. 2; while Christianity was revealed by the Son of God, and

abundantly confirmed by miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, ii. 3, 4. The ancient covenant was imperfect, in respect to the means which it furnished for the diffusion of knowledge ; but the new covenant provides that all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest, viii, 9—11. The law was only a sketch or imperfect representation of religious blessings ; while the gospel proffers the blessings themselves, x. 1. The worthies of ancient times had only imperfect views of spiritual blessings ; while Christians enjoy them in full measure, xi. 39, 40.

(2) *The gospel holds out superior motives and encouragements to virtue and piety.*

Paul represents the condition of the Jews, while under the law, as like to that of children immured and kept under the eye of masters and teachers, Gal. iii. 23, iv. 2 ; as being in bondage, Gal. iv. 3 ; as servants, iv, 1 ; as children, iv. 8 ; and as having the spirit of bondage, Rom. viii. 15, which gives place, under the Christian religion, to the spirit of adoption, by which they approach God with filial confidence, Rom, viii. 15—17. Christianity has liberated us from pedagogues, and made us partakers of the privileges of sons and heirs, Gal. iii. 25 seq., iv. 4 seq. The liberty of the gospel affords urgent motives for the practice of virtue, Gal. v, 1. seq., v. 13. seq. The spirit imparted under the gospel furnishes aid, and creates special obligation, to mortify our evil passions and affections, Rom. viii. 12—17. Circumcision is now nothing, and uncircumcision nothing ; but obedience to the commands of God is the all-important consideration, 1 Cor. vii. 19. Not circumcision or uncircumcision is matter of concern, under the Christian religion, but a new creation, i. e. a spiritual renovation, Gal. vi. 15, and faith which worketh by love, Gal. v. 6.

Turn we now to the epistle to the Hebrews. There we find, that the sacrifices prescribed by the Jewish law could not quiet and purify the conscience of the worshipper, ix. 9 ; nor deliver him from the pollution of sin, in order that he might in a becoming manner worship the living God ; which is effected only under the gospel, ix. 14. The law served to inspire its votaries with awe and terror, Heb. xii. 18—21 ; but the gospel with cheering confidence, xii. 22—24. Now we may obtain grace to serve God in an acceptable manner, xii. 28. We have a covenant established on better promises than the ancient one, viii. 6—13 ; and are urged by more powerful motives to a holy life under the gospel, xii. 25—29.

It must be admitted, in respect to the particulars of the comparison just drawn, that the *diction* of the passages generally, in the epistle to the Hebrews, presents no very striking resemblances to that in Paul's acknowledged epistles. But this, as will be easily seen by inspecting all the passages drawn into the comparison, may very naturally result from the different topics with which the passages from our epistle stand connected. The *mode* of introducing these topics is different, because it arises from different occasions of introducing them. But the fundamental ideas in both are the same. Other writers also of the New Testament urge the obligations of Christians to peculiar holiness of life ; but what other writers, except Paul, urge it from *comparative* views of the Jewish and Christian dispensations ?

(3) *The superior efficacy of the gospel in promoting and ensuring the real and permanent happiness of mankind.*

Paul represents the law as possessing only a condemning power, and subjecting all men to its curse, in consequence of disobedience, Gal. iii. 10. It is the ministry of death, 2 Cor. iii. 7 ; the ministry of condemnation, 2 Cor.

iii. 9 ; by it none can obtain justification or pardoning mercy, Gal. iii. 11. Rom. iii. 20.

On the contrary, Christianity is the ministry of pardon, τῆς δικαιοσύνης, 2 Cor. iii. 9 ; it holds out forgiveness of sins for the sake of Christ, gratuitous pardon on account of him, Rom. iv. 24, 25. Eph. i. 7. Through him, we are allowed to cherish the hope of future glory, Rom. v. 1, 2 ; and this without perfect obedience to the law, Rom. iii. 21. Gal. ii. 16. Acts xiii. 38, 39. And to such blessings under the gospel, a most important circumstance is attached, in order to heighten their value, viz., that they are *perennial*, and not (like the Mosaic institutions) liable to abolition, 2 Cor. iii. 11.

In correspondence with all this, the epistle to the Hebrews represents the Mosaic dispensation as one which was calculated to inspire awe and terror, Heb. xii. 18—21 ; the offerings and sacrifices which it enjoined, could never tranquillize and purify the conscience of the worshippers, ix. 9 ; for it was impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin, x. 4, 11. The blood of Christ has made a real expiation, procured forgiveness, and liberated the conscience from an oppressive sense of guilt, ix. 11—14. v. 9. vi. 18—20. Christ by his death has delivered us from the condemning power of sin, and freed us from the oppressive fear which it occasions, ii. 14, 15. He has procured access to God, and is ever ready to aid those who approach him, vii. 25. ix. 24. The offering which he has made for sin has a perennial influence, and without repetition remains forever efficacious, ix. 12, 25—28. x. 12, vii. 23—28.

Other writers also of the New Testament have set before us the blessings of the gospel ; and these, as connected with what Christ has done and suffered. But what other writer, except Paul, has charged his picture with such a contrast between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, and thrown so much shade over the one, and light over the other ? If the hand of Paul be not in the epistle to the Hebrews, it is the hand of one who had drunk in deeply of his doctrines, and in a high degree participated of his feelings and views.

(4) *The Jewish dispensation was only a type and shadow of the Christian.*

Thus Paul often represents it. Meats and drinks, feasts and new moons and sabbaths, are σκιά τῶν μελλόντων, but the σῶμα is Christ, Col. ii. 16, 17. The passage through the Red Sea was typical of Christian baptism ; and the manna, of our spiritual food, 1 Cor. x. 1—6. The occurrences under the ancient dispensation were typical of things under the new, 1 Cor. x. 11. In like manner, Paul calls Adam τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος, i. e. a type of Christ, Rom. v. 14. comp. 1 Cor. xv. 45—47. The Mosaic institution did but darkly shadow that which is clearly revealed under the gospel, 2 Cor. iii. 13—18. Hagar and Sarah may be considered as allegorically representing the law and the gospel, or the two covenants, Gal. iv. 22—31. The law was only our pedagogue until the coming of Christ, under whom full privileges are enjoyed, Gal. iii. 23—25. iv. 1—5.

The epistle to the Hebrews, in like manner, represents the Jewish rites and ordinances only as a παραβολή, i. e. a *significant emblem* of blessings under the gospel ; and these rites were imposed only until the time of reformation, ix. 9—14. The law was only σκιά of good things to come ; while the gospel proffered the very things themselves, x. 1. All the Levitical ritual, the temple itself, and all its appurtenances, were only a ὑπόδειγμα of the temple in which Christ ministers, and of the functions which he performs, viii. 1—9. ix.

22—24; they were a designed emblem of the objects of the new dispensation, ix. 9.

The question may be emphatically put, here, What other parts of the New Testament, the writings of Paul excepted, furnish us with views of such a nature as these exhibit? Manifestly Pauline is both the sentiment and the costume which the writer has put upon it.

(5) *While the Christian dispensation is designed for perpetuity, the Jewish institutes are abolished on account of their imperfection.*

Paul represents the law as having no glory, in comparison with Christianity, 2 Cor. iii. 10; it was designed to be abolished, when the perennial dispensation of Christ should be introduced, 2 Cor. iii. 11, 13. The veil over the ancient dispensation rendered it obscure, and hindered the Jews from fully comprehending it; but the time was come, under the gospel, when that veil was removed, and the glory of God was seen with open face, 2 Cor. iii. 13—18. The law being altogether incapable of justifying sinners, gives place to another and gratuitous method of justification, Rom. iv. 14—16. Christians are dead to the law, and affianced to another covenant, Rom. vii. 4—6. The law was incompetent to effect the designs of the divine benevolence, and therefore gives place to a more perfect dispensation, Gal. iii. 21—25. iv. 1—7. v. 1. It was void of power to justify the sinner, and therefore the interposition of Christ became necessary, Rom. viii. 3, 4. Gal. ii. 16.

On the other hand, the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews represents the new covenant as inspiring better hopes than the ancient one did, and the latter as taxable with defects, viii. 6—8. The old covenant is antiquated, and ready to expire, *ἐγγύς ἀφαισμού*, viii. 13. Christ is appointed high priest according to a new order of priesthood, different from the Levitical one; because the dispensation by which the latter received its appointment, was weak, and incompetent to effect the introduction of such hopes as the gospel inspires, vii. 17—19. Burnt-offerings and sacrifices can never take away sin; Christ only can effect this; so that when his offering is made, it needs not to be repeated, but is of sufficient and everlasting efficacy, x. 1—14.

Other writers of the new Testament have also appealed to the efficacy of Jesus' atoning blood; but who, besides Paul, has thrown this whole subject into an attitude of contrast with the inefficiency of the Jewish dispensation?

Thus much for our first general head, by way of comparing the *sentiments* of Paul with those of our epistle, in respect to the grounds of preference over Judaism which Christianity affords.

II. *The person and work of the Mediator, Jesus Christ.*

Under this head, the following particulars are entitled to our consideration;

(1) *The PERSON of the Mediator is presented in the same light, by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews and by Paul.*

Paul, in various passages, represents Christ as the image of God, as the resemblance or likeness of the Father; as humbling himself, or condescending to assume our nature and suffer death in it; and as being exalted in consequence of this, i. e. as a reward of his benevolence and obedience, to the throne of the universe, and made head over all things. Thus in Phil. ii. 6—11, Christ being *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, took on himself our nature, and obeyed, or subjected himself in the same, unto death, even the death of the cross; in consequence of which God hath given him a name above every other, so that all in heaven or on earth must bow the knee to him. In Col. i. 15—20, Christ is represented as the image of the invisible God; as having created all things

in heaven and in earth; all things are said to consist by him; over all he has a distinguished pre-eminence; and by his sufferings and death he has produced a reconciliation among the creatures of God, and made expiation for sin, so that God treats the pardoned sinner as if he were innocent. In 2 Cor. viii. 9, Paul says, that the Lord Jesus Christ, who was rich, became poor on our account, that we through his poverty might become rich. In Eph. iii. 9, God is said to have created all things by Jesus Christ; and in 1 Cor. viii. 6, all things are said to be by him. In 1 Cor. xv. 25—27, it is declared that he must reign until all things are put under his feet.

The peculiarity of this Pauline representation consists in presenting Christ as the *image* of God; in specifying the act of humility by which he became incarnate, *he humbled himself* (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν), *though rich he became poor*; in presenting his obedience and sufferings as the ground of his elevation to the throne of the universe in the mediatorial nature; in representing him as head over all, both friends and enemies, and as reigning until his enemies be made his footstool; and finally, in representing God as having created all things *by* him.

If we turn now to the epistle to the Hebrews, we find the same representations there. The Son of God is the radiation or radiance of the Father's glory, he is his exact image or resemblance, *χαράκτῆρ*, i. 3; God made all things by him, i. 2. He directs all things by his powerful word, i. 3. He was in a state of humiliation (ἐλαττωμένον), lower than the angels, ii. 9. He took part in flesh and blood, that he might, by his own death, render null and void the destructive power of the devil, ii. 14. On account of the suffering of death he is exalted to a state of glory and honour, ii. 9. He endured the sufferings of the cross, making no account of its disgrace, but having a regard to the reward set before him, which was a seat at the right hand of God, xii. 2. All things are put under his feet, ii. 8, x. 13; where the very same passage from the Old Testament is quoted which Paul quotes in 1 Cor. xv. 25—28, and applied in the same manner.

Is all this now mere *accident*? What other writer of the new Testament presents such speciality of views respecting Christ's resemblance to God, his mediatorial character, his obedience, sufferings, and exaltation in our nature to the throne of the universe? No other writer presents them in the same connexion; no other employs the same images for comparison, nor brings the topics to view in the same light. There is a peculiarity of representation so distinctly marked here, so exclusively Pauline in its manner, that if Paul himself did not write the epistle to the Hebrews, it must have been some one who had drunk in so deeply of his spirit, as to become the very image of the fountain whence he drew.

(2) *The death of Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin and the reconciliation of sinners to God by means of this sacrifice.*

Other writers of the New Testament, indeed, besides Paul, teach this doctrine. But there is, in his letters, a peculiar and urgent manner of enforcing it. Oftener than any other writer does he recur to this interesting theme; and in all his representations it stands in high relief.

The general annunciation of it is often repeated. Christ came into the world to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15. He died for our sins, 1 Cor. xv. 3. He was given up or devoted to death on our account, Rom. viii. 32. Our redemption was wrought by him, Rom. iii. 24. He was given up, i. e. to death, on account of our offences, Rom. iv. 25. He gave up himself for our sins, Gal. i. 4. ii. 20. He gave up himself an acceptable sacrifice for us,

Eph. v. 2. He was our paschal lamb, 1 Cor. v. 7. By his blood we have redemption or forgiveness of sin, Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14. He gave himself a ransom for all, 1 Tim. ii. 6. 1 Cor. vi. 20. vii. 28. These may serve as specimens of the general statement, which Paul so frequently makes of this subject.

But he also recurs very often to this topic in his reasonings at length, and insists upon it with particularity. In his epistle to the Romans, he labours at length to prove the universal guilt of men, in order to show that salvation by Christ is necessary for all, Rom. iii. 22—27. v. 12—21. He urges the impossibility of obtaining this salvation by the law, Rom. iii. 20, 28. viii. 3. Gal. ii. 16, 21, averring that Jesus, by his death, has effected what the law could not do. Assuming our nature, he became a sin-offering for us, Rom. viii. 3. He became a propitiatory sacrifice on our account, so that through him we may obtain pardoning mercy, Rom. iii. 24—26. As all men have come into a state of condemnation through Adam, so all men may come into a state of pardon through Christ, Rom. v. 12—21, comp. 2 Cor. v. 14, 19—21. Now, i. e. since Christ died for us, Christians may regard God as no more inclined to punish them as guilty, for they are in a state of peace and pardon, Rom. v. 1, 8—11. viii. 32. Now we may hope for abounding grace and happiness, Rom. v. 17. vi. 23. viii. 17, 32. Jesus at the right hand of God is ever ready to aid us, Rom. viii. 34. Jesus is the Mediator between God and man, to make reconciliation, 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. It were easy to add many other passages of the same tenor, from the acknowledged writings of Paul; but these are sufficient to exhibit his views, and the mode in which he inculcates them.

In the epistle to the Hebrews, we find the same sentiments urged with the same ardour. Christ, by the sacrifice of himself, made expiation for our sins, i. 3. By the grace of God, assuming our nature, he tasted death for all, ii. 9. He became, through his sufferings, the author of eternal salvation to believers, v. 8, 9. But no where is there more speciality of argument to establish this great point, than in Heb. vii. viii. ix. and x.; nearly all of which is occupied with it. The Jewish offerings are altogether insufficient to make expiation, ix. 9—14. vii. 11, 19. x. 1, 11. Those offerings needed constant repetition; and even then, they could never remove sin, v. 1—3. vii. 27, 28. ix. 6, 7, 25. x. 4, 11. Christ by offering up himself has effected this, i. 3. vii. 27. ix. 25, 26. By his own blood, not with that of beasts, he entered into the eternal sanctuary, once for all making expiation for sin, ix. 12—15. x. 10—12, 14, 19. By his death he has delivered us from the oppressive fear of condemnation, ii. 14, 15. He has tranquillized and purified the conscience of penitent sinners, which the law could not do, ix. 9, 14. He is the mediator of a new covenant, ix. 15. xii. 24; which is better than the ancient one, vii. 22. viii. 6. He is exalted to the throne of the universe, ii. 6—10; and he is ever ready and able to assist us, iv. 14—16. vii. 25. He has introduced us to a dispensation, which speaks not terror only, like the law, but offers abounding grace and happiness, xii. 18—29.

Such are some of the more striking *traits of doctrine*, and *peculiarities in the mode of representing them*, common to the acknowledged epistles of Paul and to the epistle to the Hebrews.*

* Bleek, Rev. p. 16, admits, that the comparison made above is "diligent and praiseworthy;" but suggests, as a kind of reply to it, that I have passed over in silence *differences* between the epistle to the Hebrews and the acknowledged writings of Paul, and have produced only the *similarities*. The groundlessness of this complaint, however, will be sufficiently manifest to any one who reads the sequel of this volume, almost the whole of which is occupied with the examination of *alleged differences*, and among the rest of the very ones

XXII. FORM AND METHOD OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF PAUL'S ACKNOWLEDGED EPISTLES.

THESE topics may be considered, either in a general point of view, as it respects the arrangement of the epistle at large ; or specially, as having reference to various particulars which it exhibits.

(1) *The general method or arrangement of this epistle is like to that of Paul.*

Most of all does it resemble his two epistles to the Romans, and to the Galatians ; which exhibit first a theoretical or doctrinal, then a practical part. The epistle to the Romans is principally occupied, to the end of the tenth chapter, with the doctrinal part ; and the remainder with practical matter and salutations. In like manner the epistle to the Galatians, as far as the end of the fourth chapter, is principally doctrinal discussion ; while the remainder is hortatory and practical. In some degree, the same thing may be said of the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Thessalonians. But that to the Romans is most distinctly marked of all.

Turning now to the epistle to the Hebrews, we find that it is composed on a similar plan. As far as chapter. x. 19, it is principally doctrinal. It has, however, like Paul's other epistles, occasional exhortation intermixed, which the strength of the writer's feelings plainly appears to have forced from him. Thence to the end, it is hortatory and practical.

In the epistle to the Romans, just before the salutatory part begins, the writer earnestly asks for a special interest in the prayers of those whom he addressed, in order that he may be delivered from the power of persecution ; and he follows this request with a petition, that the God of peace might be with them, and concludes with an *Amen*, Rom. xv. 30—33. The very same order, petition, style, and conclusion appear at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, xiii. 18—21. The writer begs an interest in their prayers, that he may be restored to them the sooner ; commends them to the *God of peace*, an expression used no where else but in Paul's writings and in the epistle to the Hebrews ; and concludes with an *Amen* before the salutation.

Is all this arrangement, to which we have now adverted, merely *accidental* ; or does it look as if it must have come from the hand of the same writer ? I know, indeed, it has been said, that 'the order of nature and propriety would lead every man, writing an epistle which contained doctrinal discussion and practical exhortation, to arrange them in such a manner that the former should precede ; and that this arrangement, therefore, cannot with probability be represented as exclusively *Pauline*.' With the views of rhetorical propriety, which are entertained by classical scholars of the present day, I readily acknowledge that such an order is almost spontaneous. But then, another question arises here. Why has not Paul adopted this in all his epistles ? And why has neither John, nor James, nor Peter, nor Jude adopted it ? All these apostles have commingled doctrine and practice, throughout their epistles. *Regularly* arranged discussion of doctrine, they do not exhibit. In this respect, the only similars to the epistle to the Hebrews, are to be found in the epistles of Paul. But if the general arrangement here adverted to, be not considered as of much weight in the matter before us, it must be admitted

which he suggests that I have omitted. But I attribute this complaint more to want of care than lack of candour ; for in general Prof. Bleek has shown a kind and candid spirit toward my work ; although I might find reason to complain in some cases, that he has kept back things which should have been stated.

that there is a striking resemblance between the close of the practical part, just before the salutations or greetings, in the epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews. Here also we find the exclusively Pauline phrase, *the God of peace*, employed in the same way in both epistles.

(2) *The manner of appealing to and employing the Jewish Scriptures, in Paul's acknowledged epistles and in the epistle to the Hebrews, is the same.*

I do not refer to the *formulas* of quotation, by which a passage from the Old Testament is introduced. I have compared, throughout, those formulas presented by the epistle to the Hebrews, with those in Paul's acknowledged epistles; but I do not find any thing peculiar enough in either, to mark Paul's writings with any good degree of certainty; as I shall endeavour to show, in its proper place. Every where in the New Testament, a variety of such formulas is found; as also in the epistles of Paul. My present object is to advert, in a particular manner, to the *method* in which, and the *frequency* with which the Jewish Scriptures are employed; and that in a similar way, both in the epistle to the Hebrews and in the acknowledged epistles of Paul. Paul often quotes passages of Scripture, without any notice of quotations; e. g. Rom. ix. 7, 21. x. 6—8, 13, 18. xi. 34. 1 Cor. ii. 16. x. 26. xv. 25, 27, 32. 2 Cor. ix. 7. xiii. 1. Gal. iii. 11, 12. Eph. v. 31. 2 Tim. ii. 19. In like manner, does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews proceed; e. g. he quotes without notice, in iii. 2, 5. x. 37. xi. 21. xii. 6. xiii. 6, and the historical references in chap. xi. throughout. Paul makes a very frequent and copious use of the Jewish Scriptures in his epistles which are argumentative; so does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. Paul often appeals to the Jewish scriptures as *prophetically* declaring the abrogation of the Mosaic economy, and to Abraham as having received a covenant which the law could not annul; the same does the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. Paul employs the Old Testament in every way in which the Jews of that time were usually accustomed to reason from it. Sometimes he appeals to direct and prophetic assurances; sometimes to similarity of sentiment; sometimes he accommodates passages, which in the original have a local or temporary meaning, to designate something then extant or happening at the time in which he wrote; sometimes he appeals to the history of the Old Testament, for analogical cases to confirm or impress the doctrine or truth which he inculcates; and sometimes he uses the Old Testament language as a vehicle of thought, in order to express his own ideas. The very same traits characterize, in a most visible manner, the method in which the Old Testament is employed throughout the epistle to the Hebrews; as every attentive reader must plainly see, without my delaying to specify individual cases.*

In a particular manner does Paul employ passages of the Jewish Scripture and Scripture history, *κατ' ἀνὰλογον*; in other words, he uses them by way of *argumentum ad hominem* or *argumentum ex concessis*. It is thus that he allegorizes on the two sons of Sarah and Hagar, in Gal. iv. 24 seq.; on the command of Moses not to muzzle the ox who treadeth out the corn, Deut. xxxv. 4, the spirit of which he applies to the maintenance of religious teachers, in 1 Cor. ix. 9; on the rock from which the Israelites obtained water, Ex. xvii. 6. which he considers as an emblem of Christ, in 1 Cor. x. 2 seq.; on the veil over Moses' face, Ex. xxxiv. 33, which he applies to the com-

* Bleek has given a view of the quotations in our epistle, very different from the one here exhibited. But I reserve the examination of it for another occasion viz. that of examining Schulz's allegations relative to this subject. See objections by Schulz, sect. 27, No. 18.

parative obscurity that rested on the Jewish revelation, in 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14; on the declaration that a man should leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, and that they twain should become one flesh, Gen. ii, 24, which he applies to the union of Christ and his church in Eph. v. 31, 32.

How conspicuous this method of reasoning is, in the epistle to the Hebrews, need not be insisted on for the sake of any attentive reader. The whole comparison between Christ and Melchizedek, Heb. vii., is of a nature similar to those already mentioned. The temple and all its apparatus, and the holy place which the high priest entered with the expiatory offerings of blood are types and shadows of the temple, of the offering, and of the great high priest presenting it, in the heavens, Heb. viii. 1—5, ix. 1—9. Indeed the strain of argumentation, throughout is often *ad hominem* or *ex concessis*. The argument that Christ is a more exalted personage than the angels, than Moses, than the high priest; that Christ's priesthood, the temple in which he officiates with all its apparatus, the offering of blood which he makes, and his official duties as a priest, are all spiritual, heavenly, elevated above all the corresponding things in the Jewish dispensation to which the Jew adhered with so strong an attachment, and by which he was tempted to make defection from his Christian profession, is peculiarly *ad hominem*. We who are not Jews, and who have never felt the power of their prejudices, need not, in order to produce in us a conviction of the importance of Christianity, to be addressed with comparisons drawn from ritual types and from the analogy of such objects. But these were all familiar to the Jew, and were not only attractive to him, but, in his view, of the highest importance. No one, indeed, can reasonably find fault that the writer addresses the Jews *as such*; reasons with them *as such*; and makes use of those arguments, whether *ad hominem* or *ex concessis*, which he knew would produce the most powerful effect in persuading them to hold fast the truths of Christianity. There is nothing in this, which is inconsistent with the maxim of that apostle who became "all things to all men;" with the Jews demeaning himself and reasoning as a Jew, and in like manner with the Gentiles, in order that he might win both to Christianity.

But it is not my object here to defend the *manner* of argumentation employed in Paul's acknowledged epistles, and in the epistle to the Hebrews, I design merely to show (what cannot be denied), that the same method of reasoning from sentiments and objects presented by the old Testament, is exhibited by both, and in a manner which cannot well escape the attention of the inquisitive reader.

I will only ask now, What other writers of the New Testament have exhibited the traits of composition which I have noted under this head, in the same degree or with the same frequency? Nay, I venture to affirm that there is scarcely an approximation in any of their writings, to those of Paul, either in regard to the frequency or the latitude of the usage in question.

But it may be said, 'This only shows that the other writers just named were not the authors of the epistle to the Hebrews, but not that Paul wrote this epistle.'

It seems to me, however, to go somewhat further. It proves that the characteristics peculiar to Paul's epistles and to the epistle to the Hebrews, were not the general characteristics of the sacred writers of that age; and of course that either Paul, or one who had drunk in deeply of his doctrine and manner, must have written the epistle in question.

(3) *The manner of Paul's writing, in respect to separating premises from*

conclusion, or protasis from apodosis, bears a striking resemblance to that which is found in the epistle to the Hebrews.

I refer now to the manner of employing suspended sentences, and a species of *anacolutha* or imperfect sentences; and also his custom of seizing hold of a word or phrase thrown out by the way and commenting on it, and then returning to his subject, and thus making frequent parentheses. Paul sometimes states the major and minor terms of a syllogism; or the first parts of a sentence or comparison; and then, leaving it in this unfinished state, he turns aside to illustrate or confirm some hint which was suggested to his mind by what he had stated; or some train of thought is introduced, to which the natural association of ideas would lead; and after descanting on this, he returns, and with, or without, repeating his proposition or sentence at first commenced, presents in full the conclusion or apodosis which is required to complete it.

A striking example of this occurs in Rom. v. 12—18. “Wherefore,” says he, “as by one man sin entered the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned,” 12. The premises being thus stated, he turns aside to descant on the universality of sin, its pernicious consequences, and the salutary effects of the blessing which is proffered by Christ; and it is not until he reaches the 18th verse of the chapter, that the proposition which he had commenced is repeated and the conclusion fully brought out, where it is thus stated; “Therefore, as by one offence condemnation [came upon] all men, so by the righteousness of one, the blessing of justification unto life [comes upon] all men.”

So in Rom. ii. 6, Paul says, “Who [God] will render to every man according to his works;” and after nine verses of explanatory matter, which was suggested by the mention of *rendering to every man according to his works*, he adds, at last, the remainder of the sentence which he had begun, viz. “in the day when God will judge the secret doings of men by Jesus Christ, according to the gospel which I preach,” Rom. ii. 16.*

So in Eph. iii. 1, the apostle says, “For this cause, I Paul the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles;” then leaving the sentence thus commenced, he proceeds on 12 verses, with thoughts suggested by the mention of his being a messenger to the Gentiles; and finally, in the 13th verse, he adds the conclusion of the sentence commenced in the first, viz. “I desire that ye faint not at my tribulation for you, which is your glory.”

In the like way has the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews constructed some of his reasonings and sentences. In Heb. iv. 6, he says, “Seeing then it remains that some should enter into [the rest], and they to whom the good tidings were formerly proclaimed, did not enter in through unbelief—;” the sentence is then suspended, until the writer introduces another quotation from the Psalms, and reasons upon it in order to prove that the rest in question could not have been such a rest as the land of Canaan proffered. After this, and in the 9th verse, we have the concluding part of the sentence or syllogism, viz., “there remaineth then a rest for the people of God.” How entirely this coincides with the Pauline manner above exhibited, must strike the mind of every one who considers it.

* Bleek (Rev. p. 19) objects to this instance of suspended sense, that I have not rightly comprehended the connexion of the whole passage. But surely ver. 16 is not to be connected in sense with ver. 15, inasmuch as the testimony there alluded to, in respect to the divine law, is *present* testimony, i. e. such as the heathen then exhibited; not *future* testimony at the judgment day. This being evidently the case, to what can ver. 16 be attached in sense, except to ver. 6. It were easy to appeal to distinguished commentators in support of this exegesis; but it seems to be unnecessary.

† In iv. 2 also, *καὶ γὰρ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καθάπερ ἀρχαῖοι* introduces a comparison, which, in point of form, is nowhere completed.

So in Heb. v. 6, the writer introduces the divine appointment of Christ as a priest after the order of Melchizedek, with a design to show that this was an appointment of the most *solemn* nature, and of a higher order than that of the Jewish priests. He then suspends the consideration of this topic, and introduces another, in ver. 7—9; after which he resumes the former topic. But no sooner does he do this, than he turns aside once more, in order to descant upon the difficulties which present themselves in the way of an ample discussion of it. These result from the very imperfect state of religious knowledge among those whom he addresses, v. 11—14; the criminality and danger of which state he dwells upon at large in chap. vi., intermixing threats and encouragements. It is not until we come to chap. vii. 1, that the subject of Melchizedek's priesthood is resumed; where it is treated of at full length.

In Heb. vii. 1, a sentence is begun with "This Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the most high God," which is then suspended through a long paragraph of intervening matter, and finally completed, at the end of ver. 3, by *μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ δῆθεναι*. And generally from ver. 8 to 18, there is a series of propositions, the connexion of which it is exceedingly difficult to discover.

In Heb. ix. 7, the writer says, that 'the Jewish high-priest entered into the holy place once in each year, with the blood of victims in order to make atonement.' This is designed as one member of a comparison; but the other member follows only in ix. 11, 12, after descanting on several matters suggested by what the writer had stated. There the antithesis is stated, viz. "Jesus the high-priest of future blessings, entered the sanctuary of the temple not made with hands, with his own blood, accomplishing eternal redemption."

Such is the suspended connexion here, even if we adopt that method of interpretation which will make it as close as possible. But an attentive consideration of the whole preceding context, will perhaps render it probable to the attentive reader, that Heb. ix. 11 may be the antithesis of the latter part of viii. 4, and the first part of viii. 5; where the *ὑπόδειγμα* and *σκιά τῶν ἰπουρανίων*, are in contrast with the *μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν* and the *μείζωνος καὶ τελειότερας σκηνῆς οὐ χειροποιήτου* of ix. 11.

How much such suspensions resemble the manner of Paul, need not be again insisted on. Instances of this nature might easily be increased; but no attentive critical reader can help observing them, as they abound in the epistle to the Hebrews. See more connected with this general subject, in sect. 32.

The instances above produced may serve to show, that, as to *form* and *method*, in regard either to general arrangement, or the deducing of arguments from the Old Testament, or the exhibition of a peculiar manner in the statement of these arguments, or in the method of forming suspended and involved sentences, there is a striking similarity between the acknowledged writings of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews.

Bleek (Vol. I. p. 329 seq. and Rev. p. 18 seq.) has given a brief and very different view of the subject now before us. He states, indeed, the peculiarities of Paul's style in much the same manner that I have done. But in regard to our epistle, he maintains (in his Review), that directly the opposite is true in regard to suspended and unfinished sentences and connexions of thought. This he does, however, by simple affirmation here; although in his Introduction (I. p. 327 seq.), he has stated that 'a regular finish of periods, an accurate position of words, and a fine rhythmus arising from this, are the characteristics

of our epistle.' Yet in p. 330 seq. of the same work, he has produced a number of instances in order to show the unskilful use, by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, of *οὐν*, *δέ*, etc., and to illustrate the position, that the writer is inferior to Paul in acuteness, and in definiteness of expression. Among these are *οὐν* in Heb. iv. 14, which refers back to Heb. ii. 17; and *γάρ* in viii. 4, where *οὐν* might be expected, and the same particle in vii. 12, 13, where *δέ* would be more accurate; as also in v. 11 [12], 13, etc.

How all this, and more of the like kind which he brings forward, agrees with the *φράσις* 'Ελληνικωτέρα, which he so earnestly contends for, in our epistle, and its fine regular periods and methodical rhythmus, I am unable to see. The truth is, when one point is to be made out by *critiques* of this nature, then the ancient *dictum* of Origen in regard to the style of our epistle, is brought forward with confidence; but when this point is out of sight, and the real state of facts in respect to style comes simply before the mind, then difficulties and peculiarities of construction enough may be found, and are actually found. How any man, who has written a commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews, can deny that there are suspended and incomplete sentences and sentiments in it, and (to say the least) as much obscurity arising from these constructions, as there is in any of Paul's acknowledged epistles, I am not able to see.

In respect to the thing itself just stated, which Bleek denies, and even ventures to affirm that 'the writer has avoided such constructions with the greatest care;' this is a matter of *fact*, and not of opinion. *Examples* are not to be set aside by simple denial, and allegation of the contrary. Readers are capable of judging for themselves; and to them Bleek and myself must leave it to decide, whether the instances produced correspond with the character which I have given them.

To the method of argument which I have thus far employed, in order to show the probability that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, some objections have been, and may be raised.

It may be asked, 'Did not Paul's hearers, disciples, and intimate friends, who travelled with him, daily conversed with him, and for years heard his instructions, cherish the same views of doctrine that he did? And in writing the epistle to the Hebrews, might not an attentive hearer of Paul, and a reader of his epistles, exhibit the same sentiments? And further, if the same general manner in which the contents of his epistles are arranged, or the contents of some of them, be found in the epistle to the Hebrews; or if the particular manner in which he quotes or employs passages of the Jewish Scriptures, or interprets them; or if even his method of stating arguments, and employing imperfect syllogisms or sentences, be found in this epistle; still, may not some favourite disciple of his, some devoted follower and successful imitator of his manner, be naturally supposed to have derived all this from hearing him and reading his letters? And how then can arguments of this nature *prove*, that Paul wrote the epistle in question?

Prove it, in the way of demonstration, they certainly cannot; nor is this the purpose for which they are adduced. But of this, more hereafter. At present I merely observe, that the force of these objections is very much diminished, if in comparing the epistle to the Hebrews with the writings of Paul, it shall appear that not the strain of sentiment only, not merely the general arrangement of the contents of the epistle or the particular manner of it in respect to various ways of reasoning, or constructing syllogisms and sentences, but even the idiomatical and distinctive *style* and *diction* itself of Paul

abound in it. These none but a writer that was a mere copyist or plagiarist could exhibit. But such a writer is one of the last men who can be justly suspected of having composed an epistle like that to the Hebrews.

These suggestions naturally lead us, in the next place, to a comparison in respect to *phraseology* and *words*, between the acknowledged writings of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews.

XXIII. COMPARISON OF THE PHRASEOLOGY AND DICTION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS AND OF THE ACKNOWLEDGED EPISTLES OF PAUL.

1. *The similarity of phraseology and diction, where the same words, or synonymous ones, are employed; or where the shade of thought or representation is peculiar and homogeneous, although the language may be somewhat diverse.*

Heb. i. 2, Δι' οὗ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας [ὁ θς] ἰσχύει.

Eph. iii. 9, Τῷ [θς] τὰ πάντα κτίσται διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Heb. i. 3, Ὁς ὡς ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

Col. i. 15, Ὁς ἵσται πρὸ τοῦ θς τοῦ ἀρχαίου.

Phil. ii. 6, Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ θς ὑπέσχετο.

2 Cor. iv. 4, Ὁς ἵσται πρὸ τοῦ θς.

Heb. i. 3, Φέροι τι τὰ πάντα ἐν ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.

Col. i. 17, Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηται.

Heb. i. 5, Τίς μου ὦς, ἐγὼ σήμερον γέννηκά σε.

Acts xiii. 33, Τίς μου ὦς, ἐγὼ σήμερον γέννηκά σε; used here by Paul, and applied in both passages (but no where else in the New Testament) to Christ.

Heb. i. 4, Ταῦτα πάντα γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἀγγέλοι, ὅσοι διαφορέστεροι παρ' αὐτοὺς πεποιημένοι ὄνομα.

Eph. i. 21, Ὅσα πάντα κατὰ δυνάμεις ὁμομαζομένου οὗ μόνου ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

Phil. ii. 9, Ὁ θς ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομάτων ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πάντες γένουσι πνεύματι ἰσχυαίοντες π. τ. λ.

Heb. i. 6, Τὸν πρωτότοκον

Rom. viii. 29, Εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον.

Col. i. 15, Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. Ver. 18, Πρωτότοκος. This appellation is applied to Christ no where else, excepting in Rev. i. 5.

Heb. ii. 2, Ὁ δὲ ἀγγέλος λαλῶντος λόγος.

Gal. iii. 19, Ὁ νόμος διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλου. Comp. Acts vii. 53.

Here is the same sentiment, λόγος and νόμος being in this case synonymes; as (for substance) λαλῶντος and διαταγὴς are. However, Stephen once uses a similar expression, Acts vii. 53.

Heb. ii. 4, Σημεῖα τι καὶ τέρας, καὶ σημειώσεις δυνάμεως, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοί.

1 Cor. xii. 4, Διακρίσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.

1 Cor. xii. 11, Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διακρίων ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστῷ καθὼς βούλεται.

Rom. xii. 6, Ἐχόντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθῆσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα all spoken of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, and characterized by the same shade of thought, viz. the various or different gifts of this nature distributed by him.

Heb. ii. 8, Πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑπακένῳ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

1 Cor. xv. 27, Πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Eph. i. 22, Καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Phil. iii. 21, Ὑποτάξω ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα phraseology applied to designate the sovereignty conferred upon Christ, and found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. ii. 10, Δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.

Rom. xi. 36, Ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.

Col. i. 16, Τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.

1 Cor. viii. 6, Εἰς θς ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς Κύριος δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα a method of expression employed to designate God as the author of all things, and also as the lord and possessor of them, which is appropriate to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. ii. 14, ἵνα . . . καταργήσῃ τοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸν διάβολον.

2 Tim i. 10, Καταργήσαντες μὲν τὸν θάνατον. Καταργίω, employed in the sense of *abolishing*, rendering null, is exclusively Pauline. No other writer of the New Testament employs it at all, except Luke; and he but once, and then in quite a different sense from that attached to it by Paul, Luke xiii. 7

Heb. ii. 16, Σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, to designate Christians.

Gal. iii. 29, Εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἅρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ.

Gal. iii. 7, Οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ Ἀβραάμ.

The appellation *seed* or *sons of Abraham*, applied to designate Christians, is found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. iii. 1, Κλήσις ἰσχυραίου.

Phil. iii. 14, Τῆς αἰῶς κλήσις τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Rom. xi. 29, Ἡ κλήσις τοῦ Θεοῦ. The phrase *heavenly* or *divine calling*, applied to designate the proffered mercies of the gospel, is limited to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. iv. 12, Ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . καὶ τεμνόμενος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον.

Eph. vi. 17, Τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἧ ἐστὶ ῥῆμα Θεοῦ. The comparison of the word of God to a sword, is found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. v. 8, Καίτοις ὃν υἱός, ἱμαθῶν ἀφ' ὧν ἵσταδι τὴν ἰσχυροῦ.

Phil. ii. 8, Ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γινόμενος ὑπήκοος, μέχρι θανάτου. The idea of *obedience* in the humiliation and sufferings of Christ, constitutes the speciality and the similitude of these two passages.

Heb. v. 13, Νήπιος γὰρ ἐστὶ, ἰ. ε. a child in religion, comparatively ignorant, uninformed.

1 Cor. iii. 1, Ὡς νηπίος ἐν Χριστῷ, in the same sense.

Eph. iv. 14, ἵνα μηδὲν ἡμῶν νήπιον, in the same.

Rom. ii. 20, Διδάσκαλον νηπίων, in the same.

Gal. iv. 3, Ὅτι ἡμῶν νήπιον, in the same. This phraseology is limited to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. v. 14, Τελείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ στερὰ τροφή.

1 Cor. xiv. 20, Ταῦς δὲ φρονί τελείων γίνεσθαι. The word *τέλειων* is here the antithesis of *νήπιον*, and means *well-instructed*, *mature*. In this sense, it is well employed only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. vi. 1, Τελειότητα, an advanced, mature state, ἰ. ε. of Christian knowledge.

Col. iii. 14, Σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος, the bond or cement of a mature Christian state. The word *τελειότης*, in such a sense, is limited to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. vi. 3, Ἐάντις ἰσχυρίσῃ ὁ Θεός.

1 Cor. xvi. 7, Ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος ἰσχυρίσῃ . . . a phrase no where else employed.

Heb. vi. 10, Τῆς ἀγάπης ἧς ἐνδείξασθαι ὡς τὸ δοῦμα αὐτοῦ, διακονήσαντες ταῖς ἀγαθῶν καὶ διακονοῦντες.

2 Cor. viii. 24, Τῇ οὖν ἰδούσῃ τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν . . . ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείξασθαι. The similarity consists in employing *ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ἀγάπην* in both cases, constructed with *ὡς* before the object that follows.

Heb. viii. 5, Ὅστις ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκεῇ λειτουργοῦσι τῶν ἰσχυραίων.

Heb. x. 1, Ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχον ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων.

Col. ii. 17, Ἅ ἐστὶ σκεῇ τῶν μελλόντων . . . language respecting the figurative nature of the Jewish dispensation, which is appropriate to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. viii. 6, Κρίνοντες ἐστὶ διαθήκης μεσίτης.

1 Tim. ii. 5, Ἐξ μεσίτης . . . Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

Gal. iii. 19, 20, Ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. Ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἰνδὸν ἐστὶ.

The word *mediator*, applied to designate Christ, or Moses, is appropriate to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. viii. 10, Καὶ ἴσμεν αὐτῶν ὡς Θεὸς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴσονται μὲν ὡς λαός.

2 Cor. vi. 16, Καὶ ἴσμεν αὐτῶν Θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴσονται μὲν λαός.

Both passages are quoted from the Old Testament. The resemblance consists in the quotation and application of the same passage in the same manner, in both places.

Heb. viii. 10, Καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτοὺς.

Rom. ii. 15, Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτόν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.

2 Cor. iii. 3, Ἐγγεγραμμένοι . . . ἐν πλατῇ καρδίας σκευήσιν.

The passage in Hebrews is a quotation. But the other passages serve to show that such a phraseology was familiar to Paul, and that he probably derived it from the Old Testament passage quoted in Heb. viii. 10.

Heb. ix. 15, Θεωρῶν γενομένου ὡς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων.

Rom. iii. 25, Διὰ τῆς ἀσπυγξίας . . . ὡς ἰδοῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν πέραν τῶν προγεγενημένων ἁμαρτημάτων.

In these two passages the peculiar idea is expressed, that the efficacy of Christ's atoning blood extends back to past ages; an idea no where else brought to view in the same manner.

Heb. x. 19, Ἐχοντες . . . παρρησίαν ὡς τὴν ὕψους τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ.

Rom. v. 2, Δι' οὗ τὴν προσευχὴν ἰσχύκαμεν τῇ πίστει ὡς τὸ χάρις ταύτης.

Eph. ii. 18, Δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσευχὴν . . . πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

Eph. iii. 12, Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν προσευχὴν ἐν πιστάδῳ.

The idea of access to God, or παρρησία, bold, free access, or liberty of address, is designated in this manner only by Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. x. 28, Ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ μέγεθυσιν ἀποθήσκει.

2 Cor. xiii. 1, Ἐπὶ στήματι δύο μετρήσας καὶ τριῶν σταθῆσιναι πᾶν ῥῆμα.

1 Tim. v. 19, Ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μετρήσας. Such an expression is found elsewhere only in the words of Christ, Matt. xviii. 16.

Heb. x. 30, Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἰγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.

Rom. xii. 19, Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἰγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.

The similarity consists in quoting the same passage, in translating it *de novo* from the Hebrew in the same way, and applying it to show that punishment is the awful prerogative of the Deity, and that he will inflict it.

Heb. x. 32, Ἀθλῶσιν . . . τῶν παθημάτων.

Phil. i. 30, Τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, οἳ ἐῖδοι ἐν ἡμῶι.

Col. ii. 1, Ἠλίκαι ἀγῶνα ἔχῃς περὶ ἡμῶν.

1 Thess. ii. 2, Λαλῆσαι . . . τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι.

The phrase *contest*, in respect to afflictions, is peculiar to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. x. 33, Ὀπυδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσι διατρεχόμενοι.

1 Cor. iv. 9, Θιάτρου ἰγυθήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ, κ. τ. λ. . . language peculiar to Paul and to our epistle.

Heb. x. 33, Κοινοὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναστρεφόμενοι γινώσκοντες, *participating*, i. e. sympathizing, with the afflicted.

Phil. iv. 14, Συγκαταπαύσαντίς μου τῇ θλίψει, *sympathizing in my affliction*. The same figurative expression stands in both passages.

Heb. x. 38, Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

Rom. i. 17, Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

Gal. iii. 11, Ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

The passage is a quotation. But the application and use of it appear to be exclusively Pauline. In all the instances it is of the same form, and it differs in some measure both from the Septuagint and the Hebrew.

Heb. xii. 1, Τρέχομεν τὸν προκειμένον ἡμῶν ἀγῶνα.

1 Cor. ix. 24, Οὕτω τρέχειν ἵνα καταλάβῃται.

Phil. iii. 14, Τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ὑπολείποντες, τοῖς δὲ ἰμπροσθεν ἰκτανόμενοι, κατὰ σκοπὸν δίκης.

The resemblance here is, that Christian efforts are in each passage compared to a race; a comparison found only in Paul and in our epistle.

Heb. xiii. 18, Πιστεύομεν γὰρ, ὅτι καλὴν συνουσίαν ἔχομεν.

Acts xxiii. 1, Paul says, Ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνουσίᾳ ἀγαθῇ πιστεύωμαι . . . a manner of speaking found no where else.

Heb. xiii. 20, Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος.

Rom. xv. 33, Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος. Also in Rom. xvi. 20. 1 Cor. xiv. 33. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. Phil. iv. 9. 1 Thess. v. 53; an expression used by no other writer of the New Testament.

Heb. xiii. 18, Προσέχωμι περὶ ἡμῶν.

1 Thess. v. 25, Προσέχωμι περὶ ἡμῶν.

Natural as this may appear, at the close of a letter, it is peculiar to Paul and to our epistle.

To the instances of phraseology thus collected, may be added the greeting and benediction at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews, which is altogether Pauline.

II. Words which are found, among the New Testament writers, only in Paul and in our epistle; or, if found elsewhere, are used in a sense different from that in which they are here employed.

'Αγών in the sense of Christian effort, either in performing duties or bearing trials, Heb. xii. 1. 1 Tim. vi. 12. 2 Tim. iv. 7. 'Αδελφοί, brethren of Christ, considered in respect to his human nature, Heb. ii. 12, 17. Rom. viii. 29. 'Αδόκιμος, inept unfit, Heb. vi. 8. Tit. i. 16. 'Αδός, reverence, modesty, Heb. xii. 28. 1 Tim. ii. 9. Αἰρίομαι, to choose, Heb. xi. 25. 2 Thess. ii. 13. Phil. i. 22. 'Απαρτος, innocent, Heb. vii. 28. Rom. xvi. 18. 'Αρδύμα, sin, sinful infirmity, Heb. v. 2. Rom. v. 6. Διαθήκη, will, testament, Heb. ix. 16. Gal. iii. 15. It may be doubtful, perhaps, whether διαθήκη has the sense of testament, in the latter passage. 'Ελπίς προσηκουμένη, proffered Christian happiness, Heb. vi. 18. Col. i. 5. 'Εκλίνω to be despondent, Heb. xii. 3. Gal. vi. 9. 'Εδυναμίζω, to give strength; (passively) to receive strength, Heb. xi. 34. 2 Tim. iv. 17. 1 Tim. i. 12. Καταργῶν, to annul, abolish, abrogate, Heb. ii. 14. Rom. iii. 3, 31. vi. 6. 1 Cor. i. 28. Gal. v. 11, and elsewhere often in Paul's epistles. Καύχημα, glorying, rejoicing, Heb. iii. 6. Rom. i. 2. 1 Cor. ix. 15. Κληρονομία, lord, possessor, applied to Christ, Heb. i. 2. Rom. viii. 17. Λατρεύω, (δουλεύω a synonyme) θιῶ ζῶντι, Heb. ix. 14. 1 Thess. i. 9. Μή (οὐ) βλεπόμενα, the invisible objects of a future world, Heb. xi. 1. 2 Cor. iv. 18. 'Ομολογία, religion, religious or Christian profession, Heb. iii. 1. iv. 14. x. 23. 2 Cor. ix. 13. 'Ονομα, majesty or dignity, Heb. i. 4. Phil. ii. 9, 10. Eph. i. 21. But although this sense of ὄνομα in Heb. i. 4. is adopted by some eminent critics, still it seems to me more probable that it has the sense of appellation; see Heb. i. 5. seq. Οὐ πρὶς, nothing, Heb. iv. 13. Rom. viii. 39. Τελίω, to consummate in happiness, to bestow the reward consequent on finishing a victorious course, Heb. ii. 10. vii. 28. x. 14. Phil. iii. 12. 'Τέστις, confidence, Heb. iii. 14. xi. 1. 2 Cor. ix. 4. xi. 17. 'Ἰηουσαλὴμ ἱουδαίας, the abode of the blessed, Heb. xii. 22, comp. 'Ἰηουσαλὴμ ἄνω, Gal. iv. 26, in the like sense.

III. Peculiarity of grammatical construction in regard to the use of the passive verb instead of the active.

Thus in Heb. vii. 11, we find the phrase ἡ λαὸς γὰρ ἐκ' αὐτῆς νομοθετήσατο, for the people under it [the Levitical priesthood] received the law; where the Nominative case of the person who is the object (not the subject) in the sentence, is joined with the passive of the verb; and this mode of construction is employed instead of the active voice of the same verb followed by the Dative of the person who is the object; e. g. νομοθετήσατο λαῷ.

The like construction is found in Paul's acknowledged writings. E. g. Rom. iii. 2, ὅτι [αὐτοῖς] ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, they were intrusted with the oracles of God, instead of saying the oracles of God were entrusted to them. Rom. vi. 17—ὡς ἐν παρρέσει τίνων διδασκῆς, into which model of doctrine ye have been delivered, instead of, which form or model of doctrine was delivered to you. 1 Tim. i. 11, ἐπιστεύθη μοι, with which I was entrusted, instead of, which was intrusted to me, ἐπιστεύθη μοι.

This is a minuteness of grammatical construction, which a copyist of Paul would not be likely either to notice or to imitate. It affords, therefore, the more striking evidence that all proceeded from the same hand.

Finally, Paul frequently employs an adjective of the neuter gender, in order to designate generic quality, instead of using a synonymous noun; e. g. τὸ γνωστὸν, Rom. i. 19, τὸ χρηστὸν, Rom. ii. 4, τὸ πιστὸν, Rom. iii. 1, τὸ δυνατόν, Rom. ix. 22, τὸ ἀδύνατον, Rom. vii. 3, τὸ ἀσθενές, 1 Cor. i. 25. Compare τὸ ἀμεινάνειον, Heb. vi. 17; τὸ φαταζόμενον, Heb. xii. 21; τὸ πάλιν, xii. 13.

XXIV. REMARKS ON THE COMPARISONS MADE IN THE PRECEDING SECTIONS.

In the first place, without any hesitation, I concede thus much to those critics, who make light of the evidence drawn from such a comparison as has now been made, viz. that no evidence of this nature can ever afford what is equivalent to a demonstration of the fact, for the support of which it is adduced. But then demonstration is what such a case neither admits nor demands. If the writer's name were affixed to the epistle, it would not amount to proof of this kind; for might it not have been put there by another person, in order to answer some designs of his own? Nay, unless witnesses have given us testimony, who themselves saw Paul write the epistle, the proof is not of the highest kind that is possible; nor even then would their testimony establish the fact, unless we could be well assured of their credibility. By such a cri-

terion, however, the genuineness of no writing, ancient or modern, can be examined. It is *generally* enough for us, that an author's name is affixed to a writing. *Prima facie* it is evidence that it belongs to him; and it must be regarded as *sufficient* evidence, until it is contradicted either expressly, or by implication.

Let us suppose now, that after an author has published many pieces, and his style and sentiments have become well known, he publishes a composition of any kind without affixing his name to it; can there be no adequate, no *satisfactory* evidence, that it belongs to him?

This is the very question before us. I grant that *similarity* or even *sameness* of sentiment, in different pieces, does not certainly prove identity of authorship; for the friends, or imitators or disciples of any distinguished man, may imbibe the same sentiments which he inculcates, and exhibit them in similar words and phrases. I grant that the primitive teachers of Christianity were agreed, and must have been agreed, (supposing that they were under divine guidance,) as to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. But in respect to the *mode of representing* them; in regard to the style, and diction, and urgency with which particular views of doctrine are insisted on; what can be more various and diverse than the epistles of Paul, and James, and Peter, and John?

The reply to this, by critics who entertain sentiments different from those which I have espoused, is that 'the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews was an intimate friend, or a studious imitator of Paul; a man of talents, who, with unqualified admiration of the apostle's sentiments, mode of reasoning, and even choice of words, closely imitated him in all these particulars. Hence the similarity between the writings of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews.'

The *possibility* of this cannot be denied. Designed imitation has, in a few instances, been so successful as to deceive, at least for a while, the most sharp-sighted critics. Witness the imitation of Shakspeare which a few years ago was palmed upon the English public, as the work of that distinguished poet himself. But after all, such attempts have very seldom been successful, even where the most strenuous efforts have been made at close imitation; and these, with all the advantages which a modern education could afford. How few, for example, of the multitudes who have aimed at copying the style of Addison or Johnson with the greatest degree of exactness, have succeeded even in any tolerable measure; and none in such a way, that they are not easily distinguished from the models which they designed to imitate.

Just so it was in the primitive age of the church. The Christian world was filled with gospels and epistles ascribed to Paul and Peter, and other apostles and disciples. Yet no one of these succeeded in gaining any considerable credit among the churches; and what little was ever gained by any of them, proved to be temporary and of very small influence. This was not owing to want of exertion; for strenuous efforts were made by writers to imitate the apostolic manner of writing, so as to gain credit for their superstitious pieces.

But all of them failed. Indeed, nothing can be more egregious or striking than the failure. A comparison of any of the *apocryphal* writings of the New Testament, with the *genuine* writings of the same, shows a difference heaven-wide between them, which the most undistinguishing intellect can hardly fail to discern.

If, then, the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews was an imitator, a designed and close imitator, of the apostle Paul, he has succeeded in such a way as no other writer of those times, or of any succeeding ones, ever did. He has pro-

duced a composition, the sentiments of which in their shade, and colouring, and proportion, (so far as his *subjects* are common with those in the acknowledged epistles of Paul,) are altogether Pauline. Nay, he has preserved not only the order of writing which Paul adopts, but his mode of reasoning, his phraseology, and even his choice of peculiar words, or words used in a sense peculiar to the apostle. The imitation goes so far, it extends to so many particulars, important and unimportant, that, if our epistle was not written by Paul, it must have been an imitation of him which was the effect of settled design, and was accomplished only by the most strenuous effort.

But here, while I acknowledge the *possibility* of such an imitation, I must from thorough conviction say, that the *probability* of it does seem to be very small. With Origen, I must, after often repeated study of this epistle, say, *The sentiments are wonderful, and in no way behind those of the acknowledged writings of the apostles*, τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσια ἴστι, καὶ οὐ δευτέρα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, Euseb. Hist. Ecc. VI. 25. I cannot elsewhere find any higher intensity of mind; any more exalted conceptions of the true nature of Christianity, as a *spiritual* religion; any higher views of God and Christ, or of the Christian's privileges and his obligations to believe in, love, and obey the Saviour; any more noble excitements to pursue the Christian course, unawed by the threats and unallured by the temptations of the world; or any so awful representations of the fearful consequences of unbelief and of defection from Christianity. The man who wrote this epistle, has no marks of a plagiarist or of an imitator about him. Nothing can be more free and original than his thoughts, reasonings, and mode of expressing them. It is most evident, that they flow directly and warm from the heart. They are "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn." Where in all the ancient world did ever a plagiarist or an imitator write in this manner? A man who could form such conceptions in his mind, who could reason and exhort in such an impressive and awful manner, has he any need of imitating—even Paul himself? No; it may be said of him, (what Paul on another occasion said of himself in comparison with his brethren,) that "he was not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles."

Then how could such a man be concealed, in the first ages of the church, when the memory of those who were very distinguished has been preserved so distinct, and with so much care and reverence, by ecclesiastical tradition? Men who can write in this manner, cannot remain concealed any where. And the writer of such an epistle, it would seem, must have acted a part not less conspicuous than that of the great apostle of the Gentiles himself.

But antiquity, we are told, has attributed this epistle to distinguished men in the early church, to Clement of Rome, to Luke, or to Barnabas, each of whom is known to have been the warm friend and admirer of Paul.

I know this has been often alleged. But fortunately there are extant writings of each of these persons, with which our epistle may be compared; and which serve to show how little foundation there is for such an opinion. But of this more hereafter. I merely say, at present, that the great body of critics, for some time past, have agreed in rejecting the opinion which ascribes our epistle to either of the authors just mentioned.

Who then did write it, if Paul did not? And what is to be gained, by endeavouring to show the *possibility* that some other person wrote it, when so many circumstances unite in favour of the general voice of the primitive ages, that this apostle was the author? That the church, during the first century

of the apostolic age, ascribed it to some one of the apostles, is clear from the fact that it was inserted among the canonical books of the churches in the East and the West; that it was comprised in the *Peshito*; in the old Latin version; and was certainly admitted by the Alexandrine and Palestine churches. Now what apostle did write it, if Paul did not? Surely neither John, nor Peter, nor James, nor Jude. The difference of style is too striking between their letters and this, to admit of such a supposition. But what other apostle, except Paul, was ever distinguished in the ancient church as a writer; None; and the conclusion therefore seems to be altogether a probable one, that he was the writer. Why should all the circumstances which speak for him, be construed as relating to some unknown writer? Are the sentiments unworthy of him? Are they opposed to what he has inculcated? Do they differ from what he has taught? Neither. Why not then admit the *probability* that he was the author? Nay, why not admit that the probability is as great as the nature of the case (the epistle being anonymous,) could be expected to afford? Why should there be any more objection to Paul as the author of this epistle, than to any other man?

My own conviction (if I may be permitted to express it,) is as clear in respect to this point, as from its nature I could expect it to be. I began the examination of the subject unbiassed, if I was ever unbiassed in the examination of any question, and the evidence before me has led me to such a result.

But the arguments which are urged against the opinion that I have now endeavoured to defend, remain to be examined. They must not be passed over in silence, nor any of them be kept out of sight, to which importance can reasonably be attached.

XXV. OBJECTIONS.

THE objections made to the opinion that Paul was the author of our epistle, are numerous. All the hints which ancient writers have given by way of objection, have been brought forward of late, and urged with great zeal and ability. Arguments, internal and external, of every kind have been insisted on. Indeed, the attack upon the Pauline origin of our epistle has been so warmly and powerfully made, by many of the last and present generation of critics on the continent of Europe, that most who are engaged in the study of sacred literature, seem inclined to think that the contest is over, and that victory has been won. So much at least must be conceded, viz. that those who admit the Pauline origin of this epistle, must make more strenuous efforts than they have yet made, in order to defend their opinion and to satisfy objectors. To do this, is indeed a most laborious, and in many cases exceedingly repulsive task; for of such a nature are many of the objections, thrown out at random, and asserted with confidence, that an attack which cost but a few moments' effort on the part of the assailant, requires days and weeks of labour on the part of him who makes defence.

The question, however, is too important to be slightly treated. Nor will it suffice for those who defend the Pauline origin of our epistle, merely to select a few specimens of argument on the part of their opponents, and, showing the insufficiency or inaccuracy of these, make their appeal to the reader's sympathies, assuring him that the rest of the arguments employed by their oppo-

nents is of a similar nature. There are readers (and such are the men whose opinion on subjects of this nature are most to be valued,) who will not be satisfied with cursory, hasty, half-performed examination; and who, when you show them that one or more of an opponent's arguments is unsound, will not believe it to follow of course that all of them must be so. Above all, one must expect, that many doubters of the genuineness of our epistle will not be satisfied with having only one side of the question presented. It is reasonable that they should not; and if the objections which have weight in their minds, cannot be as satisfactorily answered as from the nature of the case might be justly expected, then let them have so much weight as is properly due to them.

It is but fair to warn the reader, that in entering on this part of our subject, his patience will be tried by the length and minuteness of the examination. Perhaps those only who fully know the present state of critical effort and opinion with respect to the literature of our epistle, will be able to find an adequate apology for such particularity as the sequel exhibits. But such probably will feel that the time has come, when objections must either be fully and fairly met, or those who defend the Pauline origin of our epistle must consent to give up their opinion, if they would preserve the character of candour. The present leaning of criticism is strongly against this origin; and the subject ought to receive ample discussion.

Whether the question at issue has been deeply, fundamentally, and patiently examined, by the principal writers who have given a tone to the present voice of critics, I will not venture either to affirm or to deny. I shall leave it to the reader, when he shall have gone through with an examination of these writers, to speak his own feelings.

XXVI. OBJECTIONS BY BERTHOLDT CONSIDERED.

BERTHOLDT has collected and embodied all the objections made by previous writers, which are worthy of particular consideration, in his Introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament. To these he has added some, which apparently were originated by himself. I shall briefly state his objections, subjoining to each, as I proceed, such remarks as the nature of the case may seem to demand. I shall also remark, at the same time, and for the sake of brevity and order, on the opinions of later writers respecting the several topics discussed, whenever occasion renders this expedient. The reader will thus have, in one view, the whole subject placed before him.

(1) 'It is a suspicious circumstance, and against the opinion that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, that he has not subscribed his name; since he says in 2 Thess. iii. 17, that it was his practice to do this, in order to show that letters purporting to be his, might thus be certainly known to be genuine.'

The reply to this is obvious. After Paul had written his first epistle to the Thessalonian church, in which he had mentioned the *second coming* of Christ, it appears that some one had written another letter, counterfeiting his name, in which *the day of the Lord* had been represented as *very near*. On this account Paul says, in his second letter to the same church, "Be not agitated by any message, or any epistle as from me, in respect to the day of the Lord as being already at hand," ii. 2. And then, to avoid the effects in future of any misrepresentation of this nature, he says at the close of the letter, iii. 17, "This salutation from me, Paul, by my own hand. This is the

proof [viz. of the genuineness of my letter] in every epistle [i.e. to your church] ; so I write." Let it now be noted, that the epistles to the Thessalonians were the first, in regard to time, which Paul wrote to any church ; at least, the first that are now extant. Under circumstances like these, when letters to the Thessalonians had been forged in his name, can the assurance that he subscribes all his letters to them with his own hand, be taken as a satisfactory proof, that in all his future life he should never address an *anonymous* letter to any church in any circumstances? Nay, can it in itself be any proof at all, that Paul would adopt the same custom in respect to all the letters which he might afterwards address to other churches? As this was only the *second* of his letters now extant, can any conclusion at all be drawn from it as to the rest in general, such as Bertholdt draws? It would be extraordinary, if in writing to a church where forged letters of his had been in circulation, the assuring them that he should put his name with his own hand to all his own letters addressed to them in future, should be appealed to as a proof that he must always do the same in all circumstances, and that he never should, on any occasion, write an anonymous epistle.

(2) 'No good reason can be given why Paul should conceal his name. Does he not intimate at the close of the letter, that he is yet in prison, but expects soon to be set at liberty? Does he not ask their prayers that he may be speedily restored? And does he not promise them a visit in company with Timothy, if his return be speedy? Why should Paul attempt to conceal himself, when he has developed circumstances which evidently imply that he was not concealed, and that he did not desire to be so?

But if this objection be of any validity, it is just as valid in respect to any other person, as to the writer of this letter. Why should any other writer attempt to conceal himself, when most clearly the tenor of the letter implies, that he must be known to those whom he immediately addresses? If there be any incongruity here, it applies just as much to any other writer as to Paul.

But is there no good reason imaginable, why Paul should have withheld his name? If he designed the epistle to be a *circular* among the Jews generally, (which from the nature of the discussion, comprising topics so interesting to them all, I am altogether inclined to believe was the case,) then might he not, as a measure of prudence, omit prefixing or subscribing his name directly, lest the prejudices of those Christians who were zealous for the law might be excited, on the *first* inspection of his epistle? *Ultimately* he might be and must be known, if the letter was traced back to the church to whom it was first sent, and the inquiries made respecting it, which the circumstances mentioned at the close of it would naturally suggest. To this the writer would probably feel no objection ; trusting that the arguments suggested in it might disarm prejudiced readers, before they came to the certain knowledge of the author. Is it an unknown, unheard of case, that men should write letters anonymously at first, but afterwards avow them? Or that they should write letters anonymous, but so circumstanced, and designedly so circumstanced, that inquiry might ultimately lead to a knowledge of the author.

Granting, however, that neither the reason of Clement of Alexandria, nor of Eusebius, nor of Jerome, nor the reason now given, for the apostle's withholding his name, is satisfactory ; still, is there no possibility that an adequate reason may have existed, why the letter should be sent without the subscription of the writer's name, of which reason we are ignorant? Let him be whoever he may that wrote the letter, does not the same difficulty, in every case, attend the explanation of its being *anonymous*? I can see no difference ; unless we

assume the position, that the writer meant it should be attributed to an apostle, and therefore concealed his own name. Such a writer, we cannot with any probability suppose the author of our epistle to have been. All—all is sincerity: fervent benevolence, ingenuous and open-hearted dealing pervade the whole.

Besides, the case in hand is not one without a parallel. The first epistle of John is destitute of the author's name, and has no inscription whatever to any church or churches. Yet tradition and the internal state of the epistle, satisfy us that John was the author; for, although this has been denied by some, it has been generally admitted. The fact that our epistle is *anonymous*, is not then a singular thing. Why should it be more wonderful that *Paul* should write an anonymous letter, than that *John* should do it?

Bleek (I. Sect. 71.) repeats and urges at length, against the Pauline origin of our epistle, the want of the usual salutation and of the author's name. He objects to the reason assigned for such omission, as being very unsatisfactory. 'How could Paul expect,' he inquires, 'that the messenger who carried the epistle would conceal the author's name? How could the apostle desire that he should? Or if the writer's name was at first made known only to the *officers* of the church to whom the epistle was sent, what possibility was there of concealing it from others, who would of course demand it when the epistle was read? Then why not put his name at once to the epistle? And if he declined to do this, why should he not at least have given it a direction to some particular church? Above all, why should not all this be done, when it is most manifest, from Heb. xiii. 18—23, that the writer was well known to his readers, and expected at once to be recognized by them?'

The answer to these considerations has already been virtually suggested. If there be difficulties and even things inexplicable, on the supposition that Paul wrote our epistle, they remain just the same in regard to any other writer as in respect to Paul; and if they prove any thing, they would go to prove that no consistent person, or one *saneæ mentis*, wrote the epistle; for how could he send an epistle without *inscription* or *subscription*? Yet we see that John did thus; and we do not think it, after all, a very uncommon matter, that an epistle should be anonymous. How many adequate reasons (adequate in the writer's own judgment, and such as would be so in ours if we knew them,) may have existed at the time when the epistle was written, for such a method of address, it is quite impossible for us now to determine. Less still can we determine, that there were no reasons of this nature.

It is quite aside, then, from the basis of sound reasoning, to urge such an objection as this; above all to lay so much stress upon it as some recent critics have laid. They may, if they please, reject all the reasons which have yet been offered, to show why our epistle is anonymous, yea, one may concede, if he will, that they have good reason to reject them all; yet this does not touch the point, whether the writer may not have had good reason in his own mind; nor whether Paul might not have such reasons; nor whether all the difficulties that are raised about the subject, do not lie as much against any other writer as against Paul.

Steudel, professor of Theology at Tübingen, has endeavoured to account for the want of *inscription* and *subscription*, by the suggestion that our epistle was at first only an *essay*, which was sent to some church by the author, in the state in which it was written, with the exception of a few sentences near the close that had an aspect of a personal nature; (Bengel's Archiv. IV. p. 87). But nothing seems plainer, than that the *direct* address in the second

person plural, in many places of the epistle, must have been originally designed for a particular society or circle of readers; consequently the first original object must have been *local*, although the writer intended, as I apprehend, that his epistle should eventually be *encyclical*.

In fine, Hug suggests, that 'the oratorical manner of the epistle may have induced the writer to commence it in the manner he has done, because an inscription and salutation prefixed to it, would have detracted from the agreeableness of its manner and the strength of its impression,' Einleit. p. 490. But this calculation seems to place the writer of our epistle too much in the light of a Grecian rhetorician, who with great care and nicety balanced and adjusted matters of taste in respect to oratorical effect in writing—a thing which seems to me entirely foreign from the real character of our author. There are, indeed, passages of genuine eloquence, yea, of the most touching, thrilling kind, in the epistle; but they are the spontaneous result of *feeling*, not of art or calculation.

Better is it, so far as I am able to judge, to disclaim at once our ability to offer a satisfactory reason why our epistle is anonymous, than to bring forward reasons which will not stand the test of investigation.

Bleek, after examining and setting aside the suggestions of Steudel, Hug, and others, comes to the conclusion, that 'if Paul had written our epistle he must by a kind of necessity have affixed his name to it, and inserted his claim to a clear and certain knowledge of the principles of Christianity, communicated to him from heaven, and also professed a strong affection for the Hebrews, and his ardent desire for their salvation; which he has done in his epistles to the Romans, Galatians, etc.' p. 302. He even goes so far as to say, that 'we may maintain with a pretty good degree of certainty, that such *must* have been the case, and that we can see no reason why Paul should have omitted to conciliate favour, and to gain a hearing in this way.' But inasmuch as this is not done, he thinks it 'a very weighty testimony that Paul was not the writer of our epistle; even more weighty than the omission of the usual greeting at the commencement of the epistle.'

In regard, however, to the manifestations of affectionate feelings toward those whom the writer addressed, and in respect to his earnest desire for their salvation, I know not how it would be possible to give higher evidence than the epistle now in reality affords. Is there only one method, and that in the way of simple affirmation, of exhibiting feelings of the kind in question? I trust this will not be said; and if not, then it cannot be said, that the writer of our epistle has not reached the highest point in offering real testimony of affection and concern.

In regard to his claims to apostleship and extraordinary revelations, Paul has not made this in all his epistles; he has made it apparently, only when it was called in question, and he was thus urged to enforce it. He has made it to churches planted by himself, who were witnesses of his apostolic gifts. But nothing can be plainer, than that the writer of our epistle did not stand in the relation of a bishop or overseer to those whom he addressed. His personal references, therefore, are few. And in such a case, is there any difficulty in supposing, that he would naturally think it expedient to forbear urging *personal* claims upon them?

After all, who will undertake to make it out, that circumstances now altogether unknown to us did not determine the mind of the writer, and for good reasons determine it, to omit *inscription*, *subscription*, and also the urging of all personal authority and claims? It is impossible to make this out; it is

impossible even to render it in any degree probable that they did not. Occurrences of a similar nature happen at all times, in all countries, wherever circumstances of an arduous, difficult, dangerous nature occur, where feeling is deeply concerned, and where prejudice is to be regarded and avoided. And such were the times of Paul; and such his relation to the Jews, and theirs to him.

I dismiss this topic, then, with the full persuasion that arguments to prove that Paul could not, and did not write an anonymous letter, and that he had not an occasion to do this, in order to act prudently and wisely, most manifestly never can be adduced. The utmost which can be said is, 'We are not able to see any good reasons for such a course.' This we may, if we please, fully concede; but then, this is quite a different thing from the affirmation, that 'such reasons never could have existed.' The latter can never be proved, nor even rendered in any good degree probable.

(3) 'The Jews of Palestine had a great antipathy to Paul, and always persecuted him, when he came among them. How can it be supposed that he should have addressed to them a letter, with the expectation that it would be read and regarded by them?'

That some of the zealots for the law in Judea were strongly opposed to Paul, is sufficiently evident from the history of his visits to Jerusalem. But that the apostles and teachers there were his warm and decided friends, is equally evident from the same source. Moreover, that there were private Christians there, who cherished a very friendly feeling toward him, is evident from Acts xxi. 17, where, on his last visit there, *the brethren* (*οἱ ἀδελφοί*), are said to have received him gladly. The persecution which ensued at this time, was first excited, as the historian expressly states, by Jews from Asia Minor, xxi. 27. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this. At Ptolemais, xxi. 7, and at Cesarea, xxi. 8 seq., he had warm friends; and at the latter place, he abode two whole years as a prisoner, before his removal to Rome. Were there no friends of his then in *Palestine*, among whom he could hope to find a listening ear;—no Christians, on whom he could hope that his arguments would make an impression? And after all, did he ever cease to speak to the Jews, to admonish them, to dispute with them, in order to vindicate the religion which he had embraced, because they were prejudiced against him? How unlike himself, then, does the objection which we are considering represent Paul to be! He did not *confer with flesh and blood*; he believed that the armour in which he was clad, was "mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds."

(4) 'But there is internal evidence, from the style of the epistle to the Hebrews, and from circumstances mentioned in it, which render it impossible to believe that Paul was the author of it.'

This objection is a very ancient one. It was felt, as we have seen, by Clement of Alexandria; deeper still, by Origen; and adverted to by Eusebius, and other fathers of the church. It would seem that there must be some real foundation for an objection, so long, so often, and so confidently urged. Late critics have attributed an irresistible power to it. Eichhorn and Bertholdt maintain, that it lies so upon the very face of the whole epistle, that every reader must be impressed with it. So strong indeed are their impressions with respect to it, that they seem to require no other argument, in order to satisfy them that Paul could not have written the epistle to the Hebrews.

That there are cases, where the general character of the style of one piece, is so plainly different from that of another, as to leave no doubt on the mind of

a discerning reader that both did not, nay even could not come from the same pen, certainly cannot be called in question. Who could ever attribute the epistles of John, to Paul, or to Peter, or to James? But that there are other cases, where the characteristic marks are not so discernible, and about which there may be a great difference of feeling in respect to the style, is well known. For example; the book of Deuteronomy is ascribed by one set of critics, of high acquisitions and refined taste, of great acuteness and discriminating judgment, to Moses as the author, because it betrays every where, as they think, the most indubitable marks of his style and spirit. Another class of critics, equally eminent for literary acquisition and discrimination, confidently draw the conclusion, that Moses could not have been the author, from the feeling which they have, on reading it, that it is composed in a manner totally diverse from the style and spirit of Moses.

Just such is the case, in regard to the speech of Elihu in the book of Job. One party reject it as spurious, because their *critical taste* leads them to do so; and another hold it to be genuine, for the like reason.

Isaiah, too, has met with the same fate. The last 26 chapters are now familiarly called Pseudo-Isaiah, by one party of critics; while another strive to vindicate the whole book as genuine.

Each party, in these cases, is confident and satisfied of the validity of their arguments. But what is the humble inquirer to do, in the midst of all these contests of taste and of opinion? How can he trust his *feelings* to decide, with confidence, in a case where the most acute and distinguishing critics differ, in respect to the judgment that a critical tact should give? He cannot do it with safety. In what way then shall one who examines for himself, be able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion? My answer in all such cases would be, MAKE THE ACTUAL COMPARISON; collate sentiment with sentiment, phrase with phrase, words with words. This is the kind of proof that is *palpable*, and is not left to the uncertain tenor of feeling, excited by mere insulated perusal; a feeling, which in cases where the composition read is in a *foreign* language, must be a very uncertain guide; and which even in our own vernacular language, not unfrequently misleads us.

Origen, as he avers, found the *thoughts* of Paul in the epistle to the Hebrews; but the *words*, he thinks, are better Greek (*ἑλληνικώτερα*) than the apostle wrote. He therefore resorts to the supposition, that a translator had given to it its present Greek costume, who had received the *sentiments* from the mouth of Paul. But Eichhorn does not limit the difference between the style of this epistle and those of Paul, to the quality of the Greek. "The manner of it," says he, "is more tranquil and logical, than that in which Paul with his strong feelings could write. Every thing is arranged in the most exact order. The expression is well rounded, choice, and very clear in the representation which it makes. Paul is altogether different; he is unperiodical, involved, obscure, writes poor Greek, is given to rhapsody and aphorism," Einl. sect. 260. Bertholdt has repeated the same sentiment, in almost the same words, in his Introduction to this Epistle, sect. 646. Bleek (p. 324 seq.) has also contended for the same thing, so far as the collocation of words, the rounding off of periods, fine rhythms, oratorical manner, and the avoidance of imperfect or suspended sentences, etc., are concerned; but in regard to perspicuity, connexion in the mode of representation, dialectical acuteness, and definiteness of expression, he thinks Paul is superior to the writer of our epistle; a very different representation indeed in these latter respects, from those of Eichhorn and Bertholdt.

If I may be allowed to express my own feelings, after having for many years annually devoted myself to the explanation of this epistle, translated it with all the care which I could bestow upon it, and minutely weighed every expression and word in it, I should say, that nothing could be more unfortunately chosen than the epithet, "*ruhig*," *equable*, *tranquil*, *void of excitement*, which two of these distinguished critics have applied to its style. I appeal to every man's feelings who reads it, and ask, Are there in the whole book of God, any warnings so awful as those here, and expressed with such mighty energy? Are there any threats of punishment for unbelief, so tremendous and impassioned as those in this epistle?

Then, as to 'every thing being arranged in such exact order,' as they aver, 'conclusion following conclusion, all in the manner of a good rhetorician;' the instances above produced in Sect. xxii. No. 2, and which might easily be increased, of enthymemes, and suspended construction, exactly in the manner of Paul, may help us to judge of this. Moreover, let any one make the attempt to translate this epistle into his own vernacular language, and he will then see whether all is so *well-rounded* and *perspicuous* as these critics represent it to be. I find ellipses as frequent here, as in Paul's acknowledged writings. Any good translation that exhibits the supply of these ellipses, and marks them by the common mode in which they are printed, demonstrates this to the eye. Hebraisms I find here, as well and as often as in Paul; see Sect. xxxii.

On the whole, however, I cannot but feel, in reading the epistle to the Hebrews, that the writer has reached the very summit of eloquence, and energy, and vivid representation, in many passages of his composition; but I am constrained to make a similar acknowledgment, in respect to many passages of the known epistles of Paul. I cannot perceive any striking diversity in regard to these characteristics.

To what cause now can it be attributed, that feelings so very different in respect to the character of the style, should arise in the minds of men when they read the epistle in question? Two reasons for this, I apprehend, may be given. The first and principal one is, that the main topics of this epistle are so diverse from those generally treated of in the acknowledged epistles of Paul, that they required, of course and from necessity, a variety of words, phrases, and ideas, that either are not common, or are not at all to be found, in his other epistles. This I regard as chiefly the ground of the judgment, which has so often been passed in respect to *dissimilarity* of style. The other is, that one comes to the reading of this epistle with his feelings impressed by the circumstance, that there is a want of direct evidence about the author; and consequently so tuned, as to be strongly agitated by any thing, which may seem to increase or diminish the probability that Paul was the author of it. That the doctrinal views contained in this epistle, have made many willing to get rid of its canonical authority, if it could be done, is not by any means improbable. After all, however, in a question where there is such a difference of sentiment in regard to style, among those who are capable of judging, the appeal must be made, and can be made, only to *actual comparison*. Such an appeal I have endeavoured to make above, in Sect. xxiii. xxiv. To array mere *feeling* or *apprehension* arising from the perusal of the epistle, against *actual comparison*, can never be to judge by making use of the best means of judging. Origen's authority, in this case cannot go far with any one who chooses to examine and decide for himself. Origen, with all his talents and learning, was far enough from being a Cicero or Quinctilian, in respect to taste and

nice discernment of difference of style. He makes assertions equally confident, in other cases, that will not bear the test of examination ; and assertions too, that have respect to the Greek language, his mother tongue. For example, he says that the want of the article before *Θεός*, in John i. 1, proves that the writer cannot have meant to designate the *supreme* God by this word ; thus intimating that the presence of the article is necessary whenever a writer means to designate the supreme God. But whether the supreme God be meant or not, can never be determined by such a rule ; for it is usual, in the Greek language, that the *predicate* of a proposition should be without the article, while the *subject* commonly has it. Moreover, in the very same chapter, *Θεός* stands without the article, in more than one instance, incontrovertibly for the supreme God ; e. g. in vs. 6, 12, 13, 18. Whether Origen's opinion, then, about the style of the epistle to the Hebrews, is well founded or not, is a proper subject of *examination*. The result of comparison has shown, that in respect to sentiment, phraseology, and diction, our epistle is filled with the peculiarities of Paul. I doubt whether any one of Paul's acknowledged epistles, compared with the others, will supply more, or more exact resemblances. It remains for those who follow the opinion of Origen, as to the style of our epistle, to point them out if they exist.

I know, indeed, that no critic can be argued out of feelings of this sort in respect to style. But he may reasonably be called upon to state the ground of those feelings ; specially so, when he asserts, with a confidence which is intended to influence others, that the style of the epistle to the Hebrews cannot be Paul's.

(5) But Bertholdt has made the appeal to *fact*. He has produced words and expressions which, he says, 'are not Pauline, and which serve satisfactorily to show that Paul could not have written the epistle to the Hebrews.' I proceed to examine them.

(a) 'In Hebrews xiii. 7, 17, 24, the word *ἡγούμενοι* is used for *teachers* ; Paul *every where* employs the word *διδάσκαλοι* for this purpose, p. 2937.'

The allegation that Paul *every where* uses the word *διδάσκαλοι* to designate *teachers*, is far from being correct. He uses, besides this, the words *πρεσβύτερος*, 1 Tim. v. 1, 17, 19. Tit. i. 5 ; *ἐπίσκοπος*, Acts xx. 28. Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7 ; *ποιμήν*, Eph. iv. 11. Very natural for Paul it must have been, to apply a variety of appellations to Christian ministers, which would correspond with those applied to religious teachers in the Jewish synagogues. These were *רַבִּי*, *pastor, leader, guide, prefect* ; *גִּבּוֹר*, *leader, guide* ; *רֹאשׁ*, *ruler, prefect* ; and *מְדִינָה*, *guide, director*. What could be more natural then, than

for Paul, when writing to Hebrews, to call the teachers in their churches *ἡγούμενοι*, which corresponds quite well with all the above appellations that they had been accustomed to give to their religious teachers ? Besides, the argument of Bertholdt, if admitted, would prove too much. The same mode of reasoning must lead us to conclude, that those epistles, in which Christian teachers are called *ἐπίσκοποι*, cannot be reckoned as Paul's, because *διδάσκαλοι* is not used instead of *ἐπίσκοποι*. The same may be said, in respect to the use of the words *ποιμήν* and *πρεσβύτεροι*. The consequence would be, that several of Paul's now acknowledged epistles could not be ascribed to him. But who that knows the variety of appellations which were employed to designate teachers in the Jewish synagogues, can attribute any critical weight to the fact, that such a variety of Greek terms is used, corresponding with the Hebrew appellations that were familiar to those whom our author addressed ?

And of all these Greek names of pastors, certainly none better corresponds with the Hebrew ones, than the word ἡγούμενοι employed in our epistle.

It may be added too, that Paul employed a term here which was not at all *unique*; for the same appellation is given to teachers in Luke xxii. 26. Acts xiv. 12. xv. 22. And besides all this, ἡγούμενοι is used for *teachers*, only *three* times in the whole epistle to the Hebrews, viz. xiii. 7, 17, 24, all in the concluding part of the epistle, and all standing so connected together, that the name once employed, would almost of course be repeated in the other instances.

(b) 'In the epistle to the Hebrews, κατέχειν βεβαίαν is used for *holding fast*, Heb. iii. 6, 14; and κατέχειν ἀκλινῇ, in Heb. x. 23; while Paul uses only κατέχειν simply, 1 Cor. xi. 2. xv. 2. 1 Thess. v. 21.'

On examination, I find the verb κατέχω, in the sense of *holding fast, carefully retaining*, to be exclusively Pauline. This word, then, affords an argument to establish a conclusion, which is the very reverse of that for which it is adduced by Bertholdt. The addition of βεβαίαν or ἀκλινῇ is evidently for the purpose merely of *intensity*; just as we may join an adverb to a verb for this purpose, or we may refrain from the use of it, and still employ the same verb simply in the same sense. What could be more natural, now, than for the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews to employ words of intensity, while in the state of strongly excited feeling in which he wrote?

(c) 'In the epistle to the Hebrews, we find εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, vii. 3, and εἰς τὸ παντελές, vii. 25, used to designate the idea of *forever*; while Paul always uses εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.'

Our author also employs αἰών in the epistle to the Hebrews, no less than *nine* times in the like way; viz. i. 8. v. 6. vi. 20. vii. 17, 21, 24, 28. xiii. 8, 21; while διηνεκές is employed only *four* times, viz. vii. 3. x. 1, 12, 14. Is it a matter of wonder, that he should sometimes employ other words than αἰών, which were synonymous; specially, if those words belonged both to common and to Hebrew Greek? Such is the fact, in respect to both the words in question. Διηνεκές is used by Ælian, Var. Hist. 1. 19; by Appian, Bell. Civ. I. p. 682; Heliod. Ethiop. I. p. 25. Lucian, V. H. I. 19; by Symmachus, translator of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, Ps. xlviii. 15. Παντελές is used by Ælian, VII. 2. XII. 20; by Josephus, Antiq. VI. 2, 3; and by Luke xiii. 11; and in our epistle, *once* only, viz. in vii. 25. But whether the sense of the word παντελές in Heb. vii. 25 is *forever*, may be doubted. Its etymology would lead to the sense of *prorsus, omnino, i. e. entirely, altogether, thoroughly*; and so many critics have construed it. Such is clearly the meaning of παντελώς; e. g. Jos. Antiq. IV. 6. 5. 2 Macc. iii. 12, 31. vii. 40; and so Bretschneider construes εἰς τὸ παντελές in Heb. vii. 25, in his recent lexicon. But supposing it does mean *forever*, in the case before us, can the argument, derived from the employment of such synonymes as belong to common and to Hebrew Greek together with εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, be of any validity to show that Paul could not have written our epistle?

(d) 'Αἰῶνας, in the sense of *universe*, is used only in the epistle to the Hebrews, i. 2. xi. 13. Paul employs other terms to designate the same idea, such as τὰ πάντα, etc.'

Paul, in the phrase τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, 1 Tim. i. 17, has employed the word in the same sense, as that in which it is used in the epistle to the Hebrews; and as the use of the word αἰών, in such a sense, is limited to Paul

and to our epistle, (so far as the New Testament is concerned,) if it proves any thing, it would seem to prove the very reverse of what Bertholdt has adduced it to establish.

(e) 'The word *πίστις* is *always* used by Paul, in the *restricted* sense of *πίστις εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*: in the epistle to the Hebrews, it is employed in a much wider latitude.'

So Bertholdt, p. 2939; and to the same purpose, Eichhorn, Einleit. p. 462. This objection has been repeated, greatly magnified, and dwelt upon, by Schulz, Brief an die Hebraer. p. 112 seq.; and by Seyffarth, de Epist. ad Heb. indole, sect. 33. These latter writers represent *πίστις*, when used by Paul, as always having reference to Christ or the Christian religion as such; whereas *πίστις* in our epistle relates, they aver, only to God or to things future, and means a firm confidence in the declarations of God respecting them; a sense in which, as they think, Paul never employs the word. With some modifications, and less confidently, Bleek has recently urged the like views. I. p. 310 seq.

I have united the objections and views of these writers under one head, in order to save the repetition of this subject. It deserves an attentive consideration.

There can be no doubt that Paul, in a multitude of cases, employs *πίστις* to designate belief in Christ as our Saviour and Redeemer. He often employs it to designate that state of mind which trusts in his propitiatory sacrifice or blood as the means of salvation, in opposition to any trust or confidence in our own merit as the ground of acceptance. But to aver that the author of our epistle does not disclose similar views, in regard to the nature or importance of *faith* or *belief* in Christ, seems to be quite contrary to the whole tenor of the epistle. What is the object of the whole? Plainly to prevent apostasy, i. e. renunciation of belief in Christ. But why is such a renunciation criminal and dangerous? Because Christ is of infinite dignity, and because when belief in the efficacy of his atoning blood is renounced, "there remaineth no further sacrifice for sin." To what purpose is the awful example of the effects of unbelief proposed in chapter iii., except to warn the Hebrews against renouncing belief in Christ? To what purpose are the parallels drawn in chapters iii.—x., between Christ and Moses, Christ and Melchizedek, between the great high priest of the Christian religion and the Jewish priests, between the sacrifice offered by the former and the sacrifices made by the latter, but for the sake of warning the Hebrews against renouncing their *faith in Christ*? Plainly for no other purpose. All the warnings, reproofs, and tremendous denunciations of the epistle, converge to the same point; they all have a bearing upon the same specific object.

In respect to the allegation that *faith*, in our epistle, is employed to denote belief or confidence in the declarations of God, specially with regard to the objects of a *future* world; this is true. But it is true also, that Paul in his acknowledged epistles employs it in a similar manner, e. g. in Rom. iv. 17—23, Paul represents Abraham, under the most unpromising circumstances, as believing that God would raise up from him, already *νεκρωμένον*, a numerous progeny. This belief he represents as an act of faith, *ἐπίστευσεν—μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει—οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ—πληροφρονηθεὶς—ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ [ἡ πίστις] εἰς δικαιοσύνην*. On the other hand, our epistle (xi. 8 seq.) represents Abraham as going out from his country, and sojourning in a strange land, *πίστει*. By *faith* also he obtained a son, even when he was *νεκρωμένος* (xi. 12), from whom a numerous progeny was to spring. Both these accounts cha-

racterize this whole transaction in the same way. Both describe the same acts as being *faith* on the part of Abraham. Both describe his physical state by calling him *νεκρωμένος*. Both treat the whole transaction as a rare instance of the power of faith, and appeal to it as an example most worthy of imitation. Surely here is something different from *discrepancy* of views in these writers. Is there not a *coincidence* which is altogether striking, both in the manner and even diction of the epistles?

But there are other circumstances in the account of Abraham, which deserve distinct notice. Paul, in Rom. iv. 17 seq., represents Abraham as believing the divine assurance that he should become the father of many nations; the assurance of that God, 'who restoreth the dead to life, and calleth things that are not into being.' In this expression the apostle evidently refers to the belief which Abraham entertained, that, in case he offered up Isaac as a sacrifice, God could and would raise him from the dead, or call another son into being from whom a numerous progeny would descend. So in Heb. xi. 17 seq., the writer represents Abraham as offering up Isaac, in *faith* that God would be able to raise him from the dead, from whence, as it were, he did obtain him, i. e. Isaac sprung up from one apparently *νεκρωμένος*, ver. 12. In both cases the writers have characterized the state of Abraham's mind on this occasion, by representing it as *faith*, *ἰστίτευσις*, *πίστις*. In both they disclose the same specific views of the point on which the faith of Abraham rested, and they characterize it in the same way. Is not here a minute coincidence of thought, expression, and manner of representing faith, which creates strong presumption in favour of the opinion, that the writer in both cases was the same person?

Again; in Heb. xi. Noah is represented as divinely admonished respecting future occurrences, and as preparing an ark for his safety in consequence of his *faith* in the admonition which he had received. The writer then proceeds to say, that by this act he became an heir *τῆς κατὰ πλῆριν δικαιοσύνης*, of *that justification which is by faith*; the very expression and the very idea which Paul so often repeats in his acknowledged epistles, viz. those to the Romans and Galatians. What other writer of the New Testament, except Paul, has employed such an expression?

It is true, indeed, that the author of our epistle does represent faith, in Heb. xi. as confidence in the declarations of God respecting future things. But it is equally true, that this was the view of it which he was naturally led to present, from the circumstances of the case before him. His appeal was to the worthies of former days, as examples of *belief*. Belief in what? Not in Christianity surely, which had not then been revealed. Could the writer, when characterizing the actual nature of their *faith*, represent it as a belief in that which was *not yet disclosed* to them? Surely not; but he must represent it, and does represent it, as a belief in what God *had disclosed* to them. The nature of the case rendered it impossible, that their faith should be represented in any other light than this.

Just so Paul, in Rom. iv., represents the faith of Abraham as *justifying faith*, and appeals to it in proof of the fact, that faith is a means of justification. Yet not a word is said there of Abraham's belief in Christ. In what respect does this case differ from that of all the examples cited in Heb. xi.? Rather, is there not a *sameness* of principle in the two instances of faith? Both respect *future* things depending on the promise of God; neither have any special reference to Christ.

The truth is, that faith, in its *generic* nature, is belief or confidence in the

promises or revelations of God. Now whether these respect things future, things of another world, or things past, or the nature, character, offices, and work of the Messiah, faith receives them all. Faith, therefore, in the ancients, who gave entire credit to what was revealed to them, was the same *principle* as faith in him who believes in Christ, because Christ is proposed to him. Circumstances only make an apparent difference in the case. The *disposition* is always the same.

That Paul thought thus of this subject, is clear enough from the example of Abraham, which he cites as a signal instance of justifying faith in Rom. iv. But besides this, we have other proof that Paul has not always represented faith as having reference only to Christ. He has also represented it as it commonly appears in our epistle. So 2 Cor. v. 7, *We walk by faith and not by sight* i. e. we live as those who confide or believe in the realities of a future world, not like those who regard only visible objects. So too in 1 Cor. xiii. 13. In 1 Thess. i. 8, we have ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θῆον; 1 Cor. xii. 9, πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι. So in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 13. Eph. vi. 16. 1 Thess. v. 8, and in many other passages, faith has a variety of meanings, and is not limited to belief in Christ only. I am unable to see, therefore, why this argument should be so strenuously urged as it is by Schulz and others, and relied upon as so decisive. I can see no other difference between the *faith* of our epistle, and that which the writings of Paul present, than what the nature of the examples to which our author appealed necessarily requires. When Paul makes a like appeal, he treats the subject in the same way; e. g. in Rom. iv. And nothing can be farther from correctness than to aver, that Paul always employs πίστις in the sense of *Christianity*, or *believing in Christ*. Merely opening a Greek lexicon or concordance at the word πίστις, is ample refutation of this assertion. Paul employs the word in all the latitude which is elsewhere given it in the New Testament; and that embraces a great variety of specific significations, nearly all of which range themselves under the general idea of *confidence in the divine declarations*.

That it is the great object of our epistle to inculcate belief in Christ, and to warn the Hebrews against unbelief, I suppose will not be denied. What foundation, then, can Schulz have for saying, that "the Pauline idea of belief is altogether foreign to this writer?" Above all, how could he add, that "a sentence like the Pauline one, ὁ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἀμαρτία ἐστίν, would sound strange enough in the epistle to the Hebrews?" Yet, strange as it may seem, in Heb. xi. 6 we have χωρὶς δὲ πίστεως ἀδύνατον εὐαρεστησαι [θεῷ].

On the whole, the representation of faith in our epistle, as it respects the case of Abraham and Noah, is not only exactly the same as that made by Paul, but in the mode of representation are actually found such strong resemblances, as to afford no inconsiderable ground for supposing that the writer of both must have been the same person.

(f) 'Σαρκενός, in the sense of *transient*, *temporary*, is used only in the epistle to the Hebrews, vii. 16.'

But first, this is a disputed reading. Not to rely on this, however, σαρκενός is used by Paul in the sense of *weak*, *imperfect*, e. g. 2 Cor. x. iv; a sense substantially the same with the one demanded here. Bretschneider renders it, in Heb. vii. 16, *ad naturam animale[m] spectans*; which is a *usual* sense, but not admissible here, on account of the antithesis ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου. Let it be then ἀπαξ λεγόμενον as to sense here, are there not such in nearly all of Paul's epistles? E. g. ἱξουσία, 1 Cor. xi. 10, in the sense of *veil*; in 1 Cor. ix. 12, in the sense of *property*; and so of many other words.

(g) 'The phrase *οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα*, for the *Christian dispensation*, Heb. ii. 5. is no where found in Paul's acknowledged epistles, in which he always employs *αἰὼν μέλλων*.'

But are not *οἰκουμένη* and *αἰὼν* employed as *synonymes* in the New Testament? Both correspond to the Heb. *עוֹלָם*. Besides, in Heb. vi. 5 this very phrase, *αἰὼν μέλλων*, is once employed by the writer in the sense of *Christian dispensation*; and *οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα* is used but *once* in our epistle, viz. in Heb. ii. 5. Must the same writer always employ the very same phraseology, when he has a choice of synonymous words? Besides, it is not true that Paul uses the phrase *αἰὼν μέλλων* for the *Christian dispensation*. Once only does he employ this phrase, viz. in Eph. i. 21, and then simply in the sense of *future world*.

(h) 'But where is Christ called a *high priest* and an *apostle*, except in Heb. iii. 1? It cannot be imagined that the reverence which the apostles bore to their master, would permit them to call him an *apostle*.'

As to the appellation *ἀρχιερεύς*, nothing could be more natural than for the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews to apply this to Christ. He labours to prove that Christianity has a preference over Judaism in *all* respects; and consequently, that it has a *high priest* exalted above the Jewish one. How could the writer avoid calling Christ a high priest? If Paul has no where done this in his acknowledged epistles, it may be for the obvious reason, that he has no where drawn such a comparison in them.

In respect to *ἀπόστολος*, Wetstein has shown (on John ix. 7), that one of the names which the Jews applied to their expected Messiah, was *מְלִיץ*, i. e. *sent*, i. q. *ἀποσταλμένος*, *ἀπόστολος*, *apostle*. Besides, a common name of a prefect of the Jewish *synagogue*, was *רַב־מְלִיץ*, *ἀπόστολος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*; in the Apocalypse, *ἄγγελος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. Now the object of the writer in Heb. iii. 1 seq., is to compare Christ as appointed over the household of God, with Moses in a similar office. Since then *מְלִיץ*, meant *curator ædis sacræ*, *ædituus*, and such an office was the very object of comparison, nothing can be more natural than that our author should name Christ *מְלִיץ*, i. e. *ἀπόστολος*. See Comm. on Heb. iii. 1. And why should it be considered as incompatible with that *reverence* which Paul had for Christ, that he should call him *ἀπόστολος*? The same Paul, in Rom. xv. 8, calls Jesus Christ *διάκονον τῆς περιτομῆς*. Is *διάκονος* a *more honourable* appellation than *ἀπόστολος*? Or because Paul calls Christ *διάκονος* in this case, are we to draw the inference, that he did not write the epistle to the Romans, since this word is no where else applied by him in this manner? Such a conclusion would be of the same nature and of the same validity, as that which Bertholdt has drawn from the use of *ἀπόστολος* and *ἀρχιερεύς* in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Thus much for *words* and *phrases*. Bertholdt next brings forward *sentiments* in the epistle to the Hebrews, which, he says, are diverse from Paul's, if not in opposition to them.

(1) 'In Heb. x. 25 seq., the speedy coming of Christ is mentioned; and so it is often by Paul. But in the epistle to the Hebrews it is evidently a *moral* coming, a *moral* change; whereas Paul every where speaks of it as an *actual* *visible* coming of Christ.'

This difficulty depends entirely upon the writer's exegesis. Whatever the nature of the coming of Christ may be, I venture to say, it is palpably re-

presented in the same manner in the epistle to the Hebrews and in the epistles of Paul. Indeed, so far has the representation in the epistle to the Hebrews appeared to some from being plainly a *moral* one, that a portion of the most distinguished commentators have understood it as having respect to the *natural* changes that are to take place, when Christ shall come at the end of the world. So Storr; and others also, both before and after him. Paul surely says little or nothing, which more certainly designates the *actual visible* coming of Christ, than this epistle. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 5, 6. Phil. i. 10. iv. 5. 1 Thess. iii. 13. v. 1—6. v. 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. Tit. ii. 11—13. Compare also with these representations, 2 Thess. ii. 1—10, where Paul explains his views in respect to the coming of Christ. Indeed, so much alike is the representation of this subject, in the epistle to the Hebrews and in Paul's epistle, that many critics have used this very circumstance as a proof that the author of both must have been the same person; an argument not valid, however, because the same representation is common to other writers of the New Testament. Still, the mention of this serves to show, that the exegesis of Bertholdt, in this case, is not to be relied on with such confidence as he places in it.

(2) 'According to the epistle to the Hebrews, the propitiatory office of Christ continues *forever* in the heavenly world, vii. 24 seq.; whereas Paul, on the contrary, considers the atonement for men as already *completed* by the death and resurrection of Jesus, Rom. iv. 25.'

This argument is surely not well chosen. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says, in so many words, that the high priest of Christianity had no daily necessity, like the Jewish priests, to make offerings first for his own transgressions and then for those of the people; "for this he did once for all, when he made an offering of himself," vii. 27. And again; "Nor had he need often to repeat the sacrifice of himself (as the high priest yearly enters into the holy place with blood not his own); for then he must have suffered often since the foundation of the world; but now in this last age, he has appeared once for all, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as all men die, once for all, and then go to the judgment; so Christ was offered up, once for all, to take away the sins of many; and when he shall make his second appearance, it will not be to atone for sin, but to bestow salvation on those who look for him," ix. 25—28. How can words make it more certain, that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews considered the propitiation or atonement as entirely *completed* by the death of Christ.

It is true, indeed, that the same author also represents Christ as for ever living, and exercising the duties of his office as an intercessor (or helper) for the saints, before God: "He, because he continueth forever, hath an unchangeable priesthood; whence he is able to save to the uttermost those who come unto God through him, since he ever lives to intercede for (*ἵκεται* to *help*) them," vii. 24, 25. With which agrees another representation, in ix. 24; "Christ has entered into heaven itself, henceforth to appear before God for us." But are these sentiments foreign to Paul, as Bertholdt alleges? "Who shall accuse the elect of God?—God acquits them. Who shall pass sentence of condemnation upon them? *It* is Christ, who died for them; rather, who is risen again, who is at the right hand of God, and *who intercedes* for (*ἵκεται*) them," Rom. viii. 33. Here is not only the very same idea as in the epistle to the Hebrews, but even the very same term (*ἵκεται*) is used in both. Instead then of

affording any evidence *against* the opinion that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, the point in question affords evidence in favour of it. Paul, and Paul only, of all the apostolic authors, has presented the idea of the *intercession* of Christ in the heavenly world. To say the least, the whole mode of representing this subject is Pauline. The only difference between the epistle to the Romans and the epistle to the Hebrews, is, that in the latter case, the nature of the argument which the writer had employed, required him to represent Christ as performing the functions of a priest in the heavenly world. But it is plainly the intercessory function which he is represented as continuing there to perform, in the passages which I have cited.

(3) 'The doctrine respecting the *Logos*, in the epistle to the Hebrews, is of Alexandrine hue, and evidently resembles that of John, and not of Paul. E. g. the divine *Logos* (λόγος θεοῦ) is quick and powerful, etc., iv. 12, 13; also, Christ is a priest κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου, iii. 16. So too, when Christ is represented as making an offering διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου, ix. 14, this, as well as the other cases, coincides with the views and representations of John, and not of Paul.'

If now a critic will do such violence to the laws of exegesis, as to construe these passages so as to make them have respect to the doctrine of the *Logos*, the best way to answer him would be to show that his principles of interpretation are without any good foundation. I cannot turn aside to do this here, as it more properly belongs to the exegesis of the epistle. I shall content myself with merely observing, that one of the last ideas which can well be deduced from the passage respecting the λόγος θεοῦ just referred to, is that which Bertholdt has deduced from it. His deduction does equal violence to the context, and to the whole strain of reasoning in our epistle. And where does John speak of Christ's *eternal priesthood*, or of his offering made in heaven διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου? And what resemblance have his writings to our epistle in this respect?

At the conclusion of the arguments which I have now reviewed, Bertholdt adds, "With such real discrepancies between the epistle to the Hebrews and those of Paul, it is impossible that identity of authorship should exist, p. 2943."

If indeed the discrepancies were made out as clearly as Bertholdt supposes them to be, there might be some difficulty in supposing identity of authorship; at least we could not suppose this, without at the same time conceding that the writer was at variance in some measure with himself. But the conclusion which Bertholdt here draws, of course depends entirely on the fact, that all his allegations in respect to discrepancies of style and sentiment are well supported. Whether this be so, must now be left to the reader to judge.

But there are other recent writers, who remain to be examined, that have gone into the subject under discussion much more thoroughly and copiously than Bertholdt. I refer in particular to Dr Schulz of Breslau, in the introduction to his *Translation of the epistle to the Hebrews, with brief notes*, published A. D. 1818; and to Seyffarth, in his tract *De Epistolæ ad Heb. indole maxime peculiari*. This last work especially has been spoken of with strong commendation by many critics; and Heinrichs, who, in the first edition of his *Commentary on the Hebrews*, defended the Pauline origin of our epistle, has, in the second edition of the same, declared himself a convert to the side of those who disclaim Paul as the author; attributing his conviction principally to the essay of Seyffarth just mentioned. As these works are late critical

attempts to discuss at length the question under examination, and as they have manifestly had no small degree of influence upon the views of most of the continental critics of the present time, a particular examination of them becomes necessary.

XXVII. OBJECTIONS OF SCHULZ CONSIDERED.

THAT Dr Schulz is a man entitled to high respect for acuteness and strength of intellectual power, is sufficiently manifest, from his work on the Sacrament, entitled *Die christl. Lehre vom heil. Abendmahle, nach dem Grundtexte des N. Testaments*, A. D. 1824 ; a work which, from the talent it develops and the discussion that it has excited, bids fair perhaps to bring this long controverted subject to some close, in the Lutheran church. His acquisitions of a *philological* nature are such, also, that great expectations were excited among not a few in Germany, (if the Reviews are to be credited), when it was announced that Dr Schulz's commentary on our epistle was about to appear. I make these remarks principally to show, that a particular attention to his work is not only allowable on the present occasion, but really necessary, if one would even seem to preserve the attitude of impartiality.

Nearly the whole *Introduction* of Schulz is devoted to the consideration of the question; who was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews? or rather, to showing that Paul was not the author, pp. 1—158. Previously to writing this, the author had been engaged in controversy on the subject, with his colleague Scheibel. The whole work bears the appearance of a heated, if not an exasperated, state of mind; and while it discloses some vivid thoughts and pungent considerations, it also discloses some adventurous remarks and extravagant criticisms; to which the sequel of this examination will bear testimony.

The first fifty pages are devoted to the examination of Meyer's *Essay, on the internal grounds for supposing that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul*.* This examination proffers some remarks worthy of consideration, and which may serve to show that Meyer, in some cases, has pushed his comparisons too far. It is not to my purpose, however, to review this; as the subject has already been presented above, in sect. 21. My only object is, to select from Schulz such arguments against the Pauline origin of our epistle, as have not already been examined, in order that the reader may obtain a full view of our subject. These arguments I shall now subjoin, with such remarks upon each as the nature of the case may seem to require.

(1) 'It is incomprehensible, and indeed quite impossible, that, if Paul wrote this epistle, early Christian antiquity should have been so doubtful about it, and the epistle itself have been received by the church so late and with so much difficulty; and after all, received only by some, and not at all by the generality of Christians. Such a fate did no other book of the New Testament meet with; not even the epistles which are addressed to individual persons.' p. 48.

This objection borrows all its importance, from assuming the fact that our epistle was early and generally doubted in the churches, and at last but partially and doubtingly received. Whether Schulz had any good right to as-

* Printed in Ammon and Bertholdt's *Kritisches Journal der neuesten theol. Literatur*. 12, 125 seq.

sume such a fact, must be left to the judgment of those who have read and weighed with impartiality the historical evidence already laid before them. It is unnecessary to retrace the ground here, which has once been passed over. The state of facts is far enough from showing that all early Christians were doubtful about this epistle; nor can it be rendered probable in any way, that doubts about it at any period had their origin in an *ancient* tradition that the epistle was not written by Paul. The doubts suggested are either merely of a *critical* nature; or else they are such as would seem to have originated in *doctrinal* opinions that are apparently thwarted by our epistle.

Nor is it correct to say, that other parts of the New Testament were not early doubted by some churches; nay, some of it was doubted by many. Witness the fact, that Eusebius (Ecc. Hist. III. 25) classes among the *ἀντι-λεγόμενοι*, James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 John, and 3 John. Witness the fact, that the old Syriac version (Peshito) does not comprise either of these epistles, that of James excepted. Who, that is acquainted with the early state of criticism and the history of our canon, does not know that the ancient churches were not, for a long time, agreed in respect to all these epistles? Yet neither Schulz, nor any considerate critic, would decide that these books were spurious, because doubts had been raised respecting them. Are not the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John doubted, and called in question by some learned critics even at the present time? Shall they be given up, because they are called in question?

(2) 'The epistle to the Hebrews is altogether *unique*; so much so, that no other writer of the New Testament could have produced it. Every one who can comprehend peculiarities, and is able to distinguish them, must acknowledge this to be so. Nothing more than this fact needs to be considered, in order to decide the matter.' p. 59.

If the writer here means that the *style* is *unique*, then I must refer to the evidences of the contrary in the preceding pages. If he means that the selection of particular *words* is *unique*, this is to be hereafter considered, when the selection which Dr Schulz has made, comes to be examined. If he means that the *matter* is *sui generis*, I readily accede; but I demur to the allegation. Must Paul always write on one and the same subject, to all the churches? Were their circumstances and wants all just the same? E. g. is the first epistle to the Corinthians just like that to the Romans, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, etc.? Surely none of the others has much resemblance to it, in respect to the *matters* treated of. Does it then follow that this epistle is *spurious*, because the subjects of it are *sui generis*? And is it any better evidence that the epistle to the Hebrews does not belong to Paul, because the subjects of which it treats are *peculiar*? When we can prove that the wants of all churches are one and the same; and that an apostle who addresses them can write, or ought to write, only upon one subject, and in one way; then, and not till then, can this argument of Schulz have any weight in deciding the question before us.

(3) 'The Hebrews addressed in this epistle are of a peculiar class. They seem to have regarded themselves as a species of *illuminati*, elect and favourites of heaven; as animated by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them; they are represented as despising the world, as inclined to mystical and allegorical views, as aiming at the acquisition of unearthly objects, etc. The epistle wins much for its exegesis by such a supposition.' p. 67 seq.

But supposing now all this to be correct, (which it would be difficult enough satisfactorily to prove), how would it show that Paul did not write our epistle

to them? And surely, if the Hebrews had such views of themselves, what the apostle says in chapters v. vi., and in some other places, was well adapted to humble them and bring them to sober consideration.

The proof on which Dr Schulz relies for the establishment of his assertion, is drawn from the use by the writer of our epistle, of such terms as ἄγιοι, φωτισθέντες, τέλειοι, ἀγιάζόμενοι, λαός τοῦ Θεοῦ, etc. But these are terms applied to Christians every where in the New Testament; and to the use of them nothing peculiar in our epistle can be justly attributed.

(4) 'The author of this epistle was a Judaizing Christian, who grants that Judaism is still to continue, yea to have a perpetual duration. Not a trace of any thing is to be found, which intimates an equal participation in the privileges of the gospel by Jews and Gentiles.' pp. 74. 80.

The *first* of these allegations is, so far as I know, altogether new. Nothing more need be said in respect to it, than to refer the reader to chapters viii—x., for most ample and satisfactory confutation. I had ever thought, before reading Dr Schulz, that the writer of our epistle was the last of men who could be justly accused of *Judaizing*. If his views do not agree with those of Paul, in respect to this matter, I am unable to see how language could express them.

In regard to the *second* allegation, it is sufficient to say that the object of the writer did not lead him to treat of the subject to which it relates. Are there not other epistles of Paul, which do not bring this subject to view? And must a writer always repeat the same topics? In what part of the first epistle to the Corinthians does Paul treat of the equal participation of the Jews and Gentiles in the privileges of the gospel, and maintain the equal right of the latter; as he does in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians? And is it not enough to say, that he did not do this because the occasion did not demand it?

(5) 'But Christ in our epistle, appears every where as the *Son of God*, as *apostle* and *high priest*. Where is he so represented by Paul?' p. 81 seq.

In regard to the appellation *Son of God*, it is often enough given to Christ by Paul. In respect to ἀπόστολος and ἀρχιερεύς, he is not so called, indeed, by the apostle in his acknowledged epistles. The only reason why the writer of our epistle calls him so, is obviously one drawn from the nature of the comparison instituted between him and Moses, and between him and the Jewish high priest. The nature of the composition and the object of the writer rendered this unavoidable. In the acknowledged epistles of Paul, no such occasion is presented of using the appellations in question.

(6) 'The design of the writer is *hortatory*. The motives which he urges to continue steadfast in the Christian belief, and in the practice of Christian virtue, are drawn, (1) From the great dignity of the Messiah. (2) From the danger to which apostasy would expose them. This danger is augmented by the consideration, that the *end of the world is near at hand*. p. 86 seq. Storr and others, who differ in their exegesis of passages which declare this, scarcely deserve contradiction.' p. 91.

The whole force of this rests, of course, upon the correctness of Schulz's exegesis. From his views of such passages as 10: 36 seq. and 12: 26 seq., I feel myself compelled entirely to dissent. But even if they be allowed, I see not how they can establish the fact that Paul did not write our epistle, provided we stand upon the same ground with Schulz. He will not deny that Paul had exalted views of the dignity of the Saviour, and of the obligation of Christians to continue steadfast in their acknowledgment

of him. *He* believes, too, that Paul expected the end of the world to be actually near at hand. What is there then in the sentiments of our epistle, inconsistent with these views of Paul as understood by him.

(7) 'Our author says nothing of Christ as judge of the world, but uniformly attributes judgment to God. Nor does he say a word of Hades, Gehenna, Satan (excepting in ii. 14, 15), the resurrection of the dead, and generally of the closing scene of all things; of which matters Paul treats so copiously.' p. 95 seq.

But surely the final close or destruction of all material things, is sufficiently intimated in i. 10 seq.; future punishment in iv. 11 seq. vi. 4 seq. x. 26 seq. xii. 29. In fact, where is there any thing in all the Bible, on the subject of future punishment, more awful and severe than these passages? That the names *Hades*, and *Gehenna* do not occur in our epistle, would be a singular argument to prove that Paul did not write it. Where in all the acknowledged epistles of Paul, is either of these words to be found excepting in one solitary quotation in 1 Cor. xv. 55, which exhibits *ᾗδης*? As to *Satan* this appellation does not indeed occur; yet its equivalent *διάβολος* occurs, in ii. 14. But the word *Satan* does not occur in the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon; are these epistles therefore *spurious*?

In regard to the *resurrection of the dead*, it is sufficient to refer to vi. 2, and to what is implied in xii. 22 seq. The passage in xi. 35, has reference to a resurrection different from the one now in question.

That the writer of our epistle did not make frequent mention of these topics, is easily accounted for on the ground that he was more immediately occupied with other ones. Are there not several of Paul's acknowledged epistles, which omit the same topics? But who will undertake to prove from this, that they are *spurious*?

(8) 'But not a word of Christ's resurrection; a theme on which Paul every where descants.' p. 97. Bleek also avers, in respect to this, that 'Paul seldom mentions the death of Christ, without at the same time mentioning his resurrection.' p. 308. But on the whole, he lays less stress upon the omission of this last topic in our epistle than Schulz does.

In respect to this subject it may be said, in the first place, that the representation of Bleek is an extravagant one, as it regards the topic of the resurrection of Christ. Where in all his epistles has Paul given this topic such remarkable prominence, except in 1 Cor. xv.? Often as the apostle mentions the death of Christ in his second epistle to the Corinthians, where has he insisted on his resurrection? Where is it in the epistle to the Galatians? Where is it made prominent in the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Titus? Assertions at hazard, on such a topic, should not be made; and one must not expect to find credit for them, among those who investigate for themselves.

Besides, what does Heb. xiii. 20 mean? And what is implied in viii. 1. i. 8. x. 12. xii. 2. ii. 9. v. 7—9? Are there not several epistles of Paul, where this subject is less frequently alluded to, or implied, than in our epistle?

(9) 'If Paul did not become wholly unlike himself and change his very nature, he could not have written the epistle to the Hebrews; which not only contains ideas foreign to his, but opposed to his.' p. 101.

This is *assertion*, not argument. The only way to convince those who dif-

fer in opinion from us, is to offer arguments for what we avouch; not merely to assume or assert it to be true.

(10) 'The grand point of Paul's doctrines is, that Christ is the *Saviour of all*; that he died or made atonement *for all*. There is nothing of this in our epistle. Paul every where makes *belief in Christ* essential to salvation, and looks with contempt upon Jewish rites and ceremonies. But our author evidently handles Judaism with a sparing hand, and treats with honour the shell, from which he endeavours to extract the nut.' p. 102 seq.

In regard to the first of these allegations, the reader is referred to Heb. ii. 9—11. v. 9. ix. 15, 28. xiii. 10; which afford hints sufficiently plain, that the writer did not regard the Messiah as the Saviour of the Jews only. But to treat, in our epistle, of the extent of his salvation among the Gentiles, plainly was not apposite to the particular design he had in view; and he might abstain from this topic, out of regard to the prejudices which those whom he addressed probably entertained (in common with most Jews) respecting it. Are there none of the acknowledged Pauline epistles, which do not treat of this subject? And must Paul always bring it into view, whether to do so would be timely or untimely, apposite or inapposite to the object of his epistle?

In respect to the *Judaizing* spirit of the writer, I must refer once more to chap. viii.—x.; and what has already been said above, on examining the fourth objection. And with regard to belief in Christ as essential to salvation, the great object of all the epistle to the Hebrews was to urge it. Dispute with one who denies this, would surely be in vain.

(11) 'Paul no where represents Christ as a priest, nor his intercession as procuring favours for men,' p. 109.

In respect to this objection, I refer the reader to what has already been said above.

(12) 'Paul has no where drawn a parallel between Christ and Moses.' p. 111.

But he did something very much like it, when he represented Moses and Christ as *mediators*, Gal. iii. 19 seq. And if he has not formally done it in any of his acknowledged epistles, it is enough to say, it was because the occasion did not call for it.

(13) 'Our author says nothing of the *kingdom of God*, or the *kingdom of Satan*, or of the *gospel of Jesus Christ*; ideas predominant in Paul's epistles.' p. 115.

But is not a kingdom ascribed to Christ in Heb. i. 8, 9. i. 10 seq. ii. 7 seq. x. 13. xii. 2? And are not Christians represented as belonging to it, in xii. 28? And are the second epistle to the Corinthians and the epistle to the Philippians not genuine, because the first of these phrases is not in them? Is not the power or reign of Satan recognized in Heb. ii. 14, 15? And as to *εὐαγγέλιον*, see iv. 2. iv. 6. Apply too the same method of reasoning to Paul's acknowledged epistles. *Εὐαγγελίζω* is a favourite word with this apostle; yet Philippians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, do not exhibit it. The word *εὐαγγέλιον*, too, is not found in the epistle to Titus. But is not the *thing* which it indicates, found there? It is; and so it is in Hebrews, as frequently as the nature of the case required; e. g. i. 1. ii. 1, 3. iv. 1. 2. v. 12. vi. 1 seq. x. 25. xiii. 8. 9, 17.

(14) 'How such expressions respecting the resurrection as occur in 1 Cor. xv. 4 seq. Rom. vi. 4. xi. 15. Phil. iii. 20 seq. Col. ii. 13. 1 Thess. iv. 15 seq. 2 Thess. ii. 2 Tim. ii. 18, with Acts xxiv. 15. xxvi. 6 seq., are to be reconciled

with the views of the resurrection presented in our epistle, those who defend the genuineness of the epistle may be called on to account for' p. 116.

In some of these citations, I can find no reference at all to the resurrection. In others (e. g. Col. ii. 13), there is simply a *figurative* or *moral* use of the term. As to the remainder, I can perceive no discrepancy between them and Heb. vi. 2. xi. 35 and what is implied in xii. 22 seq. As Schulz has not pointed out in what the discrepancy consists, I am unable to apprehend it.

(15) 'But 1 Cor. xv. 24 seq. is at variance with Heb. i. 2, 8 seq. 12, 13. vii. 24 seq., comp. v. 16. ix. 14.' p. 116.

Just as much, I answer, as it is with Luke i. 33. Dan. ii. 44. vii. 14. Mic. iv. 7. John xii. 34. Is. ix. 6. Ps. lxxxix. 37. 2 Sam. vii. 16; and no more. What interpreter, who has carefully studied the idiom of the Scriptures, does not know that לְעוֹלָם, לְנֶצַח, and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, are applied to things, to which a time of continuance is assigned that is not liable to interruption by any *adventitious* circumstances, and which are to endure the *full* period for which they were designed? So it is with the world, the mountains, the hills; they are לְעוֹלָם, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. So also the mediatorial reign is not to be interrupted, but to continue until all the designs of God in the redemption of men are completed. Then of course, it must cease; as no more mediatorial offices are to be performed.

And why too should Schulz suggest such a consideration, as a proof that Paul did not write the epistle to the Hebrews, when he makes no difficulty at all in suggesting, that the sacred writers are not unfrequently at variance with themselves? To allege the fact of *variance*, then, either with each other or with themselves, is no valid argument, on the ground upon which he stands. He is not here consistent with himself. And besides, has not Paul himself, recognized the *perpetuity* of Christ's dominion, in his acknowledged epistles? See Rom. ix. 5.

(16) 'The writer of our epistle, entangled with types and allegories, knows not how to say any thing respecting Christianity, except what he finds an analogy for in Judaism; so that his work is made up of parallels between the old and new dispensation, spun out to an excessive length. The limited circle in which this writer moves, his evident deficiency in activity of mind and in unfolding his own views, are altogether unlike the active, creative mind of Paul, that master-spirit, who moves with such perfect freedom, and controls at pleasure all his own views, without any subjection to the influence of others, or even being at all affected by any thing of Jewish origin; all of which was entirely at his command. Whoever should attribute this singular production to Paul, would show that he was little acquainted with him.' p. 119.

Yet (in p. 124) Schulz says, "One finds in the unknown author [of our epistle], more orderly deduction, more learned accuracy, and for the most part a well arranged, gradual ascent, from the point where he starts, which he usually establishes by quotations from the Old Testament, to the sublime region to which, as true, eternal, and heavenly, he directs every thing, and where he ends every thing; finally, more luxurious, oratorical qualities, than in Paul."

How this consists with the preceding representation, the writers of both may well be required to show. The reader, I am sure, must find difficulty enough to make them harmonize. But at any rate, the accusation that the

writer of the epistle to the Hebrews is not master of his own subject and own thoughts, is, so far as I know, *new*; and one which, (as I must confidently believe until I see more evidence to the contrary), it is unnecessary to answer.

(17) 'Heb. ii. 1, 2 proves that Paul could not have been the writer of our epistle; for he did not receive his gospel from others, but was immediately taught it by Christ himself, Gal. i. 11, 12. v. 15—19.' p. 125 seq.

Bleek (p. 285 seq.) has repeated this objection, and insisted on it with much earnestness, and at great length; and in his Review, p. 21, he asserts, that I have 'answered the objection of Schulz in a very brief and superficial way.'

If this be the case, then it will be well for me to look to it once more, and lay before the reader the materials from which he can make up his own judgment, independently of Bleek or of myself.

I remark, then, in the first place, that if the use of the *first person plural* by the writer, necessarily makes him one in all respects with those whom he is addressing, then the author of our epistle did himself need the admonitions which he has so powerfully and feelingly addressed to others; see ii. 1, 3. iii. 6. iv. 1, 2, 11, 13, 16. vi. 1—3, 18, 19. x. 22—25, 26, 39. xi. 40. xii. 1, 9, 10, 28. xiii. 10, 13, 15. Nay, he must have included himself among those who were shaken in their Christian belief, and who were in imminent hazard of final apostacy.

On the other hand, nothing can be plainer, than that he uses *we* or *ye* indifferently, for the persons whom he addresses; e. g. Heb. iv. 1, *let us fear . . . lest any one of you*, etc.; *we*, in xii. 1, 2; *ye*, in xii. 3—8; *we*, in xii. 9, 10; *ye*, in xii. 14—25; *we*, in xiii. 25—28, and often in the same manner elsewhere, the address being still most manifestly made to the very same persons. He often employs, also, the first person plural (*ἡμεῖς*) to designate *merely himself*; e. g. in Heb. ii. 5. vi. 9, 11. xiii. 18. This, in like manner, he interchanges with the first person singular; e. g. xiii. 18, comp. xiii. 19, 22, 23.

The same use of the first person plural runs through all the Pauline epistles; e. g. *ἡμεῖς* and *ἐγώ* for the writer himself, Gal. i. 8. comp. i. 9—24. Gal. ii. 5. comp. ii. 1—4, and ii. 6, 7, and so very often elsewhere. So *ἡμεῖς* and *ὑμεῖς* for the persons addressed, Gal. iii. 1—12. iii. 13—25. iii. 26—29. iv. 3—5. iv. 6—20. iv. 26—31, et alibi.

The substantial answer to the allegations of Schulz and Bleek is, that the figurative method of speaking denominated *ἀναχολούωσις*, in which the author includes himself although he does not mean himself, is often employed by all good writers and speakers. Bleek allows, (what indeed it is impossible to deny, that in warnings and exhortations such is the case, because the writer means to concede when he uses the *first person plural*, that he himself is bound to regard the like warnings, etc. But where the writer should evidently be exempted from the subject of the declaration he thinks it a plain case that *ἀναχολούωσις* cannot be used, and says that no instance of this nature has yet been produced.

But this method of meeting the argument is not satisfactory. For example; in Heb. vi. 1—3 the writer says, 'Let us go on to attain sublimer degrees of Christian knowledge, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, etc., [which surely he did not himself do] . . . and this we will do, if God permit, etc.' Now what is it that "we will do?" Plainly, 'we will go on to higher degrees of Christian knowledge, and not lay again

the foundation of repentance from dead works, etc., as we have done.' Now if one should reply and say, 'The writer may be included among those who are going on to acquire more Christian knowledge;' yet I would ask, is he among those 'who are laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, etc.? Surely not. Nor is ποιήσομεν in ver. 3, either *exhortation* or *warning*, but *promise*. The whole may be summed up in a word; does the writer promise for himself, in the same manner as for his readers, 'that he will quit building up the old foundations, and advance to the superstructure? Truly he does *not* mean to put himself among such as were building the old foundations.

In Heb. x. 24, 25, does the writer, when he says κατανοῶμεν κ. τ. λ, mean to include himself among the ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν? Most plainly not; and then that the *first person plural* here means no more than the *second*, is clear from its being exchanged for the second (βλέπετε) before the sentence is ended.

But not to dwell on other passages in our epistle, let us see how it is in other epistles of the New Testament. I select only a few. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32, when the apostle says, παιδεύομεθα, etc., does he not relate a *fact*, and not a mere general principle, as Bleek suggests, p. 291? And was the apostle himself chastised, because he violated the decorum of the sacramental table. And when Paul says, Eph. iv. 14, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, does he imply that he was to be included among those who had thus far been νήπιοι? In 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, he speaks of 'ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, etc., being caught up alive to meet the Lord in the air, at the time of the general resurrection;' did Paul himself, during his natural life, expect to see that day? Bleek, indeed, answers this question in the *affirmative*; but it is making the very same mistake that the Thessalonians made, whom Paul so amply corrects in his second epistle, chap. ii.

Turn we now to another apostle. James says of the tongue, "Therewith bless we God even the Father; and therewith curse we men, who are made in his image." That he is not speaking here of a *faculty* (that of using the tongue,) but of a *fact*, is clear from the context. Does he mean, then, to include himself as cursing 'the image of God' with his own tongue? His vehement reproof may answer this question.

Prof. Bleek will find in these remarks, I would fain hope, some evidence that I am not disposed to treat the subject in question in a manner, 'either brief or superficial.' When he urges upon us the opinion of Luther and Calvin, which coincides with his own in respect to the text under consideration, he does not mean, I trust, that we are bound to admit this, unless arguments can be adduced to support it. But where are they? The position that *we*, *us*, are always used so that the writer *may be* included, is true if we construe any and every passage of Scripture as declaring only what is predicable of human nature in itself considered; for what one man does or suffers, another may do or suffer. But this position can never be conceded in a matter of actual interpretation, where the sole question is, What idea did the writer mean to convey? E. g. did he mean, in the above quoted passages, to designate himself as a participator in the things there affirmed respecting ἡμεῖς? On this subject, I make the appeal, without any fears as to the result, to every unprejudiced reader.

Bleek asks (p. 292), 'how the exhortation, Let us fear, etc., would appear in the mouth of the sinless Redeemer;' in order to show that those who did utter such exhortations, must have felt that they themselves needed such

warnings, etc. But this does not settle the question. The question is, Did the writers mean *actually* to include themselves, in such declarations as those above? Or is it the usual ἀνακοίνωσις? Nor is this proposed text applicable to determine a case of the nature that is now under consideration. It does not follow, because that apostles were *peccable* and Christ was not so, that the apostles were *peccant* in all cases where they speak of others as being so. They are contradistinguished from those whom they address, in some of these cases, by the *state of fact*, although not by any natural impossibility.

And why, moreover, should not ἀνακοίνωσις be found in the epistles of the New Testament, as well as in other writings of the like kind? Indeed it must be confessed, that probability lies strongly on this side.

One word more on the passage before us, viz. Heb. ii. 3, 4. The writer begins the paragraph with δεῖ . . . ἡμεῖς προσέχιν . . . μήποτε παραβῶμεν i. e. all in the *first* person plural. He then goes on to say, πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφειξόμεθα κ. τ. λ.; after which he immediately subjoins, before he finishes this very sentence, the contested ἥτις σωτηρία . . . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβιβαιώθη; from which Bleek draws such important conclusions, by comparing this with Gal. i. 1, 11, 12, 15 seq., ii. 6. 1 Cor. ix. 1. xi. 23. Eph. iii. 2, 3. But what room can there be for such conclusions to be fairly made? How could the writer close his sentence in any other manner than that in which he had begun and continued it; This was all in the *first* person plural. Of course, he could not well say, without infringing upon the grammatical construction and symmetry of his sentence εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐβιβαιώθη, but must write, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβιβαιώθη. If now the word ἡμεῖς is to be rigidly pressed into a literal and exact meaning in the *last* part of the sentence before us, then of course I may reasonably insist on its being so taken in the *first* part. The necessary implication would consequently be, that the writer himself of our epistle was neglecting to give due heed to the declarations of the gospel, and was in special danger τοῦ παραβῶμεν; that he was neglecting, or in imminent danger of neglecting, the great salvation, and consequently of barring up all the avenues of escape from the aggravated doom of those who slighted the gospel. Will any ingenuous reader, who has not a case to make out, venture to say that the writer means to have his readers recognise himself, as being in the same danger and guilt with those whom he was warning?

The true method of interpreting εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβιβαιώθη seems to me plainly, to be the same as that of construing ἐν ἡμῖν, — παρίδοσαν ἡμῖν, in Luke i. 1, 2; where evidently ἡμῖν is neither more nor less than *Christians, followers of Christ*, as Kuinoel has rightly interpreted it. Thus understood, (and in the like way it is to be understood in a multitude of cases), no argument at all can be derived from it in support of the position which Bleek maintains, and of course none against the Pauline origin of our epistle.

One word more, and I close this topic. If ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβιβαιώθη, in chap. ii. 3, proves that the writer of our epistle must necessarily be reckoned among those who received a knowledge of the gospel at second hand, and not from Christ himself; then does ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ in i. 1, of course and necessarily prove that the very same writer had communications made to him by the Son of God himself; in other words, the same expressions prove that the writer has asserted two different and opposite things in the course of 15 verses. It is impossible to escape from this; and this is enough to put an end to this controversy.

(18) 'The manner of citing or appealing to the Old Testament, by Paul and by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, is very different. Paul ap-

peals to it as a *written* record; but the writer of our epistle every where cites it as the immediate word of God, or of the Holy Ghost. Paul's formulas of citation are, γίγνεται, καθὼς γίγνεται, ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, ἐγράφη, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ λόγος γεγραμμένος, Μωϋσῆς γράφει—λέγει, ὁ νόμος λέγει, ἐν Μωϋσείῳ νόμῳ γίγνεται, Δαβὶδ λέγει, Ἡσαΐας λέγει—κράζει, ἐν τῷ Ὁσὴ λέγει, and κατὰ τὸ εἰρημίνον; which are not used in a single instance in the epistle to the Hebrews. Instead of these formulas the author uses λέγει—μαρτύρει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, λέγει ὁ Θεός, or the abridgments of these formulas, viz. λέγει, εἶρηκε, μαρτύρει, Φησί. Does not such a diversity of style necessarily imply diversity of authorship? p. 120 seq.

To this representation of Schulz, Seyffarth has not only assented, but in his *Essay on the Peculiarities of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Sect. 50—60.) he has placed the modes of appeal to the Jewish Scriptures at the head of these *peculiarities*, so far as the style of the author is concerned; “referenda huc est, præ cæteris omnibus, loca Vet. Test. laudandi *singularis ratio*.” Schulz, moreover says, ‘that plainly Paul makes less frequent use, in general, of the Old Testament Scriptures, than is made of them in the epistle to the Hebrews;’ an objection which has been frequently alleged by others. Bleek, in his recent work (p. 338—381), has laboured more abundantly and at greater length to confirm this view of the subject, and to deduce from it an argument against the Pauline origin of our epistle.

The result of an attentive, frequent, and recently repeated examination of our epistle, and of all the acknowledged Pauline epistles, in respect to the *mode* and *frequency* of quotation, has led me to conclusions somewhat different from those which Schulz and others have adopted. I shall present them, with my reasons for adopting them, as summarily as the nature of the case now admits.

(a) The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews is by no means uniform, in his mode of appeal to the Jewish Scriptures. In *eighteen* cases, viz. i. 5. i. 6. i. 7. ii. 12. iv. 3. v. 5. v. 6. vii. 17. vii. 21. viii. 5. viii. 8, ix. 20. x. 5. x. 8. x. 9. x. 30. xii. 26. xiii. 5, he has used εἶπεν, εἶρηκε, λέγει, λέγων, μαρτύρει, Φησί with a nominative *never expressed*. In *fourteen* of these cases, we may gather from the context that Θεός or κύριος is the nominative probably *implied* i. e. the one which the writer meant his readers should supply. *Four* of them have Χριστός or Ἰησοῦς for an *implied* nominative, viz. ii. 12. x. 5. x. 8. x. 9. The *expressed* nominatives are three; viz. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, iii. 7. x. 15, and Θεός, vi. 14, expressed however, in only an indirect manner.

In *five* cases more, which are introduced merely with πάλιν, καί, or δέ, viz. i. 5. i. 8. i. 10. ii. 13. x. 30, but stand connected with a preceding quotation, the grammatical connexion requires us to supply εἶπε, λέγων, λέγει, etc., i. e. κύριος or Θεός λέγει, εἶπε, etc. In two cases of the like nature, viz. ii. 13. ii. 14, Ἰησοῦς or Χριστός is the implied nominative.

In the whole *twenty-eight* instances of quotation, there are twenty-five, then, in which the nominative is *not* expressed; in nineteen of which it probably is Θεός, and Χριστός in the other six. There are *two* cases only, in which the nominative τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is expressed; and *one only* where Θεός is actually inserted, and this in a way indirect.

If one should trust to the representations of Schulz and Seyffarth, he would of course be led to believe, that these now mentioned are all the kinds of quotation which our epistle presents. This, however, is not the case. In ii. 6. we have διημαρτύρατο δὲ πού τις, viz. Δαβὶδ; in iii. 15, ἐν τῇ λέγεσθαι, when it is said (like רַבִּינֵי in the Mishna); iv. 4, εἶρηκε γάρ πού, sc. ἡ γραφὴ

plainly which formula is virtually repeated by *πάλιν* in iv. 5; in iv. 7, we find *ἐν Δαβὶδ λέγων*, *saying by David*, where *ἡ γραφή* may be the nominative, comp. Rom. xi. 2; in ix. 20, *Μωϋσῆς—λέγων*; in xi. 18, *ἐλαλήθη* (like *קָהַן*); in xii. 5, *παρακλήσεως*; in xii. 20, *τὸ διαστελλόμενον*; in xii. 21, *Μωϋσῆς εἶπε*; in xii. 27, *τὸ δεῖ*; in xiii. 6, *ὥστε ἡμᾶς λέγειν*, *so that we may say*. Besides this, we have in iii. 2, 5. x. 37. xi. 21, and xii. 6, quotations without any direct sign or notice of appeal; not to mention several references or partial quotations which might easily be subjoined. In the whole there are *fifteen* instances of quotation, (i. e. about *three eighths* of all the quotations), where the appeal is *different* from that which Schulz and Seyffarth attribute to our author, and on which they have built their argument against the Pauline origin of our epistle. Let us now compare the method of Paul.

(b) There is a similar variety of appeal in the acknowledged Pauline epistles. Nearly all of this variety, however, is made by the use of *γράφω* or *λέγω* and its synonymes *εἶπω* and *ῥίω*; just as in our epistle.*

I. ΓΡΑΦΩ. (1) *Καθὼς γέγραπται*, Rom. i. 17. ii. 24. iii. 4, 10. iv. 17. viii. 36. ix. 13, 33. x. 15. xi. 8, 26. xv. 3, 9, 21. 1 Cor. i. 31. ii. 9. 2 Cor. viii. 15. ix. 9; in all *eighteen*. (2) *Ὡς γέγραπται*, 1 Cor. x. 7. (3) *Οὕτω καὶ γέγραπται*, 1 Cor. xv. 45. (4) *Κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον*, 2 Cor. iv. 13. (5) *Ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος*, 1 Cor. xv. 54. (6) *Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται*, 1 Cor. xiv. 21. (7) *Ἐν τῷ Μωϋσείῳ νόμῳ γέγραπται*, 1 Cor. ix. 9. (8) *Μωϋσῆς γράφει*, Rom. x. 5, (the only example of the use of the *active* voice of this verb, when employed in the manner under consideration). (9) *Γέγραπται γάρ*, Rom. xii. 19. xiv. 11. 1 Cor. i. 19. iii. 19. Gal. iii. 10, 13. iv. 22, 27; in all *eight*.

II. ΛΕΓΩ and its synonymes. (10) *Ἐρρήθη αὐτῇ*, Rom. ix. 12. (11) *Καθὼς προσέφηκεν Ἑσαΐας*, Rom. ix. 29. (12) *Ἑσαΐας κηρύττει*, Rom. ix. 27. (13) *Κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον*, Rom. iv. 18. (14) *Λέγει Δαβὶδ*, Rom. iv. 6. xi. 19. *Ἑσαΐας λέγει*, Rom. x. 16, 20, 21. xv. 12. *Μωϋσῆς λέγει*, Rom. x. 19. (15) *Λέγει ὁ χρηματισμός*, Rom. xi. 4. (16) *Ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη αὐτῷ λέγει*, Rom. x. 6. (17) *Ὁ νόμος ἐλεγεν*, Rom. vii. 7. (18) *Ἡ γραφή λέγει*, Rom. iv. 3. ix. 17. x. 11. xi. 2. xv. 10, 11 (where *ἡ γραφή* is the probable nominative); Gal. iv. 30. 1 Tim. v. 18. There are other instances of the like nature, in which *λέγω* and *εἶπω* are employed, and where, *κύριος* or *θεός* is the nominative. For a special reason, I reserve these to be exhibited under another head.

III. There are a few formulas which are peculiar, and which I shall group together under (19), viz. *ἐπαγγελία; γὰρ ὁ λόγος οὗτος*, Rom. ix. 9.—*Ἀλλὰ*, 1 Cor. x. 20.—*Τὸ γὰρ* and *ἐν τῷ*, Rom. xiii. 9.—*Ἐν τῷ*, Gal. v. 14.—*Καὶ πάλιν* [i. e. *λέγει* or *γέγραπται*], Rom. xv. 1. 11. Cor. iii. 20.

IV. There is a considerable number of citations without any formula of notice; viz. (20) Rom. ix. 7. x. 13, 18. 1 Cor. ii. 16. x. 26. xv. 25, 27, 32. 2 Cor. ix. 7. xiii. 1. Gal. iii. 11, 12. Eph. v. 31. 2 Tim. ii. 19 bis; in all *fifteen*.

It is possible that there may be some one or more instances, which have escaped my notice; but I believe that the above view of the formulas of Paul's

* In consequence of the recent elaborate effort of Bleek, to prove a discrepancy between our epistle and the acknowledged writings of Paul in respect to the subject of quotations, I have diligently re-examined the whole matter since the first edition of this work, and now submit the results of the same, in a form somewhat different from that which appeared in the first edition.

quotations, (including those that are to be inserted under the next head), will be found, to say the least, as complete as any that has hitherto been exhibited. At all events, not a single instance is purposely omitted.

The reader has now the whole of Paul's formulas, in his acknowledged epistles, placed before him; and he can decide for himself, whether there is not a *variety* of manner in the method of making quotations. We shall have occasion to recur to the *facts* contained in the above representation more than once in the sequel.

(c) Schulz has asserted, that Paul *no where* uses the formulas of appeal, *Θεός λέγει, κύριος λέγει*; and from this he draws the conclusion, that this apostle could not have written our epistle, because such, he avers, is every where the formula in this epistle.

With these assertions Seyffarth coincides; and Bleek, in his recent work, has aimed substantially to prove the same thing, but has exhibited a much fuller view of the actual methods of quotation than either of the above named writers, and shown more candour and impartiality and caution in judging, although he comes to nearly the same results. As this, however, is a case in which *facts* and not assertions are concerned, let us make the appeal to facts.

That Paul does sometimes appeal, like the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, to the direct words of God himself, and not merely to the Scripture, (which is the more usual method of the apostle), is clear from the following examples; viz. (21) *Λέγει κύριος*, 2 Cor. vi. 17.—*Λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, 2 Cor. vi. 18.—*Καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός*, 2 Cor. vi. 16.—So in Rom. ix. 15, *λέγει*, sc. *Θεός*, which is implied, as will be seen by inspecting the preceding verse; Rom. ix. 25, *ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὄσῃ λέγει*, sc. *Θεός*, as appears by vs. 22—24; 2 Cor. vi. 2, *λέγει*, sc. *Θεός*, as ver. 1 shows; Gal. iii. 16, *οὐ λέγει*, sc. *Θεός*, as the nature of the case, and the context in Genesis show; Eph. iv. 8, *διὸ λέγει*, sc. *Θεός* probably comp. vs. 6, 7; Eph. v. 14, *λέγει* sc. *Θεός* probably. If it be objected to this instance, that the passage quoted is not in the Hebrew Scriptures, this will not alter the nature of the appeal. Wherever it is, or was, the writer appeals to it as Scripture. Whether he quoted some part of the Old Testament *ad sensum*, or whether he referred to some other book, may be very difficult now to decide; but that his quotation was viewed by him to be of such a nature as a scriptural one, must be conceded; and that *Θεός* is the most probable nominative, I cannot help thinking will also be conceded. In Rom. ix. 12, *ἐρρήθη αὐτῇ* plainly refers to Jehovah as the speaker; comp. Gen. xxv. 23. In substance, *λέγει ὁ χρηματισμός*, Rom. xi. 4, belongs to this same class of texts, inasmuch as the words of God to Elijah are directly cited.

The allegation, then, that Paul in quoting from the Scriptures, "*always* cites them simply as Scripture, and not as the words of God;" and that "the writer of our epistle is entirely opposite to him in this respect;" is plainly contradicted by the above examples. Paul, in common with our epistle, *appeals to the words of God as such*. Nor can it be objected here, that in Paul the noun *Θεός* (as nominative to *λέγει*) is not *expressed*, since this is never expressed, except once indirectly, in the epistle to the Hebrews.

I concede to Bleek, that Rom. xv. 10, (to which he should have added Rom. xv. 11, *καὶ πάλιν* sc. *λέγει*), and 1 Cor. vi. 16, where *λέγει* is used without a nominative, most probably have *ἡ γραφή* as their *implied* nominative.

But in order to diminish the force of the above appeal to facts, Bleek remarks (p. 379), that "Paul never introduces God as speaking, except when the words are properly his own, i. e. uttered in the *first* person; whereas the

writer of our epistle cites the words of Scripture as the words of God, even when the *third* person is used, and God cannot properly be considered as the speaker.' As instances of this latter fact, he appeals to Heb. i. 6, 7, 8. iv. 4, 7. vii. 21. x. 30.

I cannot feel, however, that much stress is to be laid upon this. Surely the reader of the New Testament Scriptures need not be told, that the writers of them considered the Old Testament as *θεόπνευστος*, as the *word of God*; and that they habitually appealed to them as such, as well as called them by this name. Nor need he be told, that God, in the Old Testament, often speaks in the *third* person, as well as the first, or speaks of himself as a third person in the same manner that another would speak of him; e. g. Isa. i. 20, 28, iii. 17, 18. vi. 12. vii. 11. iii. 5—7, 13, 19. x. 26. etc. in places without number. Besides, the examples of Bleek are not all certain. In Heb. i. 6, 7, 8, the quotation, after all, is not *directly* made by λέγει, i. e. the force of λέγει does not fall on the quotation as such. The writer affirms that God speaks concerning his Son, what is meant by the words which follow; comp. ver. 5. As to the examples in Heb. iv. 4, 7, the first evidently has ἡ γραφή for the nominative to εἶπεν, as the word πού plainly shows. In Heb. vii. 21, the quotation is from Ps. cx. 4, and is wholly inapposite to the object of Bleek, since God is simply introduced by it (and so in the Psalm) as addressing the Messiah, and is directly affirmed to be the speaker, and is appropriately so. In Heb. x. 30, καὶ πάλιν refers indeed to God; but then the words which follow are in the third person, just as they are in innumerable cases in the Old Testament. What argument can be built, now, on facts of such a nature? I think we may reasonably answer, None.

Bleek further states, that 'the writer of our epistle appeals to Scripture by the use of λέγει—μαρτύρει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Heb. iii. 7. x. 15; and that Christ is represented as appropriating the words of the Old Testament to himself, Heb. ii. 11, 13. x. 5, 8; all of which is foreign to the method of Paul.'

But what does this prove? Merely that the writer had occasion to make an appeal to Scripture here, in a manner different from that in Paul's acknowledged epistles, and accordingly has done so. Nothing more than this surely can be urged from these facts, unless we can prove from the quotations in one part of Paul's acknowledged epistles that he did not write the other in which there is a marked difference of quotation, or no quotation at all. But the illustration of this I reserve for the next head.

In regard to the assertion of Schulz and Seyffarth, that θεός, Χριστός, or πνεῦμα ἅγιον, is *always* the nominative to λέγει, εἶπεν, etc., in the epistle to the Hebrews, the following formulas may be consulted; viz. Heb. ii. 6, διμαρτύρατο δὲ πού τις [sc. Δαβὶδ]; iv. 4, εἶπεν γὰρ [sc. ἡ γραφή]; which is repeated by necessary implication, in iv. 5; Μωϋσῆς . . . λέγων, ix. 20; Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν, (either a quotation of a sacred traditional saying, or a reference to the Scriptures *ad sensum*,) xii. 21; all cases of the same nature as those which occur in Paul's acknowledged epistles. Besides these we have, as have been noted before, a quotation referred to by calling it παράκλησις, xii. 5, (comp. Rom. xi. 4, χρηματισμὸς λέγει); and in xiii. 6, we are pointed to a text of Scripture by the expression ὥστε ἡμᾶς λέγειν. There are several instances, also, of quotation without any formula of appeal, e. g. iii. 2, 5. x. 37. xi. 21. xii. 6; just as in Paul's acknowledged epistles.

(d) There is a great difference between Paul's *acknowledged* epistles themselves, in regard to the formulas and the frequency of quotations from the Old Testament, as there is between the epistle to the Hebrews and some

of Paul's acknowledged epistles; nay even a greater difference. E. g. in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the only formula of quotation is the verb *γέγραπται*, viz. 1 Cor. i. 19. i. 31. ii. 9. iii. 19. iii. 20. ix. 9. x. 7. xiv. 21. xv. 24, 54; one case only being excepted, vi. 16. Five times quotation is made without any formula, viz. 1 Cor. ii. 16. x. 26. xv. 25, 27. xv. 32. Now in the epistle to the Romans, out of forty-eight quotations, only sixteen are introduced with the formula *γέγραπται*; the others exhibiting all the variety above described.

On the other hand, the second epistle to the Corinthians is divided between the formulas with *γράφω*, and *λέγω* or *ἔπω*; e. g. *καθὼς γέγραπται*, viii. 15. ix. 9; *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον*, iv. 13, *λέγει* or *ἔπειν*, vi. 2, 16, 17, 18. Two quotations are without a formula, viz. ix. 7. and xiii. 1.

The epistle to the Galatians has four instances of *γράφω*, viz. iii. 10, 13. iv. 22, 27; two with *λέγει*, iii. 16, where *θεός* is implied, and iv. 30, where *ἡ γραφή* is expressed. Besides these, it has two without any formula, (viz. iii. 11, 12) and one with *ἐν τῷ*.

The epistle to the Ephesians has one quotation with *λέγει*, iv. 8; one with *τις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη*, vi. 2; and one without any formula, v. 31. The reference in v. 14, also exhibits *λέγει*.

The first epistle to Timothy has one quotation only, which is introduced with *λέγει ἡ γραφή*, v. 18; and the second to Timothy has a quotation without any formula, ii. 19.

In all the other epistles of Paul, viz. those to the Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and to Titus and Philemon, there are no certain and direct quotations at all.

Suppose now that we take the epistle to the Romans, (one of the most undoubted of all Paul's epistles), as the model of this writer's quotations. Then the argument is conclusive, (on the ground which Schulz and Seyffarth have taken), against the genuineness of all his other acknowledged epistles, unless it be the second to the Corinthians and that to the Galatians. Above all, what shall we say of all those epistles which never quote the Old Testament at all? Can it be that the same man wrote these, who has directly appealed no less than *forty-eight* times to the Old Testament, in the epistle to the Romans; not to mention many other implicit references? And can it be, that when his formulas of references are so diverse, as they are between this epistle and the first to the Corinthians, that the same person was the author of both? It is easy now to perceive, that if arguments can be built on such circumstances as these, then the genuineness of the greater portion of the Pauline epistles must of course be denied. Is Dr Schulz or Prof. Bleek prepared for such a conclusion?

(e) I now venture to observe, that there are even striking resemblances between some peculiar modes of quotation in Paul's acknowledged epistles and some of those in the epistles to the Hebrews. E. g. Rom. xiii. 9 *τὸ γάρ* and *ἐν τῷ*, Gal. v. 14 *ἐν τῷ*; with which comp. Heb. xii. 27 *τὸ δέ*, and in iii. 15 *ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι*. In Rom. iv. 18 we find the perfect participle used, *κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον*; in Heb. xii. 20, *τὸ διαστελλόμενον*. In Rom. ix. 12 we have the first aorist pass. *ἐβρόθύη*; in Heb. xi. 18, its equivalent *ἐλαλήθη*. In Rom. ix. 25 we have *ἐν τῷ Ὡση λέγει*, sc. *ὁ θεός*; in Rom. xi. 2, *ἐν Ἠλίφ λέγει ἡ γραφή* comp. Heb. iv. 7, *ἐν Δαβὶδ λέγων*; a peculiarity of quotation which is very striking and remarkable.

When Bleek asserts, that Paul often cites the words of a sacred writer as being such, but that the author of our epistle never does this (p. 377), could

he have maturely weighed the nature of the quotations in Heb. ii. 6. ix. 20. and xii. 21, where the first is plainly ascribed to David, who is understood by *τις*, and the other two directly name Moses? I am aware of his assertion, that 'these two last cases merely refer to what Moses said as a person, and not as an author.' But are not the words cited, exhibited as matter of record in the books of Moses, being there found either *verbatim* or *ad sensum*? And if so, how does the nature of these quotations differ from those in the epistle to the Romans, where the words of authors as such are introduced? But granting that it does differ, even then our epistle will not differ more from Paul, than Paul does from himself; for in the epistle to the Romans only has Paul quoted the words of authors as such; e. g. Rom. iv. 6. xi. 9. x. 5, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20. ix. 27, 29. Are the epistles to the Corinthians spurious because they exhibit no such mode of quotation?

(f) A word as to the *greater frequency* of quotation, in the epistle to the Hebrews. Let us compare it with that to the Romans, which it most of all resembles in respect to discussion and method of argument. In the epistle to the Romans, there are at least *forty-eight* quotations; in that to the Hebrews, *thirty-four*. More may be made in each, if we reckon all the cases of phraseology or resemblances to the Old Testament in the turn of thought, which may be found in both. Now the proportion of the epistle to the Romans to that of the Hebrews, in regard to *length*, is as fourteen to ten; the number of quotations as forty-eight to thirty-four; which would average nearly three and a half to a page, in each epistle; the proportion being nearly the same in both, but the excess, on the side of the epistle to the Romans. So much for the assertion, that the *frequency* of quotation in our epistle proves that Paul was not the author of it. If there be any weight in such an argument, it lies equally against the genuineness of the epistle to the Romans, compared with Paul's other epistles which have no quotations at all.

(g) While I am discussing the subject under consideration, I must also notice some new views and positions of Bleek. He endeavours to show (pp. 338—381), that 'Paul in his epistles, although he usually follows the Septuagint in his citations, yet sometimes translates *de novo*, and at other times corrects the version by the use of the Hebrew; on the contrary, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews follows the Septuagint throughout even where it gives a sense wholly diverse from that of the Hebrew; and consequently, *this author had no acquaintance with the Hebrew*, which cannot be affirmed of Paul. In no instance, does Paul employ the Septuagint where the sense is diverse in any considerable respect from that of the Hebrew.'

To the subject of quotations, Bleek, as will appear by the reference above, has devoted more than forty pages of his work. I shall not attempt to follow him with minuteness, in all his details. I have read the whole more than once, with great care, and have expended perhaps more time than the author himself, in the examination of this subject. The result of all, I can express in the words of Schulz; who, in his review of Bleek's work (*Allgem. Lit. Zeitung*, June, 1829), says respecting the essay in question of Bleek, "We have not been able, indeed, to convince ourselves of the correctness of the author's argumentation. It appears to go too far; and like every demonstration that proves *too much*, to prove nothing."

The substantial part of Bleek's allegations, however, must be put to the test of *fact*.

(1) It is true, then, that Paul no where follows the Septuagint where it differs from the Hebrew? Or that he corrects this translation, when he cites it, in case it does differ from the Hebrew? Bleek, p. 351.

I shall content myself, for the sake of brevity, with referring the reader to such passages as will enable him fully to make up his mind, as to the answer which one should give to these questions. Let him compare, then, Rom. ii. 24 with Is. lii. 5, Sept. and Heb.; where the apostle holds with the Sept. in respect to the addition of δι' ὑμᾶς, and ἐν τοῖς ἱθνητοῖς.—Rom. iii. 4, comp. Sept. Ps. l. 4, Heb. Ps. li. 6; where the Heb. תָּהָא, *thou shalt be pure, upright*, is νικησῆς in Paul and the Septuagint.—Rom. iii. 10, comp. Sept. Ps. xiii. 1, Heb. Ps. xiv. 1. The latter has nothing that corresponds to the οὐδὲ εἰς of Paul, which comes plainly from the Sept. οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός.—Rom. iv. 3, comp. Gen. xv. 6, Sept. and Heb.; where the apostle uses ἐλογίσθη (passive voice) taken from the Sept., while the Hebrew has the *active* verb הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, *and he [Jehovah] imputed it*. Rom. ix. 27, 28, comp. Is. x. 22, 23, Sept. and Heb.; where, in vr. 28, the Heb. runs thus, “*For destruction and that which is decreed, i. e. decreed destruction, the Lord Jehovah of hosts will execute, in the midst of the whole land*; Sept. and Paul, λόγον κ. τ. λ., with only a very slight and entirely unimportant variation in Paul at the close, viz., ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς instead of the Sept. ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ὅλῃ.—Rom. x. 16, comp. Is. liii. 1, Sept. and Heb.; where the Heb. has no word corresponding to κέρει.—Rom. x. 20, 21, comp. Is. lxv. 1, 2, Sept. and Heb.; where ἀντιλέγοντα is added to the text, the Heb. having no corresponding word.—Rom. xi. 9, 10, comp. Sept. Ps. lxviii. 22, 23, Heb. Ps. lxviii. 23, 24; where the Heb. in vr. 24 runs thus, *make their loins continually to shake*, instead of καὶ τὸν ὤτον κ. τ. λ. Rom. xii. 20, comp. Prov. xxv. 22, Heb. and Sept.; where the Heb. תָּקַח, *to take, capere, imponere*, is rendered σωρεύουσ, *to heap up*, in the Sept. and by Paul.—Rom. xv. 12, comp. Is. xi. 10, Sept. and Heb.; where for the Heb. דָּגָל *for a banner*, the Sept. and Paul have ἀρχαῖν; and where also for the Heb. שֶׁיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ *they shall seek*, the others have ἐλπιοῦσι.—1 Cor. i. 19, comp. Is. xxix. 14, Sept. and Heb.; where, for the Heb. נִתְּחַתֵּן *shall be hidden*, Paul has ἀθετήσω, equivalent to the Sept. κρύψω.—1 Cor. vi. 16, comp. Gen. ii. 24, Sept. and Heb.; where the Heb. has no word corresponding to the οἱ δύο of Paul and the Septuagint. 1 Cor. xv. 55, comp. Hos. xiii. 14 Sept. and Heb.; where the Heb. is, *I will be thy plague, O death! I will be thy destruction, O Hades!* Paul, with some verbal differences from the Sept., follows the spirit of that version throughout, and most evidently had it in his mind, or before his eyes.—Gal. iii. 13, comp. Deut. xxi. 23. Sept. and Heb.; where ἐπὶ ξύλον has no corresponding word in Hebrew.—Eph. v. 31, comp. Gen. ii. 24, Sept. and Heb.; where οἱ δύο has no corresponding word in Hebrew.

It will be difficult, I believe, for an impartial reader who is conversant with criticism, to go through with these comparisons, without being persuaded that the apostle has departed (with the Septuagint) from the *text* of the Hebrew. Bleek alleges, indeed, that none of these departures are *material*. In one sense this is true, viz., that *the general sentiment* will accord, in one way or another, with what the apostle has cited them to establish. But is not this true of all the citations in the epistle to the

Hebrews; as true as it is of the examples above adduced? Let the reader compare again Rom. ix. 28 in Paul and the Sept. with the original Hebrew in Is. x. 23; and in like manner, Rom. xi. 9, 10 with Ps. lxix. 28, 24, and 1 Cor. xv. 55 with Hos. xiii. 14; and then he can answer for himself.

(2) Bleek himself concedes (p. 338), that '*Paul usually (in der regel) cites the Old Testament according to the Seventy; as was natural for him to do whenever it was present to his memory, because the churches and persons whom he addressed, were more familiar with this version than with the original.*' But the citations of the apostle, he further avers, 'are all from memory, whether he cites from the Septuagint, or from the original Hebrew.' p. 343.

How this last point can be made out, it is difficult for me to conceive. It is true, there are a considerable number of quotations, in which the discrepancies with the Hebrew are of so circumstantial and unimportant a nature, and the order of the words sometimes such, as would very naturally proceed from *memoriter* quotations. But then, who can show us that the apostle, in case he had the original before his eyes, would have held himself bound to copy it *verbatim et literatim*? A slavish copying of this nature, I take to be indicative of the superstitions of later ages, and not of the wisdom and knowledge of the primitive teachers of our religion, who knew, that Scripture was the *sense*, and not the *form* merely of any passage.

I cannot resist the impression, that a sober and intelligent critic, who has no case to make out, must from the thorough study of the quotations in the epistles of the New Testament, come to a deep conviction, that there was among the sacred writers almost an unlimited freedom in respect to the manner of quotation.

(1) Paul in his acknowledged epistles, very often quotes verbatim from the Septuagint, where this agrees as exactly with the Hebrew as any translation can be made to do.*

(2) In other cases, the apostle cites passages with a merely minute and altogether unimportant variation both from the Septuagint and the Hebrew, where these two (in all parts of any consequence as to the sense) are exactly, or almost exactly agreed.†

(3) In some other cases there are slight differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, and the citation of the apostle agrees exactly with nei-

* E. g. Rom. iii. 13 quoted from Ps. v. 9 (10); iii. 13 from Ps. cxxxix. 3 (cxl. 4); iv. 7, 8 from Ps. xxii. 1, 2; iv. 17. from Gen. xvii. 5; iv. 18 from Gen. xv. 5; vii. 7 from Ex. xx. 17; viii. 36 from Ps. xliii. 22 (xliv. 22); ix. 7 from Gen. xxi. 12; ix. 12 from Gen. xxv. 22; ix. 13 from Mal. i. 2, 3; ix. 15 from Ex. xxxiii. 19; x. 5 from Lev. xviii. 5, where the *3* of the Septuagint is a manifest error of the scribes for *5*; x. 13 from Joel ii. 32 (iii. 5); x. 18 from Ps. xviii. 4 (xix. 5); xv. 3 from Ps. lxxviii. 9 (lxxix. 10); xv. 10 from Deut. xxxii. 43; xv. 11 from Ps. cxvi. 1 (cxvii. 1); xv. 11 from Is. lii. 15; 1 Cor. ix. 9 from Deut. xxv. 4; x. 7 from Ex. xxxii. 6; x. 26 from Ps. xxiii. 1 (xxiv. 1.); xv. 32 from Is. xxii. 13; 2 Cor. iv. 13 from Ps. cxv. 10 (cxvi. 10); vi. 2 from Is. xlix. 8; ix. 9 from Ps. cxi. 9 (cxii. 9); Gal. iv. 27 from Is. liv. 1; v. 14 from Lev. xix. 18; 1 Tim. v. 18 from Deut. xxv. 4.

† E. g. Rom. iii. 14 from Ps. x. 7; iii. 15 from Is. lix. 7, 8; iii. 18 from Ps. xxxv. 1 (xxxvi. 2). Latter part of Rom. x. 11 from Is. xxviii. 16; x. 19 from Deut. xxxii. 21; xv. 9 from Ps. xvii. 49 (xviii. 60); 1 Cor. x. 20 from Deut. xxxii. 17; 2 Cor. viii. 15 from Ex. xvi. 18; xiii. 1 from Deut. xix. 15; Gal. iii. 8 from Gen. xii. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 19 from Num. xvi. 5.

ther in regard to *words*, but the difference in respect to *sense* is altogether unimportant.*

(4) There are other cases where there is more or less freedom of departure from the original, some of which would seem almost like a new version, and others a mere paraphrastic imitation of the Hebrew; while some of the cases might be ranged, without any serious difficulty, under some of the preceding classes.†

Rom. xii. 19 and 1 Cor. iii. 19, look much like a new translation from the Hebrew, differing entirely from the Septuagint.

Now who can attempt to decide in so many cases of variations from the original Hebrew or from the Septuagint, of all gradations—from the most minute verbal agreement up to a mere paraphrastic imitation—who can possibly decide which of them Paul took directly from the Septuagint, without reference to the Hebrew; which from the Hebrew, without reference to the Septuagint; which he made out from a comparison of both; which he translated anew; which he copied merely as to *sense*, without intending to copy the *diction*; which he wrote down from mere memory, and which from consulting the original? The thing is plainly impossible; and the assumption of Bleek, that the apostle now copied in this way, and then in that; that he now made out his citation from a predominant recollection of the Hebrew, and then of the Septuagint; is, and must be, destitute of any certainty at all. I agree altogether with Schulz (Review of Bleek, June, 1829), that “in the very examples produced by him, whoever will make the comparison, in a manner unprejudiced and without partiality, cannot but concede that the object is rather sought after by art and acuteness in the display of evidence, than found or accomplished.”

One question still remains. Are the citations in the epistle to the Hebrews, like to those in Paul's epistles, with respect to the characteristics that have now been exhibited?

In the main they are; although on the whole the coincidence with the Septuagint is more exact, than in the acknowledged epistles of Paul. But this I must regard as accidental, not as designed. In the greater part of the quotations, as Bleek himself acknowledges, the Septuagint is so near to the Hebrew original, that there was no occasion to depart from it.

(1) There are many exact coincidences between the Septuagint and Hebrew and the quotations in our epistle, in almost every minute word.‡

* E. g. Rom. i. 17 from Hab. ii. 4; xl. 34 from Is. lx. 13; xlii. 9 from Ex. xx. 13—17 (13, 14). Lev. xix. 18 (differing only in the *order* of some words). Eph. vi. 2, 3 from Ex. xx. 12.

† E. g. Rom. ix. 9 from Gen. xviii. 10; ix. 17 from Ex. ix. 16; ix. 25 from Hos. ii. 23; ix. 29 from Is. i. 9; ix. 33 (first part) from Is. viii. 14; x. 6 seq. from Deut. xxx. 12 seq.; x. 16 from Is. 3. 7; xi. iii. from 3 (1) Kings xix. 14; xl. 4 from 3 (1) Kings xix. 18; xl. 8 from Is. xxix. 10 and Deut. xxix. 4; xl. 26, 27 from Is. lix. 20, 21; xlv. 11 from Is. xlv. 23; 1 Cor. i. 31, from Jer. ix. 24 (23); ii. 9 from Is. lxiv. 4 (3); ii. 16 from Is. xl. 13, iii. 20 from Ps. xciii. 11 (xciv. 11); xlv. 21 from Is. xxviii. 11, 12; xv. 25 from Ps. cix. 1. (cx. 1); xv. 27 from Ps. viii. 6 (7); xv. 45 from Gen. ii. 7; xv. 54 from Is. xxv. 8; 2 Cor. vi. 16 from Lev. xxvi. 11, 12; vi. 17, 18 from Is. lii. 11, 12, and perhaps an imitation of 2 Kings (2 Sam.) vii. 14; Gal. iii. 10 from Deut. xxvii. 26: iii. 11 from Hab. ii. 4. Iv. 30 from Gen. xxi. 10; Eph. iv. 8 from Ps. lxxvii. 18. (lxviii. 19.)

‡ Heb. i. 5 from Ps. ii. 7 and 2 Sam. vii. 14; i. 10 seq. from Ps. ci. 25 seq. (cii. 26 seq.); i. 12 from Ps. cix. 1 (cx. 1); ii. 6 seq. from Ps. viii. 4 seq. (viii. 5 seq.); ii. 12 from Ps. xxi. 22 (xxii. 23); ii. 13 from Is. viii. 17, 18; iii. 7 seq. from Ps. xciv. 7 seq. (xcv. 7 seq.); iii. 15 from Ps. xciv. 7, 8 (xcv. 7, 8); iv. 3. from Ps. xciv. 11 (xcv. 11), iv. 7 from

(2) In a considerable number of cases, there is nearly an exact coincidence with the Sept. and Hebrew, yet with some slight verbal differences.*

(3) There is a number of cases, in which there is a little discrepancy in diction from the Sept., where it agrees with the Hebrew.†

(4) There is an accordance in several cases with the Sept., where it differs from the Hebrew.‡

(5) There is an accordance with the Hebrew, and entire discrepancy from the Sept., in Heb. x. 30 from Deut. xxxii. 35.

How can any just inference, now, be drawn from such a state of facts as this, against the Pauline origin of our epistle? Bleek himself seems to concede (p. 365), that the author of our epistle might retain the Sept. in all the cases in which he has quoted the Old Testament, with the exception of two, which will be noticed more particularly in the sequel. Indeed, I can see nothing more in the state of the quotations in our epistle, than that it so happened, that the citations in general accorded well in the Hebrew and the Sept.; a thing which might happen, or might not, in respect to any other epistle, and one which actually happens, for example, in regard to the second epistle to the Corinthians. Such accordance actually existing, there was no occasion, (so far as we can see,) to make any change, in general, from the Sept. version. Yet after all, as the facts above show, actual changes here are little if any less frequent, than in the other epistles of Paul. They are certainly more frequent, in proportion, than in the second epistle to the Corinthians. See Nos. 2, 3, 5, above.

But Bleek, in order to show that the author of our epistle implicitly follows the Sept. throughout, even where it differs in sense from the Hebrew, appeals to Heb. i. 7, where he says the writer has followed the Sept. contrary to the sense of the Hebrew, which is, "who maketh the winds his messengers, and flames of fire his servants." But the sense which he thus gives to the Hebrew, is against the laws of Hebrew grammar, and against the design of the writer. In support of this, I must refer the reader to the commentary on the passage.

He further adduces Heb. ii. 6—8 (quoted from Ps. viii. 5—7), as an instance in which there is a departure from the Hebrew, and an agreement with the Septuagint in respect to the words *ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους*. The Hebrew, he alleges, runs thus, "Thou hast made him but little inferior to the angels;" which he thinks, is counter to the sense of the

Ps. xciv. 7, 8 (xcv. 7, 8); v. 5 from Ps. ii. 7; v. 6 from Ps. cix. 4 (cx. 4); vii. 17, 21 from Ps. cix. 4 (cx. 4); xlii. 6 from Ps. cxvii. 6 (cxviii. 6).

* E. g. Heb. i. 6 from Ps. xcvi. 7; iv. 4 from Gen. ii. 3; viii. 5 from Ex. xxv. 40; viii. 8 seq. from Jer. xxxviii. 31 seq.; ix. 20 from Ex. xxiv. 8; x. 16, 27 from Jer. xxxviii. 33, 34 (xxxi. 33, 34); x. 37, 38, from Hab. ii. 3, 4.

† E. g. Heb. i. 7 from Ps. ciii. 4 (civ. 4); i. 8, 9 from Ps. xlii. 6, 7 (xlii. 7, 8); xii. 26 from Hag. i. 7 (6); vi. 14 from Gen. xxii. 16, 17; xii. 20 from Ex. xix. 12, 13; xii. 21 from Deut. ix. 19.

‡ E. g. x. 5 seq. from Ps. xxxix. 6 seq. (xl. 7 seq.) xl. 21 from Gen. xlvii. 31, (where, however, the discrepancy is occasioned merely by the vowel points under *תַּדְבֵּר*, which the author of our epistle no doubt read with the Seventy, *תַּדְבֵּר* as it should be read; so

that this case does not properly belong here); xii. 6, from Prov. iii. 12, where, however, our epistle has *καθίστα*, instead of the Sept. *ἐκτίθη*; xlii. 5 from Deut. xxxi. 8, Sept., and from Deut. xxxi. 8, and Josh. i. 5 of the Hebrew, (where the form of the Sept. is altered from the third person of the verbs to the first.)

Greek. But in this last supposition he is as much mistaken, as in regard to the sense of the passage in Heb. i. 7. For proof of this, I refer to the commentary in the sequel.

Heb. i. 6 is also adduced ; but here the writer confesses that it is dubious whether the author of our epistle cited Ps. xcvi. 7, or Deut. xxxii. 42. The former, he concedes, might be understood so as to accord with the citation.

Heb. xii. 5, 6 (Prov. iii. 11, 12) is also cited, to show a departure from the Hebrew, and an agreement with the Seventy. "This," says he, "is exactly after the Septuagint." But he has overlooked the fact, that the Septuagint in Prov. iii. 12 has *ἐλέγχει*, for which in Heb. xii. 6 the writer employs *παιδεύει*; a circumstance indeed that is immaterial, but one quite as important as Bleek has not unfrequently employed, in his essay on the quotations in our epistle as the basis of some important conclusions. All the departure from the Hebrew in the above passage, consists in reading *אָבִי*, *scourgeth, afflicteth*, instead of our present Hebrew punctuation *אָבִי* as a father. But surely this writer, who alleges such a discrepancy as this, does not need to be told that the present Masoretic punctuation is the offspring of the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era ; and that the author of our epistle, who read Hebrew without vowel points, read it as the Seventy did, and (as Bleek himself acknowledges) 'perhaps in a way preferable to the Masoretic punctuation.'

There remains, then, after all the allegations respecting close adherence to the Septuagint at the expense of the Hebrew, only one solitary passage where the departure is in any measure of consequence. This is Heb. x. 5, 7, quoted from Ps. xxxix. 6 seq. (xl. 7 seq.). Here Bleek alleges that the passage is not quoted from memory ; that the departure from the Hebrew is entire ; and that this offers full evidence, that the author of our epistle could not have understood the original Hebrew, so as to be able to compare it, p. 366 seq. But,

(1) The passage is not exactly quoted from the Septuagint ; for *ἤτησας* (Cod. Alex. *ἰζήτησας*) is here *εὐδόκησας*. (2) Τοῦ ποιῆσαι, ὁ θεός, τὸ θέλημα σου is, in the Septuagint, τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου, ὁ θεός μου, ἐβουλήθην, κ. τ. λ. ; so that the order and the connexion both, of this last clause, are changed by the author of our epistle. Bleek, who makes so much of such *minutiae*, surely will not object to my making mention of them.

But the main point is the citing of *σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι* from the Septuagint, instead of using the Hebrew *אָזְנַי פָּתַחְתָּ לִּי*, *ears hast thou opened for me* ; which, Bleek avers, cannot possibly mean what the Septuagint, and after them the author of our epistle, have translated it as meaning.

Literally and exactly as to diction, the Hebrew certainly does not mean *σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι*. But *ad sensum*, will not both passages come to the same amount in the argument of the apostle ? *Mine ears hast thou opened* means, 'Thou hast made me obedient, listening.' In what respect ? The preceding context intimates. 'Sacrifice and offering thou hast not desired.' What then is to come in the place of these ? "Mine ears hast thou opened," namely, thou hast made me "obedient," i. e. "unto death" (Phil. ii. 8), instead of requiring these. The sequel confirms this. "Burnt-offering and sin-offering thou hast not required. Then I said, Lo ! I come . . . to do thy will, my God." What is this will ? That the body of Christ should be made

an offering; see Heb. x. 10. What important difference, then, is there as to *sense*, between saying in this case, "Thou hast made me obedient," viz., unto death, and "Thou hast provided me with a body," viz., for sacrifice.

Bleek may call in question the commentary of the writer of our epistle on the whole passage extracted, and probably would do so; but then it would be a question between him and the writer of our epistle; and he will not take it amiss, in a matter of this kind, if some should prefer the writer's authority.

It seems not to be correct, then, that the whole stress of the passage in Heb. x. 5 seq., lies on the *σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι*. Heb. x. 10 shows this not to be the case. It is "doing the will of God," viz., being obedient unto death, which affords the substitute for the offerings of the Levitical law; and this is the very gist of the question that is agitated in this passage. See Comm. and Excursus on Heb. x. 5.

Thus much for the *solitary* instance of departure from the Hebrew, on which so great stress is laid. Let us now reverse the matter, and see how the account stands on the other side.

Heb. x. 30, *ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις ἰγὰ ἀνταποδώσω*, Hebrew לִי נִקְמָה וְשָׁלוֹם, Deut. xxxii. 35. But here the Septuagint renders, *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως ἀνταποδώσω*. Bleek himself (p. 355), in commenting on this very passage (as exhibited in Rom. xii. 19), avers that here 'Paul plainly had the Hebrew before his eyes.' This I should admit; but then, what had the author of our epistle before his eyes? Bleek answers (p. 367), "here, without any doubt, the author of our epistle transferred this from Rom. xii. 19, where the same words are employed." But on this solution Schulz has remarked (Review of Bleek, p. 194), that "the author escapes with the *unsatisfactory assertion*, that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has literally copied Paul;" an assertion which it would of course be impossible to substantiate, if Paul himself be not the author of our epistle.

We have then *one* case in which the writer of our epistle has followed the Seventy, where the discrepance from the Hebrew, as to diction, seems to be striking; and one where he has followed the Hebrew, with a discrepance from the Septuagint that is striking. Can any conclusion for the opinion of Bleek be drawn from such facts as these?

But Schulz, although he differs so much from Bleek in his estimation of the evidence to be drawn from quotations, still holds, with him, that it is altogether probable the writer of our epistle had no knowledge of the Hebrew language. How such a position can be rendered probable, I do not see. Bleek holds Apollos to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Was this disciple, then, who was mighty in the Scriptures, and in all probability a Jew, ignorant of Hebrew? Did not all well educated Jews of his time understand Hebrew? Above all; did not the author of our epistle, so profoundly and intimately versed in every thing Jewish, understand Hebrew? If the thing is possible, it is utterly improbable. At all events, it can no more be proved from the quotations in our epistle, that the author did not understand Hebrew, than it can by the quotations in Matthew's gospel which accord so well with the Sept., that he did not understand the original language of the Jewish Scriptures.

But Bleek has advanced another position peculiar to himself, and one, I apprehend, not very likely to satisfy his critical readers. This is, that 'the

writer of our epistle follows the Alexandrine text of the Septuagint, while Paul follows that of the Vatican manuscript.'

Schulz has replied to this, in his Review; and I employ his words, in part, as a sufficient answer. "The differences in the readings, for the most part, have respect to mere *minutiæ*. The number of passages, where the readings in Paul differ from the Vatican Codex, and agree more with the Alexandrine; and on the other hand, in the epistle to the Hebrews, where they agree more with the Vatican than the Alexandrine; is not much smaller than where the reverse of this is the case. A few exceptions, moreover, prove in this case as much as many, and suffice to destroy the credit of the writer's [Bleek's] views. In some citations, the apostle agrees neither with the Vatican nor with the Alexandrine."

Schulz then proceeds to observe, that the probability that the text of the Septuagint, at the time when our epistle was written, was in the different states now represented by the Vatican and Alexandrine manuscripts, cannot be made out; and that minute changes, of the nature here in question, are every where found in the New Testament. He then produces a number of cases, in which he shows that Bleek has given an imperfect view of the state of the discrepancies in question; and he goes on to ask, "Where are the passages, in which Paul and the writer of our epistle cite the same texts, in which the first follows the Vatican Codex, and the second the Alexandrine? Not one has Bleek been able to produce;" and then concludes by saying, "Among the readings in which Paul *differs* from the Vatican text, are some which are far more decisive than those which Bleek has brought, in order to prove his *agreement* with this text; e. g. Rom. ix. 25, where ἐκεί is omitted; ix. 27, where αὐτῶν and γάρ are omitted; and Rom. xiv. 11, where the Vatican has ὁμῶς . . . τὸν Θεόν, but Paul ἐξομολογήσεται . . . τῷ Θεῷ, as has also the Alexandrine Codex."

One is almost tempted to think, that the love of paradox, or a feeling that every thing must be pressed into the service of the cause which we are engaged to make out, must have operated to lead a writer to produce, and insist on, and rely upon such arguments as I have now examined. The reader will doubtless be wearied with the protracted length of the discussion, and with the subject itself. But he will call to mind, as an apology for me, that when such arguments are adduced as *unanswerable* proofs of discrepancy between our epistle and those of Paul; and produced by men of so much learning, moderation, and general impartiality as Bleek, they require an answer, for otherwise they will be misused.

On the whole, then, the objection drawn either from the *method* or the *frequency* of quotation, (*singularis ratio præ ceteris omnibus* of our epistle, as Seyffarth calls it,) vanishes away upon close examination; or if adhered to, must disprove the genuineness of a major part of the acknowledged epistles of Paul. That Paul, in our epistle, should have more frequently than elsewhere used λέγει, ἔπει, εἰρηνα, is altogether consonant with what we may suppose him to have done, when addressing the Hebrews. The usual and almost the only mode of quoting, prevalent among the Jews, in ancient times appears to have been such; at least if we may judge of it as it appears in the Mishna, where אָמַר, אָמַר, it is said, as it is said, which is said, is almost the only formula in use. There is an obvious reason for this. Every Jew, being conversant with the Old Testament Scriptures, would of course know what was the kind and weight of the appeal, made by λέγει, ἔπει. (אָמַר); i. e. he would at

once refer it to divine testimony. Hence this abridged and natural mode of quotation prevails in our epistle. But in writing to churches made up of both Jews and Gentiles, the latter of whom were of course less familiar with the Old Testament, and knew less where to look for passages quoted, it was more natural for the apostle, (as he has done in the epistle to the Romans,) to say *Μωϋσῆς λέγει*, *Ἑσαΐας λέγει*, etc., so that the reference might be more definite. This is a sufficient reason to account for any differences in the *formula* of quotation, between our epistle and the other epistles of Paul. The difference itself has, however, as we have seen, been greatly overrated. Nothing important, most plainly, can be made of it by higher criticism, in performing its office upon our epistle. What can be more improbable, too, than that such a master-spirit as Paul should cast all his letters in the same mould; always use the same round of expression; mechanically apply the same formulas of quotation; and for ever repeat the same sentiments in the same language? And because he has not done so in the epistle to the Hebrews, must it be wrested from him by criticism which exacts such uniformity in a writer? Where is the writer of epistles, ancient or modern, who possessed any talents and free command of language, whose letters can be judged of by such a critical test as this?

(19) 'The appellations given to the Saviour, in Paul's acknowledged epistles and in the epistle to the Hebrews, are so diverse, as to afford strong evidence that both did not originate from the same person. E. g. in the Pauline epistles, these appellations are either *ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν*, X. *Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν*, or *ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. In innumerable passages is Christ referred to by these appellations; which are so characteristic of Paul's writings, that they are to be regarded as nearly the *constant established formulas*, by which he adverts to the Saviour. On the contrary in the epistle to the Hebrews, the writer uses most commonly *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* or *ὁ υἱός*; he also employs, at times, *ὁ κύριος*, or *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* simply. *Twice* only has he connected *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. This must appear *striking* to every unprejudiced person, and of importance,' p. 139 seq.

Striking, indeed, the argument may appear, in the form stated by Schulz; but an investigation, through the medium of a Concordance, will present a very different result from that which he has presented.

(a) In regard to *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* or *ὁ υἱός* being the most *frequent* appellation given to Christ by the writer of our epistle, the facts stand thus. Omitting dubious references, and all the names of Christ that are appellatives suggested merely by the occasion, (such as *ἀπόστολος*, *ἀρχιερεύς*, *ἀρχηγός σωτηρίας*—*τῆς πίστεως, μεσίτης, σωτὴρ* and *κληρονόμος*,) the writer refers to the Messiah, by some of his usual titles, in 32 places; in *four* only of which he calls him *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, viz., Heb. iv. 14; vi. 6; vii. 3; x. 29. In 8 other places he calls him *υἱός*, viz. i. 1, 5 bis, 8; iii. 6; v. 5, 8; vii. 28. In the Pauline epistles these designations are used 17 times, viz., Rom. i. 3, 4. 9; v. 10; viii. 3, 29, 32. 1 Cor. i. 9; xv. 28; 2 Cor. i. 19; Gal. i. 16; ii. 20; iv. 4, 6; Eph. iv. 13.; Col. i. 13; 1 Thess. i. 10.

(b) *Κύριος* is so far from being limited to the epistle to the Hebrews, in its application to Christ, that, if I have counted rightly, it is found in the acknowledged Pauline epistles, applied in the same way, 147 times, and is the most frequent appellation of any except *Χριστός*. The cases where *κύριος* stands united with *Ἰησοῦς*, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, etc., are exempted from this enumera-

tion. On the other hand, the writer of our epistle is so far from making a frequent use of this designation, that he has employed it singly in two places only, or at most three, viz. ii. 3; vii. 14, probably xii. 14.

That Schulz should make a representation so singularly incorrect respecting the appellation *κύριος*, can be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that he never examined his Concordance for the sake of investigating the question respecting the use of it.

But further; in the epistle to the Romans, *κύριος* is applied to Christ not more than 17 times; some may think still less, in as much as the exegesis, in a few of the cases, may be doubtful. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, however, (which is about the same length,) the same appellation is given to Christ 45 times; while in the epistle to Titus it does not occur at all. Further, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, or *Χριστός Ἰησοῦς*, is used in the epistle to the Romans, as connected with *κύριος* only 14 times; in 1 Corinthians only 11. *Ἰησοῦς κύριος* is used in Romans twice: in 1 Corinthians, thrice. *Κύριος Χριστός* only in Rom. xvi. 18. Such a variety of usage in these different epistles, must, if Schulz's method of arguing is correct, prove that Paul could not have written them all.

(c) *Ἰησοῦς*, without being connected with the other usual appellations of Christ is employed in our epistle 7 times; viz., ii. 9; vi. 20; vii. 22; x. 19; xii. 2, 24; xiii. 12. In the Pauline epistles, 16 times, viz., Rom. iii. 26; viii. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 3; 2 Cor. iv. 5; iv. 10, bis; iv. 11, bis; iv. 14; xi. 4; Eph. iv. 21, Phil. xii. 10; 1 Thess. i. 10; ii. 15; iv. 14, bis. In the epistles to the Gal., Col., 2 Thess., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Tit., and Philemon, it is not found at all.

(d) *Χριστός* is used in like manner by our author 6 times; viz., ii. 6, 14; v. 5; vi. 1; ix. 11, 14, 24, 28; xi. 26; in the Pauline epistles, 198 times, if I have rightly counted.

(e) *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, instead of being used only twice, as Schulz avers, is used three times; Heb. x. 10, xiii. 8, 21, omitting iii. 1, where it stands also in the *textus receptus*.

(f) In xiii. 20, *Κύριον Ἰ. Χριστόν* is used by the writer, just as Paul employs it.

(g) Those designations of Christ in the Pauline epistles, which Schulz has mentioned as the usual and only appellations of him by Paul, do not collectively amount to more than 68, if we take the number as stated by himself (who, however, as is usual with him, has in haste overlooked some instances); while in the same epistles, other appellations which he does *not* acknowledge, are used with far greater frequency; e. g. *κύριος* is used 147 times, and *Χριστός* 198, the former being an appellation which this writer holds out as characteristic of our epistle to the Hebrews, and *neglected* by Paul. Truly this matter is *striking* (if I may use Dr Schulz's own language); and if the epistle to the Hebrews can be wrested from Paul, only by arguments such as this, those who ascribe it to this apostle have not much reason for apprehension in regard to the safety of their cause.

Even if the facts stated by Schulz were correct, it would not follow that Paul could not be the author of our epistle. The predominant appellation of the Saviour in the Pauline epistles is simply *Χριστός*; as we have just seen. Yet in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, this appellation, simply used, occurs but once (iii. 5); and in both the epistles to Timothy, and in that to Titus, it does not once occur. Does it follow from this, then, that Paul did not write these epistles? If not: then, supposing the facts alleged by Schulz to be correct, no critical argument could be safely built upon them. But they

are so far from being correct, that one finds it difficult to account for it, how any man, who expected others to examine for themselves and not to receive what he says as *authoritative*, should have thrown out before the public such affirmations as every tyro, with a Greek Concordance in his hand, would be able to disprove. Truly Prof. Schulz must not blame his readers, if they are slow and cautious about admitting his allegations, on subjects where accuracy and diligence and patience are necessary, in order to produce correct results.

Seyffarth has brought forward the same argument, but with a somewhat different statement of facts; yet full of inaccuracies and errors. He concludes, as the sum of the whole, "that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has given to the Saviour appellations, which are indicative of less reverence than those which Paul bestows upon him," and that "there is a great difference between the usage of Paul, in this respect, and that of our epistle." p. 90.

On the whole, however, nothing can be plainer, than that the usage in our epistle, with respect to the appellations in question, differs no more from the common Pauline one, than the usage of several of his acknowledged epistles differs from that of others belonging to him. Consequently no weight can be attached to this objection.

(20) 'The writer of our epistle has made use of a great many words and phrases, in order to express ideas which Paul expresses (either always or usually) by different words or phrases.' p. 138 seq.

This objection is drawn out at great length, and requires a minuteness of consideration and philological exhibition which is truly appalling. But having commenced the work, it must not be left unfinished. The importance of the subject under discussion is the apology on which I must rely for justification, as to the length and minuteness of the examination. General assertions may satisfy those who think in generals and reason in generals; but the true critic demands *facts* and of course *detail*, in an investigation dependent on facts.

It will shorten our work, however, and be of no small importance with respect to the satisfaction which the reader's mind should experience, if some acknowledged, or at least just principles of reasoning in regard to such a topic, can be premised before we enter upon particulars.

The following principles seem to be such as will be assented to, by all sober and judicious critics; at least we may hope this will be the case. In particular, all who have not a special end to accomplish by the denial of them, we may presume will assent to them.

(a) The same writer, if a man of knowledge and talents, (both of which will be conceded to Paul,) does *not*, in an extensive correspondence either on matters of business or sentiment, *always express the same ideas by the same words or phrases*; much less, always repeat the same ideas, whatever may be the nature of the subject which the occasion demands. I appeal to all the volumes of letters extant in proof of this.

(b) The same writer, at different periods of life, in different circumstances and states of mind and feeling, exhibits a variety of style in his epistles; especially where the subjects themselves are very diverse. The appeal in proof of this, I make to well known facts, and to every one's own experience, who has been long accustomed to write letters on a variety of grave and important topics. In particular will the case be as now represented, if a writer's lot, at one period of his life, be cast among men and authors, who differ in style and

modes of thinking and expression, from those with whom he has at another time been associated.

(c) It follows, then, that differences in the choice of expression, in two epistles, in order to convey the same idea, (above all when this stands in connexion with diverse subjects,) is no good proof that the same person did not, or could not, write both. Indeed, no man who is not a writer of the most sterile genius, and of a mind the most mechanical, nay, absolutely insusceptible of excitement or of improvement, will always limit himself to the same round of expression. While there will be occasional words and expressions, which will mark some characteristics appropriate to a writer of knowledge and talents, yet in the great body of them, there will not be a mechanical sameness either of thought or of expression; but every letter will take its colouring more or less, from the occasion and the state of mind which prompted it.

(d) If any person refuses to accede to principles so plain and reasonable as these, it would be easy to show him, (as will be seen hereafter,) that any one of Paul's acknowledged epistles may be proved to be spurious, on a different ground, just as easily as the epistle to the Hebrews. Schulz and Seyffarth have undertaken to prove that Paul did not write the epistle to the Hebrews, because it contains many words either not employed by Paul, or not employed by him in the same sense; and also some favourite expressions, not found in his acknowledged epistles. At first view, the number of such words or expressions, as exhibited by them, seems very great; nay, quite appalling before examination. Most critics of the present day seem to have been influenced principally by this consideration, in giving up the Pauline origin of our epistle. But a widely extended examination of this subject, has ended in producing different impressions upon my own mind. I am fully persuaded, now, that there is scarcely any one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles, which cannot be proved to be spurious, if the grounds of argument assumed by the above named writers are tenable. I will pledge myself, (I do not say it at a venture,) to produce as many peculiarities, as many *απαξ λεγόμενα* or *ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα*, for example, the epistle to the Romans, in the first or second to the Corinthians, (in proportion to the length of these epistles, and compared with the other acknowledged epistles of Paul,) as there are in the epistle to the Hebrews. If this can be done, then is the argument equally good against either of these epistles, which are among the most undoubted of all the writings of Paul. The proof of this I shall by and by produce, in laying before the reader the result of the principles which I have ventured to call in question, by applying them to the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.

(e) Schulz himself, who has laboured with so much zeal and confidence to fix upon our epistle the charge of peculiarities in style, expression, and favourite phrases, has, in another part of his work, and before his mind became heated with this subject, made the following remarks, which are well worthy of attention.

"We give up words, and phrases, and thoughts [in the epistle to the Hebrews], which occur but seldom in the books of the New Testament or in Paul's epistles. We shall not insist upon the *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* or the *ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα*; for why must a writer of numerous works necessarily repeat oftentimes his ideas in general, or his favourite phrases? Why must he often do this in *all* his works, and not use some of them merely in particular passages? Every writer will do the latter, and must do it, when, either by accident or by design, he falls only once upon some particular idea. But in regard to a

writer whose whole works we do not possess, (perhaps only a small part of them,) how can we pronounce sentence upon many phrases and thoughts, or deduce any argument at all from them? And such is the case before us. What now appears in the letters of Paul still extant to be ἀπαξ εἰρημίζον, he may have said and written numberless times in works now lost." p. 52.

He then proceeds very justly to ask, 'whether it is the design of any New Testament writer, in any one particular book, to represent the whole scheme of Christian doctrine, complete in all its parts? And if not; whether that which in one book differs from the contents of another, is to be considered as *departure* or *contradiction* in respect to that other?' And then he adds, "It is quite surprising, and deserving of reprobation, that any one should call in question expressions against which no objections can be made, when they are consonant with the *usus loquendi*, and are genuine Greek; and also, that any one should produce them as grounds of suspicion against a book, because they do not occur in other compositions of a similar nature. In the epistle to the Hebrews, there are many of this kind." p. 53.

These remarks are no less just than striking. I freely give to them my entire and hearty approbation; and I am willing, with such principles in view, to join issue with the author, as to his list of words and phrases which he brings forward, in his attack upon our epistle. Nine parts in ten of all that he has advanced of this nature, would be excluded from the argument by his own sentence.

To reduce the view which I must now give of the words and phrases adduced by Schulz, to as short a compass as will be consistent with my design, I shall first remark on those words which require to be separately discussed; and then I shall class together those to which some general principle will apply in common. I follow mostly the order of Schulz, step by step, merely because this is more convenient for those, who may wish to compare what is here written with the remarks of this author.

I. Words and phrases, instead of which Paul employs other and different ones.

(1) 'Εὐλάβεια, Heb. v. 7, xii. 28, is used in the sense of *piety, devotedness to God*; it is equivalent to εὐσέβεια as employed by Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 16, etc. Neither of the writers employs the word used by the other.' p. 141.

The sense of εὐλάβεια, in Heb. v. 7, it is altogether probable, is *fear*, which is the *classic* sense of the word; and this is probably the sense, too, in Heb. xii. 28, as its adjunct αἰδοῦς seems to indicate. Schulz's objection is founded on an exegesis far from being certain, and indeed quite improbable. But if we allow his interpretation to be true, the objection amounts only to this, that Paul, at one time, has employed εὐσέβεια (the proper Greek word) in order to express the idea of *piety*; and at another time, in writing to the Hebrews, he has used εὐλάβεια, (corresponding to the Heb. פִּיָּאָה *reverence, piety*), to express the same idea. What could be more natural for a Hebrew, than to do this?

(2) 'Our author uses διαπαντός; Paul, πάντοτε, and he very frequently repeats it.' p. 141.

Διαπαντός is common among the Evangelists, and in the Septuagint. Paul uses it in the citation from the Old Testament, in Rom. xi. 10. Paul, then, was familiar with the word. In our epistle, it is found only *twice*, viz. ix. 6, xiii. 15. In this same epistle we find the *Pauline* πάντοτε also, viz. in vii. 25. Now as to the epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and 2 Timothy, each has

the word *πάντοτε* but *once*; the first epistle to Timothy and that to Titus, not at all. If the fact that *πάντοτε* is used no more than once, is proof that our epistle is not Pauline, then surely these other epistles must be ranked in the same class. The same fact must surely afford the same argument, in both cases. But as this proves more than Schulz is willing to allow, we may suppose he will not insist on such an argument.

(3) 'Our epistle uses *ἀνακαινίζειν* and *ἐγκαινίζειν*; for which Paul employs *ἀνακαινοῦν* and *ἀνανεοῦσθαι*.' p. 142.

Ἀνακαινίζειν occurs only once, Heb. vi. 6; *ἐγκαινίζειν* but twice, Heb. ix. 18, x. 20. On the other hand, *ἀνακαινοῦν* is found in Paul only twice, 2 Cor. iv. 16, Col. iii. 10; and *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* but once, Eph. iv. 23. Now as *ἀνακαινίζω*, *ἀνακαινόω*, and *ἀνανεώω* are all either of classic or Septuagint usage, and are of the same signification, the use of one or the other, so few times as they are employed in the Pauline epistles and in ours, can afford no argument in favour of a different writer. As to *ἐγκαινίζειν*, to consecrate, to initiate, it is a verb of a different meaning from the others, and is not used in the sense in which Paul employs either *ἀνακαινόω* or *ἀνανεώω*.

(4) 'There is in our epistle an abundance of verbs ending in *-ίζω*, such as can be no where else found in the New Testament, above all, in Paul's epistles.' p. 142.

(a) The greater part of the verbs in *-ίζω*, produced by Schulz as appropriate to our epistle, are found often in the New Testament and in Paul; viz., *λογίζεσθαι*, in other writers of the New Testament 6 times, in Paul 34, in the epistle to the Hebrews but once; *ἐμφανίζειν*, in New Testament 8, in Hebrews only twice; *καταρτίζειν*, New Testament 5, Paul 5, Hebrews 3; *καθαρίζειν*, New Testament 24, Paul 3, Hebrews 3; *κομίζειν*, New Testament 5, Paul 3, Hebrews 3; *μερίζειν*, New Testament 7, Paul 5, Hebrews 1; *ὀρίζειν*, New Testament 6, Paul 1, Hebrews 1; *ἐγγίζειν*, New Testament 38, Paul 2, Hebrews 2; *χωρίζειν*, New Testament 5, Paul 6, Hebrews 1; *φωτίζειν*, New Testament 5, Paul 4, Hebrews 2; *καθίζειν*, New Testament 40, Paul 4, Hebrews 4; *χρηματίζεσθαι*, New Testament 5, Paul 1, Hebrews 3. All these verbs, moreover, are common to the Septuagint and to classic Greek.

(b) Other verbs of this class, adduced by Schulz, are used in our epistle only once; viz. *ἀναλογίζεσθαι*, xii. 3; *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι*, xii. 4; *καταγωνίζεσθαι*, xi. 33; *διατρίβειν*, x. 33; *πρίβειν*, xi. 37; and *τυμπανίζεισθαι*, xi. 35. The three last are *denominatives*, for which the Greek language offered no other forms; so that no choice, in this case, was left to the writer. All of them are of classic or Septuagint usage.

(c) *Προσοχθίζειν*, Heb. iii. 10, is a quotation from the Septuagint of which the use of the same word, in iii. 17, is a simple repetition.

It turns out, then, that of the *great multitude* of words in *-ίζω*, peculiar to our epistle, only six are employed, exclusively by it; and of these six, three are *denominatives*, and necessarily employed, as there was no choice of other forms; while the other three occur but *once* each, and are all compound verbs common to the Septuagint and to the classics. But Schulz has not ventured to present us with a view of the numerous verbs in *-ίζω*, employed by the New Testament writers and by Paul, which are *not* used at all in our epistle. Selecting only under a single letter, (as a specimen of what might be gathered from the whole,) we find the following. *καθοπλίζομαι*, *κατακρημνίζω*, *καταναθεματίζω*, *καταποντίζομαι*, *κατοπτρίζομαι*, *κνυματίζω*, *κιδαρίζω*, *κλυδωνίζομαι*, *κολαφίζω*, *κουφίζω*, *κρυσταλλίζω*, *κτίζω*; 12 under only one letter;

which our author, with all his alleged partialities for *-ίζω*, never uses. Surely this is an argument unfortunately chosen, and very incorrectly stated.

(5) 'Εντίλλεσθαι is used in our epistle; Paul uses παραγγέλλω, διατάσσω, or ἐπιτάσσω.' p. 145.

Εντίλλεσθαι is employed only twice, ix. 20, xi. 22. In the New Testament it is used 15 times, although not employed by Paul. Paul employs παραγγέλλω only in 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy; διατάσσω only in 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Titus; ἐπιτάσσω only once in Philemon. Do not these words differ as much from each other, as each of them does from ἐντίλλεσθαι; and will not the reasoning be the same, to prove that Galatians and Titus or Philemon are spurious, as that our epistle is? And what shall be said of all those epistles, where none of these words are at all employed?

(6) 'Our author employs καθίζω in a *neuter* sense, i. 3; viii. 1; x. 12; xii. 2; Paul employs this verb in a *transitive* sense.' p. 143.

In the quotation by Paul in 1 Cor. x. 7, it is used in a *neuter* sense; as it is in 2 Thess. ii. 4. It has a *transitive* sense only in 1 Cor. vi. 4, Eph. i. 20. It occurs in no other case, in Paul, so that his usage is equally divided. In our epistle, it occurs in the same formula, in all the four instances where it is employed; and all of these instances refer to Ps. cx. 1, (Sept. cix. 1,) where is the like usage of καθου.

(7) 'Abstract appellations of God, such as θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος, θρόνος τῆς μεγαλοσύνης, are unheard of in Paul's writings.' p. 144.

What then is πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης, Rom. i. 4; θειότης, i. 20; ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *true God*, i. 25; also ψεῦδος, *false God*, *ibid.*; and πνεῦμα ζωῆς, viii. 2? Is the usage for employing *abstract* words for *concrete* ones, foreign to the style of Paul? Every one who reads this apostle with attention, will be able to answer this question.

(8) 'Our epistle calls Christ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, i. 3; Paul says, εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀοράτου, 2 Cor. iv. 4, Col. i. 15, and μορφή Θεοῦ in Phil. ii. 6.' p. 144.

Is not μορφή Θεοῦ as different from εἰκὼν Θεοῦ ἀοράτου, as ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης is from the same? And if this argument prove any thing, does it not prove that the epistle to the Philippians, which employs μορφή Θεοῦ (and not εἰκὼν Θεοῦ), must also be spurious.

(9) 'In our epistle κακονχίω is used, xi. 37, xiii. 3; Paul uses ὁλίβω instead of this.' p. 145.

Paul uses στινοχωρίομαι three times in his second epistle to the Corinthians, (and not once any where else,) to express the same idea that he elsewhere expresses by ὁλίβω. Is this epistle therefore spurious?

(10) 'Our epistle employs ἐνδύμης and ἔννοια, for which Paul uses διαλογισμός and λογισμός.' p. 145.

Λογισμός is found 2 Cor. x. 4; but διαλογισμός in Romans, first Corinthians, Philippians and first Timothy. Is the second Corinthians spurious because it does not use διαλογισμός?

(11) 'Our epistle uses ἀκλινής; for which Paul employs ἰδραῖος, ἀμετακίνητος, or μὴ μετακινούμενος.' p. 145:

Ἀκλινής is used once only, Heb. x. 23. So ἀμετακίνητος is used only in 1 Cor. xv. 58, and μὴ μετακινούμενος only in Col. i. 23. Now as in first Corinthians and in Colossians both, Paul uses ἰδραῖος as well as these words, in order to express the same idea, shall the like choice of a synonyme, in another letter, be denied him? And is it reasonable that it should expose his letter to

the charge of spuriousness, because that out of various synonymes, he has sometimes taken one and sometimes another?

(12) 'Συμπαθεῖν, μετριοπαθεῖν, and παθεῖν are current in our epistle; Paul uses συμπάσχειν and πάσχει.' p. 145.

Paul uses πάσχειν five times only, in four of which the present tense is required, and of course this form must be used, as there is no *present* παθῶ. He also employs ἰπάθετε twice, viz., in Gal. iii. 4, and 1 Thess. ii. 14. Our epistle has this same form, but only *three* times, v. 9; ix. 26; xiii. 12. Here then are the same forms, in both Paul and our epistle. Besides, are not πάσχω, συμπάσχω, and συμπαθῶ commingled forms, and every where exchanged for each other? As to μετριοπαθεῖν, it is used but once (Heb. v. 2), and is there employed in its *classical* sense.

(13) 'In our epistle, we find μετίσχει, κατάσχωμεν; but in Paul, μετίχων, κατέχων.' p. 145.

Once only is μετίσχει used, Heb. ii. 14. On the other hand, the *Pauline* μετίχων is also employed once, in Heb. v. 13. Besides, in all Paul's acknowledged epistles, μετίχω occurs only five times, and all of these are in the first epistle to the Corinthians. Is this the only epistle which is genuine?

As to κατάσχωμεν, it is found in our epistle only twice, iii. 6, iii. 14; while the alleged Pauline κατέχων is also used in x. 43. Besides, are not both of these one and the same verb, in different tenses? And may not the writer of different epistles employ even a different tense of the same verb, when the case demands it, without hazarding the reputation of his letters in respect to genuineness?

(14) 'Verbal nouns feminine, particularly such as end in -σις, are unusually frequent in our epistle; and, when put in the accusative by εἰς, they are employed instead of the inf. mode with εἰς τό before it; which latter is the construction that Paul employs, even to excess, and in a manner not consentaneous with Greek idiom.' p. 146.

Paul is no stranger to the employment of nouns in -σις with εἰς before them in the acc., in the sense of the inf. mode with εἰς τό; e. g. Rom. i. 17; iii. 25; v. 18; xiv. 1; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. In regard to other fem. nouns put in the acc. with εἰς, and used as the inf. with εἰς τό, see Rom. i. 5, 16; iii. 7; v. 16; vi. 19, 22; ix. 31 bis, 22, 23; x. 1, 10; xi. 9; xv. 18; xvi. 26. 1 Cor. i. 9; ii. 7; v. 5; x. 31; xvi. 15. All these cases have respect to nouns fem. only; very many cases might be added of nouns of the masculine form, employed in the same way. The above instances of the feminine forms are selected from only *two* epistles of Paul. I have found more than forty cases, of the same kind, in his remaining acknowledged epistles.

On the other hand; as to the excessive and unclassical use of the inf. with εἰς τό by Paul, I do not find it to be as Schulz has stated it. In Romans, I find 15 cases of infinitives with εἰς τό; in 1 Cor. there are 5 cases; in 2 Cor. there are 4; in Gal. 1; in Eph. 3; in Phil. 4; in Col. not one; in 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Titus, and Philemon, not one. But in our epistle we have the inf. with εἰς τό, in ii. 17; vii. 25; viii. 3; ix. 14, 28; x. 2 (διὰ τό); x. 15 (μετὰ τό); xii. 10; xiii. 21; i. e. 7 cases, just the same as the Pauline ones, and two more (x. 2, 15) of the same nature. If the want of *frequency*, with respect to this construction, proves the spuriousness of our epistle; what does the same thing prove, in respect to the longer epistle, called the first to the Corinthians, which exhibits it only *five* times? And what is to be said of the

five epistles named above, which do not at all exhibit this *favourite* construction of Paul?

In regard to the frequency of nouns ending in *-σις*, the proportion is not greater than in several of the Pauline epistles; as any one may determine by consulting a Greek Concordance.

(15) 'Our epistle uses *παροξυσμός*; Paul *ζήλος*.' p. 148.

Παροξυσμός is used only once, Heb. x. 24, and there not in the sense of *ζήλος*.

(16) 'Our epistle uses *πρεσβύτεροι* for *ancients*; Paul uses *πατέρες*.' p. 149.

Paul uses *πατέρες* in this way, only in Rom. ix. 5; xi. 28; xv. 8. As to *πρεσβύτεροι*, it is a common word for *ἄνδρες*, *ancients*, Matt. xv. 2, Mark vii. 3, 5, also Sept. What should hinder Paul from electing either of these synonyms at his pleasure?

(17) 'Our author uses *προβλέπομαι*; Paul *προετοιμάζω*, *προορίζω*, *προτίθημι*. Our author uses *ἀντικαθίστημι*; Paul *ἀνθίστημι*.' p. 149.

Προβλέπομαι occurs only in xi. 40, and is synonymous, in some of its meanings, with the other verbs named. Besides, is there not as much departure from *uniformity*, in employing the several words, *προετοιμάζω*, *προορίζω*, *προτίθημι*, as there is in using *προβλέπομαι*? And is not *ἀντικαθίστημι* a classic and Sept. word, and synonymous with *ἀνθίστημι*? Must a writer never employ but one and the same word?

II. Words employed in the epistle to the Hebrews in a sense different from that in which Paul uses them.

Some of the objections drawn from words of this class, have already been noticed above.

(18) '*Μακροθυμία* or *μακροθυμίᾳ* means *patient waiting* or *expectation*, in our epistle; in Paul, it means *lenity towards others*.' p. 150.

Paul employs it in other senses than that of *lenity*; e. g. Col. i. 11, *patient endurance of evil*; so 2 Tim. iii. 10, probably iv. 2, see Wahl's Lex. In the same sense probably it is used in Heb. vi. 12, 15. But if this be not allowed, it is enough to say, that *μακροθυμία* in the sense of *patient expectation*, is agreeable to Hellenistic usage. See Job vii. 16 Sept., and James v. 7, 8.

(19) '*Καταλείπεισθαι* and *ἀπολείπεισθαι* are used by our author in the sense of *restare*, *reliquum esse*; they are not so used by Paul.' p. 150.

Καταλείπεισθαι is used *actively* in the like sense, in Rom. xi. 4, and this sense is classic and Hellenistic. *Ἀπολείπεισθαι* is used in the active voice by Paul, in 2 Tim. iv. 13, 20, in a sense as kindred to the use of it in our epistle (where it is *passive*), as one of these voices can be to the other, in regard to a verb of this nature.

(20) '*ὑπόστασις*, in our epistle, has a different sense from that in Paul's epistles.' p. 150.

I am not able to perceive the difference between *ὑπόστασις* in 2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17, and in Heb. iii. 14, xi. 1. These are all the instances in which this word is employed by Paul or in our epistle, excepting Heb. i. 3, where the word is used in the classical sense of the later Greek writers. See Wah's Lex. on *ὑπόστασις*.

(21) 'In Hebrews, *λόγος* means *word given*, *assurance*, *declaration*; in Paul, *doctrine*, *command*, *word* in opposition to *deed*.' p. 150.

So also in Heb. xiii. 7, *λόγος* means *doctrine*, as also in v. 13, vi. 1. On the other hand, in 1 Cor. xv. 54, it means *assurance* or *declaration*; as also in

Rom. ix. 6, 9; 1 Cor. iv. 19; 2 Cor. i. 18; 1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; iv. 9. Surely there is no ground for distinction here. In the sense of *account* too, Paul and our epistle agree; e. g. Rom. xiv. 12; Heb. iv. 13; xiii. 17.

(22) 'τάξις in Hebrews, means *series, succession*; Paul uses it for *good order, arrangement*.' p. 150.

τάξις in the Septuagint answers to תַּיִן, *prescribed order or arrangement*, Prov. xxix. 24 [xxxi. 26]; to תַּיִן, Job xxviii. 13, Aquila's translation. In the Sept. Job xxiv. 5. xxxvi. 28, it has the sense of *prescribed arrangement*. This sense fits equally well 1 Cor. xiv. 40; Col. ii. 5, and all the cases where it is used in our epistle, viz. v. 6, 10; vi. 20; vii. 11, 17, 21, all of which are merely the same instance of *τάξις* repeated. Even if this exegesis be not admitted, still it is enough to say, that *τάξις* is employed in both the senses named by Schulz, in the Septuagint Greek, and also in classic authors. May not Paul, like any other writer, employ the word in different parts of his writings, as he does a multitude of other words, with different shades of meaning?

(23) 'Πλεον is used by our author in the sense of *præstantior*; by Paul, only for *more*.' p. 151.

In Heb. iii. 3, vii. 23, *πλεον* is used in the sense of *more*; certainly in the last instance. On the other hand, it occurs only once in the sense of *præstantior*, xi. 4. And this sense is supported both by classic and Septuagint usage.

III. *Favourite expressions and peculiar phraseology.*

Of these Schulz has collected together a great number; so great, that if they are truly what he names them, they must render the genuineness of our epistle *suspected* by every critical reader. But whether he has rightly attributed to these words and expressions the characteristics which he gives them, remains to be examined.

(24) 'The use of γάρ in our epistle is excessive; so much so, that a translator, if he means to avoid misleading his readers, must often pass it over unnoticed. Paul is less frequent in the use of this particle; and employs it only in cases where it has a meaning.' p. 152.

In the New Testament before me, the epistle of Paul to the Romans occupies fourteen pages; that to the Hebrews, ten. In Romans I find γάρ 145 times, i. e. on an average, more than 10 to a page; in our epistle I find it 91 times, i. e. on an average a little more than 9 to a page. So much for this *favourite* particle of the author of our epistle.

Bleek (Review, p. 25) has noticed the answer to Schulz contained in the above paragraph; but he remarks, that the question is not *how often* γάρ is used, but whether it is employed correctly and in its proper place; which he thinks is overlooked by me.

But is not the essence of Schulz's objection drawn from the *frequency* of its use? And in replying to this, is not the *frequency*, of course, the main question with me? The question whether γάρ is *classically* used, in all cases in the New Testament, even by any of its writers, I had supposed was no more a question. Even Schulz acknowledges that Luke, the almost classical writer, employs γάρ very much as it is employed in the epistle to the Hebrews, p. 152. And when Bleek challenges me to find it as much out of place, in the epistle to the Romans, as it is in Heb. viii. 4; vii. 12, 13; and v.

11, 13, I reply by inviting his attention to Rom. i. 18; v. 7; viii. 6; viii. 7. οὐδὲ γὰρ. viii. 15, 18, 24 τῇ γὰρ. ix. 28, where it is superadded to the Septuagint. It were easy to double this list from this single epistle. If Bleek should endeavour to show, that the usage in these cases may, in some tolerable measure, be justified by classic, and specially by Hellenistic usage, then I will pledge myself to show that the instances which he has specified, or may be able to specify, from our epistle are equally conformed to these usages. Nay, I venture to affirm, that any and all of them may be justified, by principles laid down in Passow's admirable Lexicon, under the word γὰρ. The development which this writer has made, shows that γὰρ, in many of the classics, is used with very little if any more precision than in the New Testament.

Bleek further remarks, on this occasion, that 'I have laboured too severely to set aside the objections of Schulz in a kind of mechanical way, and have not directed my attention rather to the great and striking diversities of style in our epistle.' p. 26.

My reply is, that I have answered the objections in the very form in which they were urged; and that this is the proper way to answer them. I am grieved that critics could have ever made such mechanical objections as Dr Schulz has done; but not that I have replied to them in such a way as the nature of the objections demanded.

In respect to the great characteristics of style in our epistle, my work will testify for itself whether I have overlooked them.

(25) 'The words προσφέρειν and προσφορά are used, times almost without number in our epistle, in respect to Christ's offering up himself before God by means of his death; Paul does not use the verb at all, nor the noun but once (Eph. v. 2) in this sense.' p. 153.

These words are employed in respect to the offering by Christ, in Heb. ix. 14, 25, 28; x. 10, 12, 14, six instances; which, considering the nature of the comparison between Christ's death and the Jewish offerings, is rather to be wondered at on account of *unfrequent*, than frequent occurrence. But is it not truly surprising that Schulz should produce, as examples which have respect to the *offering* made by the *death of Christ*, προσφέρειν and προσφορά in Heb. v. 1, 3, 7; viii. 3, 4; ix. 7, 9; x. 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 18; xi. 4, 17; xii. 7? All of these refer to *Jewish* offerings, excepting xii. 7, which has wholly another sense. Nor is the language of our epistle limited to προσφέρειν and προσφορά. The writer uses ἀναφέρειν in vii. 27 bis, ix. 28; xiii. 15; which is also used by other New Testament writers, e. g. James ii. 21; 1 Pet. ii. 5, 24. As to the *frequency* with which προσφορά is used, it is found only in five instances; two of these (x. 5, 8) are quotations from the Old Testament; and the other three (x. 10, 14, 18); are all plainly occasioned by the quotations just named, as they are employed in reasoning upon it. No where else, in our epistle, does the writer use this word; but he employs θυσία no less than fifteen times, which word Paul has employed five times. Considering the nature of the discussion in our epistle, is there any ground for the objection made by Schulz?

(26) 'Εγγίζειν τῷ θεῷ, and προσερχομαι τῷ θεῷ are frequent forms in our epistle; but not so in Paul.' p. 153.

The first of these phrases occurs only once, vii. 19. The *frequency* of it, therefore, should not have been alleged. But the same verb, as applied to *time*, is used in Heb. x. 25; and in Rom. xiii. 12. That ἐγγίζειν τῷ θεῷ was a usual form of Hebrew Greek, is evident from James iv. 8. In respect to

προσέρχασθαι, it is nearly a synonyme with ἰγγίζειν, and is used a great number of times in the New Testament, and by Paul in 1 Tim. vi. 3, but in the figurative sense of *attending to, giving heed to*. The use of it in our epistle (it is employed seven times) is occasioned by its correspondence with the Hebrew בָּרַךְ, which describes *the action of approaching God with an offering*, an idea which, from the nature of the comparisons instituted, must of necessity frequently occur.

(27) 'Such forms as λαμβάνειν—πιστῶν—μισθαποδοσίαν—ἀρχήν—τιμὴν—νεκρούς—ἐπαγγελίαν—ἐπαγγελίας, are frequent and *peculiar* to our epistle.' p. 153.

In Paul too we have λαμβάνειν χάριν—ἀποστολήν—σημεῖον—καταλλαγήν—περισσίαν—ἀφορμήν—πνεῦμα δουλείας—πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας—κρίμα—πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου—μισθόν—βραβεῖον—στίφانون—ἄρτον—οἰκοδομήν—ὁψώνιον—ὑμᾶς—πρόσωπον—ἐπαγγελίαν—μορφήν—ἐντολήν—ὑπόμνησιν. Is not this equally *peculiar*?

(28) 'Διαθήκη, and the compounds and derivatives of τίθηναι, are *unusually* frequent in our epistle.' p. 154.

Διαθήκη is employed by Paul nine times; but in our epistle, where the nature of the comparison lies between the old covenant and the new, the more frequent use of this word was altogether to be expected. Out of the seventeen instances, however, in which our author uses it, six are quoted from the Old Testament, viz. viii. 8, 9 bis, 10; ix. 20; x. 16; and three more are in the phrases transferred from the Old Testament, viz. ix. 4 bis; x. 29; so that eight instances only belong properly to our author's style. Could a less number than this be rationally expected, considering the nature of the discussion?

As to the uncommonly frequent use of the compounds and derivatives of τίθημι in our epistle, the following is the result of comparison. Διατίθημι four times in Hebrews, two of which are in quotations, viz. viii. 10; x. 16. In the other two cases, the word is employed in a sense different from the one usual in the New Testament, viz. ix. 16, 17. Μετάθεσις is one of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of our epistle (see on these Sect. 29). Μετατίθημι is used three times; also in Gal. i. 6; ἀθετιῶν, Hebrews once, Paul six times; ἀθέτησις, Hebrews twice; νομοθετιῶν, Hebrews twice (νομοθεσία in Rom. ix. 4); ἐπιθεσις, Hebrews once, Paul twice; πρόθεσις, Hebrews once, Paul six times; ἀποτιθημι, Hebrews once, Paul four times. Can the position of Schulz be supported, when the result of investigation turns out thus?

(29) 'Τελειοῦν, to bring to perfection, to advance to the highest place, is a *favourite* expression of our epistle.' p. 154.

It is so employed in ii. 10; v. 9; vii. 28; xii. 23; but in a different acceptation in vii. 19; ix. 9; x. 1, 14; xi. 40; (perhaps the last instance belongs to the other category). To the former *peculiar* sense of τελειόω (as alleged), Paul is no stranger, Phil. iii. 12, comp. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Other Hellenists also employ it in the same manner; Luke xiii. 32. The derivative forms τελείωσις and τελειότης, vii. 11; xii. 2; occur once only in this epistle. Τελείωσις also in Luke i. 45.

(30) 'Κρείττων is employed frequently, by our author, in a sense altogether peculiar, viz. in the sense of *more excellent*.' p. 154.

In the same sense Paul uses it in 1 Cor. xii. 31; a sense, moreover, which is common to classic and Hellenistic usage.

(31) 'Αἰώνιος is unusually frequent; e. g. αἰώνιος joined with σωτηρία—κρίμα—πνεῦμα—λύτρωσις—κληρονομία—διαθήκη, etc.' p. 154.

But Paul uses αἰώνιος ζῶν—χρόνος—θεός—βάρος—αἰώνια βλεπόμενα—αἰώνιος ὀλεθρος—παράκλησις—κράτος—δόξη. Paul uses the word *twenty-four* times; our epistle only *six*.

(32) 'Ζωή and ζῶν are used very frequently by our author to denote *perpetuity, lasting, continuance*.' p. 155.

So they are by Paul; e. g. Rom. ix. 26; 2 Cor. iii. 3; vi. 16; 1 Thess. i. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15; iv. 10; and this sense is frequent in the New Testament.

(33) 'The frequent use of πᾶς in the *singular* is striking.' p. 155.

Our epistle makes ten pages in the edition of the New Testament lying before me; and I find πᾶς in the singular 16 times in it, i. e. on an average about once and half to each page. The epistle to the Ephesians makes four and a half pages, and I find the same πᾶς in it 23 times, i. e. on an average more than five times to each page. So much for the *strikingly frequent* use of πᾶς in our epistle!

(34) 'The words ὅθεν, χωρίς, εἰνπερ, and ἀδύνατον are unusually frequent in our epistle.' p. 155.

Ὅθεν is not used in the acknowledged epistles of Paul (see in respect to ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, Sect. 29); but in the New Testament it is common. Χωρίς Paul uses fifteen times. Εἰνπερ is peculiar to Hebrews, and occurs thrice. Ἀδύνατον is employed four times in our epistle; twice by Paul; and four times by the other writers of the New Testament.

(35) 'Compounds of words with εὖ, are *favourite* forms with our author.' p. 155.

The following results will show how far this is well founded. Εὐθετος occurs in Heb. one time; εὐθύτης, 1; εὐάριστον, Heb. 1, Paul 8; εὐαριστίω, Heb. 3; εὐαριστῶς, Heb. 1; εὐλάβεια, Heb. 2; εὐλαβέομαι, Heb. 1; εὐποιᾶ, Heb. 1; εὐπερίστατος, Heb. 1; εὐλογία, Heb. 2, Paul 9; εὐλογεῖν, Heb. 6, Paul 8; εὐκαιρος, Heb. 1; εὐδοκεῖν, Heb. 3, Paul 11. On the other hand, compare the compounds of this sort in Paul, which do not occur in our epistle; viz. εὐγενής, εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγελιστής, εὐδοκία, εὐεργεσία, εὐθίως, εὐκαιρίω, εὐκαίρως, εὐλογητός, εὐνοια, εὐμετάδοτος, εὐδοῦμαι, εὐπρόσδεκτος, εὐπρόσεδρος, εὐπροσωπίω, εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβεῖν, εὐσεβῶς, εὐσημος, εὐσπλαγχνος, εὐσχημόνως, εὐσχημόνη, εὐσχήμων, εὐτραπελία, εὐφημία, εὐφημος, εὐφραίνω, εὐχαριστίω, εὐχαριστία, εὐχάριστος, εὐχρηστος, εὐψυχίω, εὐωδία. Is there *any* foundation for the assertion of Schulz?

(36) 'Compounds with ἀνά are unusually frequent in our author,' p. 156.

The fact stands thus. Once only are ἀναδέχομαι, ἀναθιρῶ, ἀνακαινίζω, ἀνάγω, ἀνακάμπτω, ἀναλογίζομαι, ἀνασταυρόω, ἀνατέλλω, used in our epistle. Ἀναφέρω is employed four times. In Paul, on the other hand, we find, ἀναβαίνω 7, ἀναγγέλλω 2, ἀναγινώσκω 8, ἀνάγνωσις 2, ἀνάγω 1, ἀναζάω 2, ἀναζωπυρέω 1, ἀναθάλλω 1, ἀνάθεμα 5, ἀνακαίνωσις 2, ἀνακαινώ 1, ἀνακαλύπτω 2, ἀνακεφαλαίωμα 2, ἀνακόπτω 2, ἀνακρίνω 10, ἀναλαμβάνω 4, ἀνάλυσις 1, ἀναλύω 1, ἀναλίσκω 1, ἀναλογία 1, ἀναμείνω 1, ἀνανεώ 1, ἀνανήφω 1, ἀνάξιος 1, ἀναξίως 2, ἀναπαύω 4, ἀναπέμπω 1, ἀναπολόγητος 2, ἀναπληρόω 5, ἀναστατόω 1, ἀνατίθημι 1, ἀνατρέπω 2, ἀναψύχω 1; all of which are wanting in the epistle to the Hebrews. Is there *any want of frequency* in compounds of this sort, in the writings of Paul? Rather is there not even a *want of frequency*, with respect to words of this class in our epistle?

(37) 'Good periods, with comparisons by ὅσον—τοσούτο, with εἰ γάρ—πῶς δι, with καθὼς, etc., are not so frequent in Paul's writings as here.' p. 156.

In what other epistle has Paul had so frequent occasion for *comparisons*?

(38) 'Σωτηρία, in the sense of *Christian happiness*, is peculiar to our epistle. Ἀντιλογία is also peculiar.' p. 156.

(a) Our epistle does not limit the word *σωτηρία* to such a sense. It is employed in its usual acceptation, in ii. 10; xi. 7, and probably in v. 9; vi. 9; ix. 28. On the other hand, Paul uses *σωτηρία* for *Christian happiness*, Rom. x. 1, 10; xi. 11; Eph. i. 13; 1 Thess. v. 8, 9; 2 Thess. ii. 13; 2 Tim. iii. 15.

(b) As to *ἀντιλογία*, it is not found, it is true, in Paul's acknowledged epistles; but it is in Jude vr. 11; and the verb *ἀντιλέγω*, is in Rom. x. 21; Tit. i. 9; ii. 9.

(39) 'Μαρτυρεῖν and μαρτυρεῖσθαι, in the sense of *bearing honorary testimony*, are *peculiar* to our epistle.' p. 156.

They are not. See Rom. x. 2; 1 Tim. v. 10; and often in the gospels, as may be seen in any of the New Testament lexicons.

(40) 'The following habitual expressions, so often employed by Paul, are wanting in our epistle, viz. οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν—θέλω ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι—τοῦτο δὲ φημι—γινώσκω (γινώσκωμεν) δὲ ὑμῖν—οἶδα γάρ—οἶδαμεν δέ, etc.—γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι—τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν—ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις—ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι—ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε—μὴ γένοιτο—τί οὖν—τί γάρ—ἀρα οὖν—μειοῦνγε. p. 157 seq.

If the want of these forms of expression in our epistle proves it to be spurious, then the same argument must prove a great part of Paul's epistles to be so. E. g. οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν is not in Gal., Phil., Col., 2 Thess., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Tit., Philemon. *Favourite* as Schulz represents this phrase to be, it is found only in Romans twice, 1 Corinthians twice; and in 2 Cor., οὐ γὰρ θέλωμεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, once.—Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι is once in 1 Cor. xi. 3, and wanting in all the other Pauline epistles; an expression, therefore, *singularly favourite*.—Τοῦτο δὲ φημι is in 1 Cor. twice, and wanting in all the rest of Paul's works.—Γινώσκω (γινώσκωμεν) δὲ ὑμῖν, Paul uses four times. The verb is employed some twenty times, in all his epistles, but not in the formula mentioned by Schulz. Οἶδα, οἶδαμεν, etc., are used very often by Paul; in our epistle, less frequently. In x. 30 we have οἶδαμεν, and five other cases of derivatives from εἶδω or εἶδία occur.—Γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, occurs only in Phil. i. 12.—Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν, in Rom. six times, and no where else. Which then is spurious, the epistle to the Romans, or all the others?—Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, only twice, Rom. ix. 19; xi. 19.—Ἐρεῖ τις, only *once*, 1 Cor. xv. 37.—ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, only twice, Rom. vi. 3; vii. 1.—Μὴ γένοιτο, only in Gal. and Romans.—Τί γάρ, not in Gal., Eph., Col., 1 Thess., 2 Thess., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Titus.—Τί οὖν, not in any of Paul's epistles except Rom., 1 Cor., and Galatians.—Ἀρα οὖν, only in the epistle to the Romans, Gal. once, Eph. once, 1 Thess. once, 2 Thess. once. Ἀρα is used by our author too, iv. 9; xii. 8.—Μειοῦνγε, in Rom. and Phil.; but no where else in Paul's epistles.

Certain is it, then, that the same argument which would prove the spuriousness of our epistle, would also prove the spuriousness of more or less of Paul's acknowledged epistles; for there is not a single phrase mentioned by Schulz, in all his list of "favourite expressions often repeated by Paul," which is not wanting in more or less of his acknowledged epistles. Only the words οἶδα, οἶδαμεν, etc., are to be excepted. Many of these *favouritisms*, we see too, upon examination turn out to belong only to some *single* epistle; e. g. θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, τοῦτο δὲ φημι, γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν, ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, ἐρεῖ τις, and ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε. It is difficult to conceive how a man of Schulz's intelligence, could willingly risk the hazard of such arguments as these.

I have omitted no argument of a philological nature, which Schulz has brought forward, except a few ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, of which I shall hereafter take notice. If the reader hesitates in regard to the sufficiency of some parts of

these answers to Schulz, which I have laid before him, I request him to suspend his decision, until he shall have read through the sequel; in which the general method of argument used by Schulz and Seyffarth, will be the subject of further observation. Before I proceed to this, however, the allegations of Seyffarth, in cases wherein they differ from those of Schulz, and from those made by Bertholdt and others, which have already been examined, must be considered. I do not aim at writing a *regular review* of Seyffarth's whole book, but merely to pass in review such arguments of his as have not already been examined, omitting only those on which it cannot well be supposed that he placed any important reliance.

XXVIII. OBJECTIONS OF SEYFFARTH EXAMINED.

I SHALL first examine the objections drawn from the alleged "peculiarity of the matters treated of," in our epistle.

(1) 'Paul concerns himself only with those churches which he himself established. He was not the founder of any church purely Hebrew. The person who in our epistle addresses the Hebrews, must have sustained a relation to them very different from that which Paul sustained.' Sect 47.

Is any thing plainer, however, throughout the whole epistle, than the fact, that the writer of it was not a founder or bishop of the church whom he addresses? Not a hint of either of these relations is discoverable. The circumstances, then, agree altogether with the condition of Paul, who did not found or preside over the Hebrew churches. But the assumption that Paul never concerned himself with any churches of which he was not himself the founder is manifestly erroneous. Did not this apostle write his epistle to the Romans before he ever saw Rome? See Rom. i. 13; xv. 24. Are not the expressions in this epistle as affectionate and as authoritative, to say the least, as in the epistle to the Hebrews? Paul, surely, had a very deep sympathy and tender concern for his Jewish brethren; see Rom. ix. 1 seq.; x. 1 seq.; xi. 1 seq. Compare, for expressions of kindness, Heb. vi. 20 seq.; x. 23 seq.; in particular v. 34, if the reading *θεομοίς μου* be adopted; and Titmann, in his recent edition on the New Testament, has adopted it.

(2) 'Paul no where treats formally of the dignity of Jesus; nor does he any where employ such arguments as our epistle exhibits, against defection from Christianity.' p. 104.

Paul no where else treats of the resurrection, in such a manner as 1 Cor. xv. does; nor of many other subjects, discussed in that epistle; does it follow, that Paul did not write the first epistle to the Corinthians, because it has these *peculiarities*? Besides, the fact is not correctly stated by Seyffarth. Surely Rom. ix. 5; Eph. i. 20—23; Phil. ii. 6—11; Col. i. 13—19, contain something about the dignity of Christ; not to mention many other passages. That the apostle has no where, except in our epistle, entered into a formal comparison of Christ with others, is true; but it is enough to say, that no where else did the occasion demand it.

(3) 'Paul every where inveighs against Jewish opinions; urges justification *χωρίς έργων νόμου*, and *ἐκ πίστεως*; dwells on the glorious advent of the Messiah; and urges the equal right of the Gentiles to the blessings of the Christian religion. Not a word of all this in the epistle to the Hebrews.' p. 105.

And where is there any thing of all this, in the first epistle to the Corin-

thians? Must a writer always speak of the very same subjects, and in the very same way? And if he does not, but speaks *pro re nata*, is it any just ground of suspicion, that such of his letters as are not exactly like certain other ones, cannot be genuine?

(4) 'It is wonderful that our epistle should represent the devil as the cause of death, ii. 14; Paul knows nothing of such a cause, see 2 Tim. i. 10; 1 Cor. xv. 55.' p. 106.

This objection is built on an exegesis of Heb. ii. 14 which cannot be supported; see the commentary on this passage. But if the exegesis were correct, it would not follow that the apostle might not, in one passage, express a sentiment which he has no where else expressed. See for example, 1 Cor. xv. 22—28. After all, it is not true that Paul does not recognise Satan as the author of the condemning sentence which Adam incurred; see 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14; 2 Cor. xi. 3, comp. with Rom. v. 12 seq.

(5) 'Paul, when he writes to any church, enters into a particular consideration of all their wants, and woes, and dangers; e. g. in his epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians,' p. 107 seq.

And does Paul any where show a deeper sympathy for those whom he addresses, than the writer of our epistle exhibits? Must every epistle which a man writes be *de omni scibili*, or *de omni re possibili*? As Paul was not bishop of the church whom he addresses in our epistle, it was not to be expected that he would use the same degree of freedom, in all respects, which he uses in some others of his epistles. Particularly, we may well suppose that he would be sparing in localities and personalities, if his epistle was designed to be *encyclical*, as we have good reason to believe it was.

(6) 'Our epistle every where urges to *τελειότητα*; not so Paul. With our author too, the Sonship of Christ is the great *τελειότης* of religion; not so in Paul. See 1 Cor. iii. 11, where it is reckoned as the *foundation*. Where too has Paul compared Christ to the angels?' p. 110.

That Paul does not urge forward those whom he addresses, to a higher degree of Christian knowledge and virtue, is an allegation which I believe to be *novel*, and which needs to be met only when something is brought forward to substantiate it. As to the doctrine of Christ's *Sonship* being reckoned as the *foundation* of Christianity, I find nothing of it in 1 Cor. iii. 11, where Christ, in his mediatorial person or character simply, is presented. That Paul's acknowledged epistles have not run a parallel between Christ and the angels, is true enough; but how are we to show that Paul never could do this in one epistle, because he has not done it in another?

(7) 'There is more pure and continuous argument in our epistle, than in those of Paul.'

There is more pure and continuous argument in the epistle to the Romans, than there is in the epistle to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; but is this any proof, that Paul did not write the latter epistles? And must the tenor of all the epistles which any man writes, however diverse the occasion and the subject may be, always be one and the same?

(8) 'Paul cites the Old Testament with great freedom, at one time following the Septuagint, and at another, the Hebrew. Our author keeps close to the Septuagint.'

The case is too strongly stated. It is not exactly correct, in either respect. But if it were, it does not follow, that in writing to those who had the Greek Scriptures in their own hands, and were habitually conversant with them,

Paul would not keep closer than usual to the words of the ancient oracles. It is altogether natural that he should do so ; see above in Sect. 27. No. 28.

I now proceed to objections drawn from words and phrases.

I. *Objections drawn from peculiar phrases.*

(9) ' The following phrases are *sui generis et maxime peculiares*, in our epistle ; viz. διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κληρονομεῖν, εἶναι εἰς πατέρα, δόξῃ στιφανοῦν, ποιῶντα εἶναι, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν λαλήσαι, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας, μαρτύριον τῶν λελαλημένων, παβήσῃα τῆς ἐλπίδος, στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ διῖκνεῖσθαι ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, προσέχουσθαι θρόνον χάριτος, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνουσθαι, περικεῖσθαι ἁμαρτίαν, ἀφίέναι τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φέρεσθαι, γένεσθαι δουρῆς ἐπουρανίου, μιμηταὶ τῶν διὰ πίστεως κληρονομοῦντων, ἀγκυρα ἐλπίδος, προκειμένη ἐλπίς, ἱερὺς εἰς τὸ διηγεῖσθαι, ἐντολὴ ἀποδεκατοῦν, μετατιθεμένη ἱερωσύνη, ζῶν ἀκατάλυτος, κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, δικαιώματα λατρείας, περικεκαλυμμένος χρυσίον, σταῖσιν ἔχειν, πάνουσθαι προσφερομένην, διδάσκει ξέναι, and θυσία αἰνέσιως.' p. 83.

Admitting now that the same phraseology cannot be found in Paul's epistles, is not the Greek of these phrases classic or Hellenistic? Is it not such as a writer might choose, without any uncommon peculiarities? But without insisting on this, I have only to remark, at present, that the same kind of argument which Seyffarth adduces, if it be valid, will prove any one of Paul's epistles to be spurious with equal force. I must refer the reader, for the illustration and proof of this, to Sect. 29 in the sequel.

II. *Objections from the peculiar forms and junctures of words in our epistle.*

(10) ' Our author makes a peculiarly frequent use of composite words. His epistle contains 534 words of this sort ; while Paul, in his epistle to the Romans uses only 478.' p. 91.

Without following on in the steps of Seyffarth, in order to examine whether his enumeration is correct, I take it as he has presented it. I open my New Testament at the epistle to the Colossians accidentally, and proceed to count the *composite* words ; which amount, if I have made no mistakes, to 178 ; the number of pages is three. The epistle then averages 59 composite words to a page. The epistle to the Hebrews, occupies 10 pages, and has, according to Seyffarth, 534 composite words, i. e. on an average 53 to a page. If it is spurious for this reason, *a fortiori* the epistle to the Colossians must be counted spurious also.

(11) ' Our author is partial to the use of participles, and of the gen. absolute. He employs 84 active participles, and 107 passive and middle ones, and seven cases of the gen. absolute ; while in the epistle to the Romans, there are only 90 active participles, and 42 passive, and no cases of the gen. absolute.' p. 81.

Allowing the enumeration of Seyffarth to be correct, the average number of participles on each page will be for Hebrews, nineteen ; for Romans, ten. Put now this principle to the test, in some other epistles. If I have rightly counted, the epistle to the Colossians has active participles 34, passive 40, pages three ; average number of participles to a page, 24. Ephesians has active participles, 60, passive 24, pages four and a half ; average to a page 23. Of course, if our epistle is spurious because it employs so many as 19 participles to each page, then these epistles must be spurious which employ 23 or 24 to a page.

And as to the gen. *absolute*, 2 Cor. (which has active participles 97,

passive 77, pages nine, average to a page 19, the same as in our epistle,) has the gen. absolute *three* times. Can any thing be more inconclusive, now, than such a species of reasoning?

(12) 'Our author has peculiar junctures of words; e. g. ἔσχατον ἡμέρων τὸ ἀμετάβητον τῆς βουλήs, κοινωνίῳ with the gen., διαφορώτερος παρὰ, ῥῆσαι πρὸς τινα, ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, παθήματα θανάτου, ἀγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, κρατῆσαι with the acc. ἀδύνατον with the inf. after it, αἱ πρότερον ἡμέραι, καταβάλλειν θηρίλιον.' p. 81.

Some of these phrases are Pauline; e. g. ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, Rom. i. 4; xv. 12; xxi. 24; Phil. iii. 11. So εὐαγγελίζω with the acc. Rom. x. 5 bis; 2 Cor. xi. 7; Gal. i. 9. In regard to the others, if they prove any thing, they will prove too much; for the same kind of argument would show (as we shall hereafter see,) that the first epistle to the Corinthians is spurious. The phrases in question are all either classic or Alexandrine Greek; and how can it be shown, then, that it was either impossible or improbable that Paul should employ them?

III. *Objections drawn from the use of words, employed in our epistle, in a sense different from that which Paul attaches to them.*

(13) 'Υἱὸς Θεοῦ in our epistle designates the higher nature of Christ, and not the Messiah simply. In Paul it has the latter sense.' p. 60 seq.

Paul also uses it in the former sense, in Rom. i. 3, 4; viii. 3, 32, and probably in 2 Cor. i. 19. In our epistle it is used in the sense alleged by Seyffarth to be the exclusive one, only in i. 2 and perhaps vii. 8. In other cases it is employed in the usual sense of *Messiah*; viz. in i. 5 bis; viii. 4; xiv. 5; v. 8; vi. 6; vii. 28; x. 29.

(14) 'Κληρονόμος, *lord, possessor*, is peculiar to our epistle.' p. 63.

Not so. In Rom. iv. 13, 14; viii. 17; Gal. iii. 29; iv. 7; Tit. iii. 7, it is used in the same way. Indeed the usage of κληρονόμος in this sense, is *Pauline* instead of *Anti-pauline*.

(15) 'Our author uses ὑπόστασις in the sense of *fundamentum*, Heb. i. 3; Paul no where employs it in such a sense.' p. 66.

In Heb. i. 3, ὑπόστασις is *unique*. In iii. 14; xi. 1, ὑπόστασις means *confidence*; so in Paul, 2 Cor. ix. 14; xi. 17.

(16) 'Ἔργον in the sense of *beneficence*, Heb. vi. 10, is peculiar to our epistle.' p. 66.

The meaning attributed to ἔργον here, is deduced merely from the context, viz., from ἀγάπης which follows it. The sense of ἔργον itself here does not differ from that which it has, in Eph. ii. 10; Col. i. 10; Tit. ii. 14; specially 2 Cor. ix. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 18. So also in Matt. xxvi. 10; Acts. ix. 36.

(17) 'Πηλίκος in our epistle (vii. 4) means *quam insignis, how distinguished*; Paul applies it only to *magnitude*, Gal. vi. 11.' p. 77.

These two instances are the only ones, in which πηλίκος occurs in the New Testament. Πηλίκος properly signifies, *of what magnitude*. It might be applied either in a *physical* or *moral* sense. In Gal. vi. 11, it is applied in the former sense, (so also in the Septuagint, Zach. ii. 2;) in Heb. vii. 4 it is used in the latter sense; at least, it designates *greatness of rank or condition*. Can any thing be more natural than the derivation of this *secondary* sense of the word, in such a case, from the primary one?

(18) 'Ὅλος, Heb. viii. 8, 10, is used in the sense of *tota gens*; Paul does not employ it in this sense.' p. 77.

It is sufficient to reply, that both of these instances are not our author's own words; they are quotations from the Septuagint. As to the writer's own use of *οἶκος*, he employs it in the usual sense, viz., *household*; see Heb. iii. 2—6; x. 21; xi. 7; and comp. 1 Cor. i. 16; 1 Tim. iii. 4; v. 12, 15; v. 4; 2 Tim. i. 16; iv. 19, etc.; also Acts vii. 10; x. 2, etc.

(19) 'Ἐπισυναγωγή is peculiar to our epistle.' p. 77.

It is employed but once, Heb. x. 25. Only once more it is found in all the New Testament, and that is in 2 Thess. ii. 1. in a sense like that in Heb. x. 35. If any thing can be fairly deduced from this, it is in favour of the Pauline origin of our epistle.

(20) 'Κοσμικόν, in the sense of *exornatum* (Heb. ix. 1.) is peculiar. Paul uses κόσμιος and κακοσμημένος.' p. 78.

The exegesis of this word is manifestly erroneous. See Heb. ix. 11. 24; xii. 22; Rev. xxi. 2.

(21) 'Περικαλύπτω is used, Heb. ix. 4, to express the *covering* of vessels; in 1 Tim. ii. 9, for the *veiling* of women.' p. 79.

Περικαλύπτω is not used in 1 Tim. ii. 9, nor any where in Paul's acknowledged epistles. It is used only in Mark xiv. 65; Luke xxii. 64; and there, in the same sense as in Heb. ix. 4.

(22) 'Συνείδησις is used, in our epistle, in the sense of *animus, mens*; by Paul, in the sense of *conscience*.' p. 79.

So it is used in the sense of conscience, too, by our author in xiii. 18, and probably x. 22. In x. 2, it means *consciousness*. Only in Heb. ix. 9, 14 has it the sense of *mens, animus*; which also it seems to have, in 2 Cor. v. 11.

(23) 'Ἀναιρίω is used in the sense of *abolishing*, Heb. x. 9; Paul uses καταργίω.' p. 80.

Ἀναιρίω is used but once; and then in a sense which is common in the Septuagint and in classic authors. Καταργίω is employed by our author (Heb. ii. 14,) and in the same sense in which Paul employs it; which sense is exclusively Pauline. Comp. Luke xiii. 7.

In regard to the words αἰών, τάξις, and ἡγούμενοι, on which Seyffarth also charges peculiarity of signification in our epistle, they have been already examined above.

IV. Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of our epistle.

Nearly one half of Seyffarth's Essay is occupied with reckoning up words of this class. Sects. 16—28. It is singular that he should bring into this computation words that occur in the quotations made from the Septuagint; e. g. ἐλίσσειν, παραπικρασμός, προσόχθιζε, τροχιά, δεδος, etc.; as if these were chargeable, as peculiarities, upon the idiom of our epistle. Yet such is the ardour with which arguments of this nature have been urged by him, Schulz, and others, that the bounds of sober reflection are not unfrequently overleaped, and objections undistinguishingly pressed into service by these writers.

I subjoin a catalogue of these ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, because I wish to put the reader in possession of all that is adduced to overthrow the [Pauline origin of our epistle. The force of the argument I shall examine in a subsequent section.

I remark here only, that by actual examination I find this whole class of so called ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, (almost without exception,) are words both of classical and of Septuagint or Alexandrine usage. Now the employment of words - belonging to both these kinds of Greek, can mark nothing very peculiar in the

style or choice of words adopted by our author. The instances alleged by Seyffarth are the following; viz.

Chap. I. Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, ἀπαύγασμα, χαριστής, μεγαλαυτοῦς, ἰλίσσιν.* II. Πάραφρο-
ν, μωδοποδοσία, συσσιμαρτυρία, βραχέ, παρυσλησίας, δάσπειθα. III. Μίτοχος, διέκταν, παρσι-
πρασμός,* προσοχθίζω.* IV. Ὑπόδυγμα, ἀφανέ, τραχυλίζω, βοάθω, εὔκαιρε. V. Μετριοπαδῶν,
ἰσχυρία, αἴτιος, προσογορευθῆς, καθρέ, αἰσθητήρια, ἴρι. VI. Παραδυγματίζω, βοάτη, ἰσχυράω
governing the genitive, ἀντιλογία, ἀμυνάδωτος. VII. Κοθή, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγνισαλόγητος, ἀφ-
μαυμίνος, δηπικίς, ἀρεοδίνα, πατριάρχης, ἱερουσία, συναστάς, ἀθήνησι, ἀπαράβωτος, παυλῆς, ἀμείνως.
VIII. Ἐσθῆ, δῶρε, ἀναφίρ, χρηματίζω, νομοθετῶν, διατιθέναι, ἴλας ἵται,* παλαιῶν, ἀφανισμός.
IX. Ἐγκαινίζομαι, ῥαστίζω, αἱματωχεσία, ἀντίπατος, συντίλμα τῶν αἰώνων. X. Ἀνέτιξον, πρέσβωτος,
ἀκλινής, παροξυσμός, ἰκονσίως, φέβρος, ὑπερβίζω, ἀδλῆσι, διατρέζω, ἰνιδισμός, χροίζω. XI. Εὐαρε-
στῶν, ἄστρο, ἀναρίδμητος, παρσιδῆμι, τρέμω, ἄστυς, διάταγμα, στυπακονχῶν, πασάσποτος, παρι-
βίλη, τυμπαίζω, καταγογιζομαι, μιλάω, δίεμα, προβλίσσεται. XII. Ταγαρῶν, ῥίος, ἀρεῶντις,
ἀναλογίζομαι, κάμυν, ἀντιπαδιστάναι, ἰκλαοθάων, διγαρῶν, ῥίος, παρίσαι, τροχά*, ἐξδοκ, ἰσχυλῶν,
προστοκία, μετίπτω, ψηλαφῶ, γόφος, διαστίλλομαι, φαντοσία, ἰντρομος, ἰσφορος, παρήγυρις, σίω, ἀσά-
λωτος, κατααλίσσω. XIII. Βοηθῆς, ἡγούμενος, ἀναδιωρία, εὔπειτα, ἀλυσιταλῆς.

The whole number is 118; from which are to be subtracted those six marked with an asterisk, as they are *quoted from the Septuagint*, and belong not to our author. The amount then of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα is 112. And they are collected, too, with an unsparing hand; e. g. ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγνισαλόγητος, τρέμω, ἰντρομος, ἰσφορος, and many other words like these, where it is difficult to see how the author of our epistle could avoid choosing the very terms which he has employed, if we consult the connexion in which they stand.

This list appears, indeed, quite large and formidable to any one, who has not put to the test the principle of reasoning to which it must appeal, if any weight be allowed it in the scale of evidence against our epistle. That principle I shall bring to the test, by subjecting one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles to an examination in the same way, and on the same grounds, which Seyffarth, Schulz, and others, have thought proper to adopt in the examination of our epistle.

XXIX. OBJECTIONS MADE AGAINST THE GENUINENESS OF OUR EPISTLE, COMPARED WITH THOSE WHICH MAY BE MADE AGAINST THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

It often struck me, while engaged in the toilsome and protracted labour of examining the preceding objections made against the Pauline origin of our epistle by Schulz and Seyffarth, that the only just method of weighing the whole force of the arguments which they deduce from peculiarities of phraseology and the choice of words by our author, would be to carry the same principles of reasoning along with us to the examination of one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles, and see whether as great a list of expressions and words foreign to the other acknowledged epistles of Paul might not be found, as in the epistle to the Hebrews. This task, so far as I know, has never yet been performed by any critic. And yet such an experiment seems to be obvious and necessary, in order that we may judge with any confidence respecting the alleged *singularities* of our epistle. I have gone through with the appalling labour of performing such a work; and I shall now present the reader with the results of this undertaking.

In making choice of an epistle among the acknowledged writings of Paul, I found some difficulty. I chose, at last, the first epistle to the Corinthians;

because, like that to the Hebrews, it presents several topics that are peculiar to itself. In this respect it has more resemblance to our epistle, than any other of Paul's acknowledged letters. Consequently a comparison of its peculiarities of phrase and diction with the other epistles of Paul, would be more like a comparison of our epistle with these, and would be more just than a similar comparison of any other of Paul's epistles.

I divide the *peculiarities* of the first epistle to the Corinthians, into two great classes.

I. Phraseology peculiar to this epistle, and found no where in the other acknowledged writings of Paul.

I. 1 Cor. i. 2. Ἁγιασμένοι, as a title of Christians, used no where else by Paul. 2. Ἐσικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου I. X. as a periphrasis for the idea of Christians. 5 Ἐσπαντίσθητι ἐν αὐτῷ. 9 Εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ. 10 Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου I. X. . . . Paul says, διὰ I. Χριστοῦ, Rom. xv. 20.—τὸ αὐτὸ λέγῃ, *de in unison*—κατηχετισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καί. 13 Μιμνῆσθαι ὁ Χριστός; *is Christ divided?* Paul uses μιμίω, in the sense of *impart*, e. g. Rom. xii. 3; 2 Cor. x. 13. 16 Λατρεῖν ὡς ἄλλα, Paul commonly uses τὸ λατρεῖν, Eph. vi. 10; Phil. iii. 1; iv. 8; 2 Thess. iii. 1. 17 Σοφίᾳ λόγου, . . . Paul uses λόγον σοφίας, Col. ii. 23—πνευθὶ ὁ σταυρὸς. 18 Ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ. 21 Μακρίας τοῦ πνεύματος. 25 Μακρὸν τοῦ θιού. 27 Μακρὸν τοῦ κόσμου. 25 Ἀσθενεῖς τοῦ θιού. 27 Ἀσθενῇ τοῦ κόσμου. 26 Βλίσπει τὴν κλῆσιν—σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρεκα—δυνατοί, *for those in an elevated station*. 30 Ὁς ἠγνώθη ἡμῶν σοφία . . . δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις.

II. 1 Ὑπερχῆν λόγου.—τὸ μακρότερον τοῦ θιού. 2 Οὐ γὰρ ἐκενὰ τι ἰδύσαι, *I determined not to make known*. 4 Πυθὲ σοφίας λόγου—ἀπιδυχεῖ πνύματος καὶ δυνάμει. 5 Σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων, *human subtlety*. 6 Σοφία τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, . . . In 1 Cor. σοφία is used *seventeen* times, in the epistle to the Romans only *once*, and that in a quotation, Rom. xi. 33. 7 Προβήζω . . . πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων. 8 Ἀρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου—κύριος τῆς δόξης. 10 Ἀποκαλύπτω διὰ τοῦ πνύματος—πνύμα ἰσχυρῷ—τὰ βαθῇ τοῦ θιού. 13 Διδασκατοῖς ἀνθρώπων σοφίας λόγου—διδασκατοῖς πνύματος—πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συζητοῦντες. 14 Ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος—πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται.

III. 1 Ζεφυκοῖς, as applied to persons. 3 Κατὰ ἀνθρώπων περιπατῶν. 6 Ἐγὼ ἰφύττω, applied to the labour of a religious teacher—Ἀπολλὸς ἰφύττει, *Apollos supplied with water*, applied to the same—θιὸς ἡξάν, *made to increase* (Hiphil of the Hebrews), no where employed in this sense by Paul in his other epistles, nor appropriated to designate such a shade of thought. 8 Λήφεται κατὰ τὸν ἰδίον κόσμον . . . Paul says, κατὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ, e. g. Rom. ii. 6; 2 Cor. xi. 15; 2 Tim. iv. 14. 9 Συνεργοὶ θιού—θιού γιόργιον—θιού εἰκοδομή. 10 Σοφὸς ἐκχιτάνω. 11 Θιμίλιον τίθωκα. 12 Ἐσικποδομῶν χερσὶν, ἄγγυρον, κ. τ. λ. 13 Ἡ ἡμέρα δηλώσω—ἐν πνεύμῳ ἀποκαλύπτεται—τὸ πνεῦμα δοκιμάσω. 14 Μισθὸν λαμβάνω. 15 Ἔργον κατακαίω—συνθῆναι ὡς διὰ πνεύματος. 18 Μακρὸς γίνεσθαι. 21 Ἐσ ἀνθρώπων κενχῶσθαι. 23 Ὑμῖς Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς θιού, *ye are Christ's, Christ is God's*.

IV. 1 Ὑπερχῆν Χριστοῦ—εἰπόμενοι μυστηρίων. 3 Εἰς ἱλαχιστὸν ὥραι—ἡμέρα, *day of trial, trial*. 4 Ἐμμανῆ συνιδῶν. 5 Πρὸ παιρῶν πρίν—βουλαὶ τῶν παρδιῶν—ἴπαινοι γίνονται τῶν. 6 Μιτασχηματίζω ὡς, *to transfer figuratively*—τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ὁ γίγρεσθαι φρονῶν, *not to think of one's self more highly than the Scriptures allow*; Paul uses τας' ὁ . . . φρονῶν in such a case, Rom. xii. 3, and employs φρονῶν ὑπὲρ in the sense of *having a regard for*, Phil. i. 7; iv. 10.—θυσίῶν ὑπὲρ . . . κατὰ. 7 Διακρίνω πνεύμα, *to make one to differ*. 8 Κενχισμένοι ὦνται—βασιλεύω, *to be in a happy or prosperous state*. 9 Ἐσχάτως ἀποδυῖται—θιάντοι γίνεσθαι. 10 Μακρὸν διὰ Χριστοῦ—φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ—ἰσχυροὶ applied to persons—ἰδοξί in the same manner. 13 Περιπαθέματα τοῦ κόσμου—πάντων περιφύματα—ἴως ἄρτι. 14 Ἐστίων, *act. velle, putting to shame*; no where else, except with a passive meaning. 15 Παιδαγωγὸν ἐν Χριστῷ—πατίς [ἐν Χριστῷ]—ἐν Χριστῷ . . . γινῶν. 17 Ὁδοὺς . . . τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ, *Christian doctrines*. 19 Ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος θιλήσῃ. 20 Βασιλεία τοῦ θιού . . . οὐ ἐν λόγῳ . . . ἐν δυνάμει. 21 Ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἰδῶν.

V. 1 Ὁλος ἀκοῖνται—γυναικα . . . ἴχυν, *to cohabit with a woman*. 2 Πενθῶν, *to be sorrowful*; Paul, *to make sorrowful*, 2 Cor. xii. 21. 3 Ἀπὸν ἐν σώματι (Paul, ἀπῶναι ἐν σαρκί, Col. ii. 5.)—παρὸν τῷ πνύματι. 4 Συνεχθίνω ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἰμοῦ πνύματος, *is altogether unique, in the shade of idea*. 5 Εἰς ἀλθεῖν τῆς σαρκὸς, ἵνα τὸ πνύμα σωθῇ, *is altogether peculiar*. 7 Ἐκκαθαίρειν . . . ζύμη—τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν (Χριστοῦ) ἰνῶν. 8 Ἐστέζω ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιῇ—ζύμη παλίας καὶ ποτηρίας

—ἀξίμους ἐλπιεῖν καὶ ἀληθείας. 10 Πόρευαι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου—ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελθῆναι, *to withdraw entirely from converse with men.* 12 Τὰς ἰσῶν, *those within the church.*

VI. 1 Πεῖγμα ἔχον, *to have ground for a suit at law.* 2 Οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσι—ἀνάξει κρινέμεν. 3 Ἀγγίλους κρινούμεν, *altogether sui generis.* 4 Καθίζον, *to make to sit as judges.* 5 Πρὸς ἰντροπὴν λίγων, also in xv. 34.—διακρίναι ἀπὸ μίσου. 6 Κρίνεται μετὰ, *goes to law with*—ἀπιστος, used eleven times in this epistle, and not once in Romans, Colossians, Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Philippians, 2 Timothy. 7 Κρίματα, *law suits*—ἀποστεριέμεναι, *to suffer one's self to be defrauded*—ἀποστερίω, *to defraud.* 9 Ἀδικοι, for Heb. דגנן. Paul uses the

word but once, and then in the singular number, Rom. iii. 5, and in quite a different way. 11 Δικαιοῦνται ἐν νόμῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 12 Πάντα μοι ἔστιν—συμφέρει, five times in this epistle, and no where else in all Paul's acknowledged epistles, except twice in 2 Cor.—ἐξουσιάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τινος. 15 Μίλη Χριστοῦ—πρότης μίλη. 16 Κολλώμενος Κυρίῳ—καλλώμενος τῇ πρότῃ. 20 Ἀχυρέζεσθαι τιμῆς—δεξάμεν ἐν τῷ σώματι.

VII. 1 Γυναικὸς ἀσπασθαι, *to cohabit with.* 2 Ἐχον γυναῖκα, *to marry or possess a wife.* 5 Ἐσὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστι, *ye may come together.* 14 Ἀγιάζω, in a sense *sui generis*—ἀκάθαρτοι, in a sense peculiar; so also ἅγιοι, which follows. 19 Ἡ περιτομή οὐδὲν . . . Paul says, οὐτὶ περιτομή τι ἰσχύει, Gal. v. 6; vi. 15.—ἡ ἀπερθευστία οὐδὲν ἔστι—τήρησις ἰντροπῶν . . . Paul says, ὑπακοὴ πίστει, Rom. i. 5; xvi. 26; or ὑπακοὴ simply, Rom. v. 19; vi. 16; xv. 18; xvi. 19; or he uses ὑπακοῦν, Rom. vi. 12; vi. 17; x. 16, et saepe. 20 Κλῆσις, *condition in life, rank*; no where so employed by Paul. 21 Μὴ σοι μελίτω, *be not solicitous*—μᾶλλον χεῖραι, *prefer.* 25 Ἐπιταγήν ἔχον—ἐλεημένους ὑπὸ Κυρίου . . . Paul uses ἐλεῖν simply, Rom. xi. 30; 2 Cor. iv. 1; 1 Tim. i. 13, 16. 26 Καλὸν ἀνθρώπων . . . Paul uses καλόν simply, in the same sense, e. g. Rom. xiv. 21; Gal. iv. 18. 29 Τὸ λοιπόν, *hereafter, for the future.* 31 Χεῖρεσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ—τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου. 32 Μειμνῆναι τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου. 33 Μειμνῆναι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου . . . Paul uses μειμνῆναι τὰ περί. 34 Ἄγιοι εἶναι σώματι καὶ πνύματι. 35 Πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, *for the profit.* 37 Ἀνάγκη ἔχον. 40 Δουλὸν πνύμα θιού ἔχον, *truly unique, in the epistles.*

VIII. 1 Γινώσκον ἔχον. 4 Οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐν κόσμῳ—οὐδὲν ἴτιος. 6 Ἡμῶν ὡς θιός, ὁ πατήρ, κ. τ. λ. The whole verse is unique. 7 Συνιδέσις, *conscientious scruples.* 12 Ἀμαρτάνειν ὡς, *to sin against*—τύπτειν συνιδέσειν. 13 Βρώμα σκανδαλίζω . . . Paul, διὰ βρώμα λυπῶσθαι, Rom. xiv. 15.

IX. 1 Τὸ ἔργον μου . . . ἐν Κυρίῳ. 2 Ἄλλοις . . . ὑμῶν . . . ἀπόστολοις . . . Paul uses the gen. ἰδῶν ἀπόστολοις, Rom. xi. 13; ἀπόστολοι ἰκκλησιῶν, 2 Cor. viii. 23; ὑμῶν ἀπόστολοις, Phil. ii. 25.—σφραγίς τῆς ἀποστολῆς. 5 Γυναῖκα περιέχον—7, 13 Ἐσθίον ἐκ, *to eat of* . . . Paul uses simply the accusative, e. g. Rom. xiv. 2; 2 Thess. iii. 12. 11 Σπείρειν πτωματικά—θιρίζον σαρκικά, *to have one's temporal wants supplied.* 12 Ἐξουσία, *property.* 16 Ἀνάγκη . . . ἐπίκειται μοι . . . Paul, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, 2 Cor. ix. 7; κατ' ἀνάγκην, Philem. vr. 14. 17 Οἰκονομίαν πιστωθῆναι. 19 Ἐλεύθερος ἐκ . . . Paul uses ἰλιθίως ἀπὸ, Rom. vii. 3. 20 Κερδαίνον, *to win over* . . . in a different sense, Phil. iii. 8. 22 Γίνεσθαι τοῖς πᾶσι τὰ πάντα. 24 Βραβύον λαμβάνον—25 Ἐθαρτὸς ἀφθαρτος στίφανος. 26 Αἶμα δέξον.

X. 1, 2. The whole of the description presented in these two verses is *sui generis*, and found no where in Paul. 3 Βρώμα πτωματικόν—πύμα πτωματικόν. 4 Πτωματικῆς πίστεως—and specially the idea of the whole phrase, πτωματικῆς ἀκαταλόγητος πίστεως. So also ἵπτοι ἐκ . . . Paul uses πῶν (2 aor.) with the accusative, Rom. xiv. 21. 11 Τύποι συμβαίνειν . . . Paul, τύπος simply, Rom. v. 14; or γίνεσθαι τύπος, 1 Thess. i. 7; 1 Tim. iv. 12—τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων . . . Paul, ἰσχυαται ἡμέραις, 2 Tim. iii. 1. 13 Πυρασμός ἀνθρώπων ὁληρῇ, singular both as to the verb and adjective, joined with πυρασμός. 15 Ὡς φρονίμως λίγων. 16 ποτήριον τῆς ὕλογίας—πονηρία αἵματος—πονηρία σώματος. 17 Εἰς ἄρετας . . . εἶναι, said of Christians communing at the Lord's table. 18 Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα—πονηροὶ θυσιαστικῶν. 19. Τί οὖν φημι; 20 Δαιμονίους θύον—πονηροὺς δαιμονίους γίνεσθαι. 21 Ποτήριον δαιμονίων—τράπεζα δαιμονίων. 27 Καλῶν, in the sense of *inviting to a meal.* 32 Ἀπερόπικτον, with the dative after it—πάντα πᾶσι δέξον.

XI. 2 Παραδόσεις κατέχον. 3 Θίλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖναι—παντὶ ἀνδρὶ κεφαλὴ Χριστός, κεφαλὴ Χριστοῦ θιός. 4 Κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχον, *to cover the head.* 5 Καταισχύνον, *to dishonour*, . . . Paul, *to dis-appoint*; Rom. v. 5; ix. 33; x. 11.—τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ, *the same thing as*, i. e. αὐτό with the dative after it. 7 Ἀνὴρ . . . ὡκὸν καὶ δέξα θιού—γυνὴ δέξα ἀνδρός. 9 Οὐ ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικὸς, κ. τ. λ. 10 Ἐξουσία, *veil or token of power*—ἄγγελος, *cries.* 12 Ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς. 14 Θύσις διδάσκει. 17 Συνέχεσθαι ὡς εὐκρίτων . . . ὡς τὸ ἔστιν. 20 Κυριακὴν δύστην. 23 Παραλαβὴν ἀπὸ . . . Paul

uses παραλαβὴν παρά, Gal. i. 12; 2 Thess. iii. 6. 24 Τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ ὁμῶν κλέμεται. 25 Μετὰ τὸ διατηρῆσαι . . . Paul no where uses μετά before the inf. mode preceded by ἐπὶ.—ἡ παντὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ ἱμαί αἵματι. 27 Ἐσχατος ἵσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου. 29 Κρίμα ἰσθίου καὶ πίνον ἐπὶ—διακρίνουν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου. 30 Ἀσθενῶς, sickly—ἱκανοί, many . . . Paul uses it in the sense of able, sufficient, 2 Cor. ii. 6, 16; iii. 5; 2 Tim. ii. 2. 31 Διακρίνουν, to examine. 34 Διατάσσεσθαι, to set in order, arrange . . . Paul uses it for command, Tit. i. 5.

XII. 3 Ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλοῦν—λίγων ἀνάθημα Ἰησοῦν—ἐκτὺν κύριον Ἰησοῦν. 6 Ἐκτεγγύν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι . . . Paul, ἐκτεγγύν τὰ πάντα, Eph. i. 11. 7 Φαίριςαι τοῦ πνεύματος. 10 Διακρίσεις, powers of distinguishing . . . Paul in a different sense, Rom. xiv. 1—γένε, kinds . . . Paul uses γένος, for descent, lineage, Phil. iii. 5. 13 Εἰς ἐν σῶμα βασιθεῖται—ὡς ἐν πνεύμα ποτισθεῖται . . . Paul uses ποτίζω no where, except in a quotation from the Old Testament, Rom. xii. 20. vs. 15—17. Where is any representation like this, in all the Pauline epistles? Paul introduces the same general image, in Rom. xii. 4, 5, as is found in 1 Cor. xii. 12—14; but he does not pursue it into detail. 23 Τιμὴν περιτιθέναι. 24 Δίδουαι τιμὴν . . . Paul, ἀποδίδουαι τιμὴν, Rom. ii. 7.—τὸ αὐτὸ μεριμενῶ. 26 Μίλας δεξιζέται—συγχαίρω used absolutely, without any dative following it . . . Paul employs the dative after it, Phil. ii. 17, 18. 27 Ἐκ μέρους, Paul uses ἀπὸ μέρους, Rom. xi. 25; xv. 15, 24; 2 Cor. i. 13; ii. 5. 28 Τίθεναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, to constitute officers in the church. 28 Where else are such officers in the church mentioned, as ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, δοτόμοι?

XIII. 1 Γλῶσσαι ἁγγέλιον. 2 Εἰδὺν μυστήριον—ἐξ μυστηρίων. 3 Ψαμίζον τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. 6 Στίγυν, to cover over. 8 Γλῶσσαι παύονται, the idea of speaking in a variety of languages, is not found attached to γλῶσσα, in any of the Pauline epistles. 12 Βλίσκων δι' ἰσότητος . . . ἐν αἰνίγματι . . . πρόσωποι πρὸς πρόσωποι—γινώσκουν ἐκ μέρους.

XIV. 2 Πνεύματι λαλοῦν μυστήρια. 3 Λαλοῦν οἰκοδομῆν . . . παρέκκλησιν . . . παραμυθίαν. 5 Οἰκοδομῆν λαβεῖν. 6 Λαλοῦν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει, κ. τ. λ. 7 Φανερὸν δίδουαι—διαστολὴν δίδουαι. 9 Εἰς ἀίαν λαλοῦν. 10 Τυχάνω, to happen, to be; . . . Paul in the sense of obtaining, 2 Tim. ii. 10. 11 Δύναμις, force of, in the sense of meaning—ᾧ βέβαιός τινι. 14, 15 Προσυχίζου γλῶσση . . . πνεύματι . . . τοῖ—ψάλλον πνεύματι . . . τοῖ. 16 Εὐλογεῖν τῷ πνεύματι. 19 Λαλοῦν διὰ τοῦ. 20 Παιδία γίνεσθαι ταῖς φρεσὶ—ταῖς φρεσὶ τίλωαι γίνεσθαι. 22 Εἰς σημεῖον ᾄδει . . . Paul, σημεῖον ἵσται, 2 Thess. iii. 17. 27 Κατὰ δύο, ἢ τρεῖς. 32 Πνεύματα προφητῶν προφῆταις ὑποτάσσονται. 33 Ἀκαταστασίας διέξ.

XV. 2 Δι' αὐτοῦ [ἐπαγγελίαν] σώζεσθαι. 3 Ἐν πρώτοις, first . . . Paul, πρώτος, Rom. x. 19. 8 Ἐσχατος πάντων. 10 Εἰμὶ ὁ ἴμι. 14 Κατὰ κήρυγμα, κατὰ πίστις. 15 Ψυδομαρτυρεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. 17 Ἐῖσαι ἐν ἁμαρτίαις. 20 Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κικαρημένων. 21 Δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος . . . Paul, διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, Rom. v. 12.—δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. Vs. 24—28, a passage altogether sui generis. 29 Βαπτίζονται ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν. 38 Σῶμα δίδουαι. 40 Σῶμα ἰσχύου. 42 Σπύρισμα ἐν φθερῷ—ἐγύρισμα ἐν ἀφθαερσίᾳ—σπύρισμα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ—ἐγύρισμα ἐν δόξῃ, κ. τ. λ. 44 Σῶμα ψυχικόν—σῶμα πνευματικόν. 47 Ὁ δεύτερος ἀνθρώπος, ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. 49 Φερῶν ὑπόνοα. 50 Σάρε καὶ αἷμα, κ. τ. λ. 31 Μυστήριον λίγων . . . Paul, μυστήριον λαλοῦν, Col. iv. 3. 52 Ἐσχάτη σάλπιγξ. 53 Δι' γὰρ τὸ φθερὸν, κ. τ. λ. 56 Κίνητον θανάτου, ἡ ἁμαρτία—δύναμις ἁμαρτίας, ὁ νόμος. 57 Διδόται ἡ πῆλος.

XVI. 2 Μία σαββάτων—τιθέναι παρ' ἑαυτῶν. 7 Ἐν παρεδρῇ ἰδύν. 9 Θέλω ἀνίγει μεγάλη καὶ ἱκεγέ. 22 Ἦτο ἀνάθημα, μαρὰν ἀθά. 24 Ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ, κ. τ. λ. The whole closing salutation is sui generis.

Such is the almost incredible mass of peculiar phraseology, in the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is possible, that there may be instances among so many, where I may, through the tedium of such an examination, have overlooked some phrase of the same kind in Paul's other epistles. If this be so, the student, who has in his hands a Greek concordance, will be able easily to detect it. In the mean time, I venture to affirm with entire confidence, (having repeated my investigations a second time,) that the number of such mistakes, at most, is not sufficient to affect in any degree, the nature of the argument, or the force of the appeal. I remark only, that where I have appealed to Paul, as not having employed a particular word or phrase, or as not using it

Such is the basis of the arguments so confidently adduced by Schulz and Seyffarth, and so much applauded and trusted in by many other critics. It has been often said by logicians, that "what proves too much, proves nothing." This is *well said*; and applied to the case before us, it will show, at once, that the very same means used to overturn the opinion, that Paul was the author of our epistle, would overturn the opinion that he wrote any other particular epistle which is universally acknowledged as coming from his hand.

But what shall we say, when in addition to all the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of words, we reckon up the *phrases* of the same sort, which have been adduced above? Is here not a mass of evidence apparently overwhelming? Surely, if the first epistle to the Corinthians had been anonymous, the whole body of modern writers, who have attacked the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, must with one unanimous voice have disclaimed the first epistle to the Corinthians as belonging to Paul. In all respects which have any reference to the number of *peculiar* phrases and words that are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, the first epistle to the Corinthians presents far stronger evidence of *not* being Pauline than our epistle does.

So unsafe is this argument, although often produced and much relied upon, in respect to the important subject which we are examining! How much easier is it, too, to make assertions at hazard on a subject of this nature, than it is to go through with the excessive labour of verifying such assertions, by means of that great rectifier of wandering critics—a Greek concordance? Had this been done long ago, the world had been spared a great deal of useless labour, and literature the record of many a hasty conclusion from premises unexamined and unestablished.

But further, the argument against the genuineness of the first epistle to the Corinthians could be easily amplified, by appealing still farther to the same kind of arguments as are adduced against our epistle. For example; how easy to ask, 'If the first epistle to the Corinthians be Paul's, how is it possible, that in so long a letter there is no discussion of Paul's favourite topics in which he was so deeply interested? How comes it to pass, that we have nothing about justification by faith without the deeds of law; nothing of the vanity and folly of Jewish rites and ceremonies; nothing which asserts the equal rights of Jews and Gentiles, and blames the Judaizing teachers and zealots who refused to acknowledge this? Where has Paul ever descanted, as here, on the subject of spiritual gifts; on the marriage relation, conditions, habits, and dress of women; on the Lord's supper; on the support of preachers; on the comparative value of spiritual gifts, and of faith, hope, and love; and above all, on the controverted and speculative questions of his time, respecting the manner in which the bodies of the saints would rise from their graves, when the last trumpet should sound? Where else has Paul or any other sacred writer intimated, that the regal power of the Messiah would cease after the day of Judgment, and that he would be subjected to the Father? Is there any parallel to this epistle, either as to matter or manner, in all the acknowledged writings of Paul?'

I might proceed still further, and collect a large number of favourite expressions often repeated in this epistle, but which seldom or never occur in the other Pauline epistles. Many such I have noticed, in the course of my investigations; many more than Schulz has been able to collect from the epistle to the Hebrews. And if the *two* epistles to the Corinthians were to

be the subject of investigation, instead of the first only, the list of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα, and of favourite idioms, and peculiar ideas, might be swelled to an enormous catalogue. I have observed, as I feel quite well satisfied, more ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the second epistle to the Corinthians in proportion to its length, than in the first; and quite as many peculiar phrases. In a word, after such an investigation as I have been through, I am bold to say, that there is not a single epistle of Paul's which may not be wrested from him, by arguments of the very same kind as those by which the genuineness of our epistle is assailed, and in all respects of equal validity.

Unfortunately for the cause of criticism, so just and obvious an investigation has not hitherto been entered upon. Most of those who have doubted the genuineness of the epistle to the Hebrews, have seemed to consider it as quite proper to make out from it all the *specialities* possible, and then to reason from them without any fear of mistake. I have examined their arguments in detail, because I wished to show how many hasty and incorrect assertions have been brought forward as arguments. I have now exhibited the application of the *principles* on which their whole argument stands, to one of Paul's epistles, the genuineness of which no critic calls in question. The result is so plain that it cannot be mistaken.

"But," it will be asked, "can we never reason, in any case, from *dissimilarity of language* in different compositions, to *different persons as authors*?" No doubt we may, in some cases. But not unless the difference be greater than in the case before us. It has been shown above, how many striking traits of resemblance to the other letters of Paul there are in our epistle. While these remain, the discrepancy can never be made out to be great enough to build a sound argument upon it. If the question were to be asked, Whether the author of the epistle to the Romans could have written the first epistle of John? the answer would be easy, nay almost absolutely certain, from *internal* evidence. But after all the striking resemblances which can be shown between our epistle and Paul's letters; after proving from actual examination, that the list of peculiarities in one of his most conspicuous and acknowledged epistles, is much greater than in our epistle; after making all the reasonable abatements which must be made, from the peculiarity of the subjects which are discussed in our epistle, and of the condition of those to whom it was addressed; after reflection upon the acknowledged fact, that every writer's style is more or less altered by advancing age, by the circumstances of haste or leisure in which he writes, by the topics themselves which he discusses, and by the degree of excitement which he feels at the time; above all, taking into consideration the fact, that every writer who travels to many different countries, resides in many different places, and is conversant with a great variety of men and of dialects, is much more liable to change his style somewhat, than he who always resides in the same place, and is conversant with the same men and books; after taking, I say, all these things into consideration, can any man have reasonable grounds to be satisfied, that the peculiarity of style and diction in our epistle is such, that its Pauline origin is to be rejected on account of them? I will not undertake to answer for others; but for myself, I can say with a clear and an abiding conviction, I do not feel that such an argument can stand before the impartial tribunal of criticism.

XXX. OBJECTIONS BY DE WETTE.

DE Wette is the well known author of a Commentary on the Psalms, of a translation of about one half of the Old and New Testaments, of a Hebrew Archæology, of a historical and critical Introduction to the Old Testament, and of some other works in the departments of sacred criticism and moral science; all of which have attracted great attention on the continent of Europe, on account of the distinguished genius and extensive erudition of the author. He is now a Professor in the University of Bale, in Switzerland.

De Wette takes side, as from his habits of thinking and reasoning he might be expected to do, with those who deny the Pauline origin of our epistle. His arguments are very brief, as the nature of his book required them to be; and I am not a little surprised to find, that among them all, there is not a single one which is not drawn from the works that have been already examined above.

In regard to the *external* evidence, he has given many of the citations from the fathers, adduced in the preceding part of this discussion, pp. 75—108. But some important ones he has omitted, which speak most unequivocally against the views he gives of the opinion of these fathers. For example, he merely refers to Euseb. Ecc. Hist. VI. 25, in respect to the very important testimony of Origen, which the reader will find on p. 70 seq. above; simply remarking that "Origen gives up the writing down of the epistle by Paul, and only attributes the *matter* of it to him." p. 285. In a note, he subjoins, "When he [Origen] speaks of the tradition of the churches, it is probable that he means only the Alexandrine church." In regard to such a probability, I must refer the reader to what is said above, p. 76, Nos. 7, 8. The probability is very strong, that all of Origen's homilies must have been published in Palestine, for he was licensed to preach but a few months before he was driven from Alexandria; see Lardner's Credib. III. 194. Whether Origen would, under such circumstances, be likely to retain any superstitious veneration for the church at Alexandria, every reader will be able to judge, so as to satisfy his own mind. It will be remembered, that the testimony of Origen now in question, is from one of his *Homilies* on the epistle to the Hebrews.

In the same manner, he has merely made a simple reference to the important testimony of Jerome in his epistle to Dardanus, cited above on p. 94; while he has inserted at full length all the passages which might serve to show that Jerome had doubts in his own mind, in regard to the Pauline origin of our epistle. 'Tis he avers to have been the fact. But whether there is any just foundation for such an assertion, has already been examined above, p. 94 seq. Jerome, no doubt, felt himself obliged to use great caution, in regard to the manner in which he spoke of the epistle to the Hebrews, because the prevailing sentiment of the western churches, in his time, was against the Pauline origin of it. More than this can never be fairly deduced, from any of the language which he employs. The passages in his epistle to Dardanus, in his commentary on Matt. xxvi., and in his book *De Viris Illustribus*, c. V., (supra, pp. 94, seq.), can never be made to speak less than a decided, definite opinion on the part of Jerome himself, in respect to the Pauline origin of our epistle. How should he have been the occasion of revolution-

izing the whole of the western churches, in regard to the sentiment under consideration, if this were not the case?

Other testimonies too De Wette has omitted, which are in favour of the Pauline origin of our epistle. In stating the opposition of the Latin churches to this sentiment, he has brought forward the doubts of Jerome and of his contemporaries. He has followed these on, down to the seventeenth century, by quoting from Primasius, and Isidore Hispalensis. But he has not once hinted, that in this same western church, all those distinguished bishops who are mentioned above (p. 94), admitted our epistle to be Paul's; excepting that he has adduced some of the testimony of Jerome and Augustine.

Besides, he has advanced the broad position, that "the western churches originally (anfänglich) denied this epistle to be Paul's." The passages adduced in proof of this are, Euseb. Ecc. Hist. VI. 20, cited above, p. 82; V. 26, supra p. 87; the passages from Photius, Gobar, and Hippolytus, supra pp. 87, 88; Tertullian, de Pudicitia, c. 20, supra p. 90 seq.; Cyprian, de Martyr, c. XI., supra p. 91; Jerome, Epist. ad Paulinum, supra p. 94; and Philastrius. de Hæres. c. 89, who speaks only of the opinion of others, himself believing the epistle to be Paul's. But De Wette has not said a word, in this connexion, of all the evidence adduced in Sect. XII. above, which has relation to this subject; nor of the division of opinion that existed in the Latin churches in later times and before the days of Jerome, in respect to the subject in question.

Again, in stating the testimony of the eastern churches, De Wette has merely brought forward Eusebius as testifying to the opinions of his own times; see Eusebius' testimony above, p. 81 seq. At the same time he intimates that there were doubts in that part of the church, with regard to the Pauline origin of our epistle. He has not, however, produced a single author from the East who has expressed any such doubts, and this for a very imperious reason; while, at the same time, he has sedulously omitted all those cited on p. 85 above, who undoubtedly ascribed our epistle to Paul.

Is this now an *impartial* examination and statement of evidence, on this great question? And has an author, who writes in this hasty manner without extended examination and without deliberation, any right to find fault with others, when they refuse to receive his allegations with implicit credit, and betake themselves to such an examination as may detect imperfect representation and statements evidently dictated by partiality?

Next, as to the *internal* grounds of proof that our epistle does not belong to Paul.

These are, without exception, the same as had been before advanced by Eichhorn, Ziegler, Bertholdt, Schulz, and Seyffarth; all of which have been examined in the preceding pages. De Wette states, very categorically, that the language of our epistle is very different from that of Paul; and he appeals to Schulz as having most fully shown this, in the work which has been already examined. How far the case is as Schulz has represented it, must now be left to the reader to judge for himself.

What most of all surprises me, is, that De Wette should produce, as special proof of the alleged discrepancy of style, the formulas of quotation, examined p. 154 seq. No. 18 above; and also the appellations given to the Saviour by the writer of our epistle, examined in p. 168 seq. No. 19 above; two of the most unlucky of all the arguments which Schulz and Seyffarth have adduced. It requires, indeed, a great deal of patience and labour to

examine this matter to the bottom; more, I am quite inclined from bitter experience to believe, than De Wette consumed in writing the whole of the article in his Introduction, which has respect to our epistle.

Besides these two cases of *diversity* of style, De Wette has proceeded to cite a large list of words, all of which are taken from Schulz and Seyffarth, and have already been the subject of particular examination. With an adventurous step, and without even opening his Greek concordance for investigation, he has followed his leaders in this hazardous path, and even selected the words examined above on p. 180 No. 34, p. 180 No. 37, not omitting the most unfortunate of all Dr Schulz's *guesses*, viz. the phrases on p. 181 No. 40 above. The word *πᾶσις* too has come in for its usual share of *discrepancy* (see above, p. 140, *c*), and also *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* and *τιμωρίαις*.

He avers, moreover, after Schulz, that the comparison and symbolical use of Old Testament passages and ordinances, is foreign to the manner of Paul, and like to that of Philo. (See on this subject, p. 119 seq. No. 2 above). He asserts, too, that Paul could not have represented Christianity, as being so correspondent with Judaism, nor Christ as high-priest; nor would he have been silent about his office of apostle to the heathen, nor concealed the fact that the Christian religion was designed as well for Gentiles as Jews.

Yet how many of Paul's epistles there are in which these topics are not insisted on, and which De Wette himself does not suppose to be spurious, he does not seem once to have thought of. How is it possible that such a writer as Paul should be limited to one circle of objects, and reasoning, and expression? De Wette would not like to have the genuineness of his own works tried by such a rule of scrutiny.

On the question, To whom was our epistle directed? De Wette has exhibited a singular method of treating the subject. He endeavours to present difficulties that lie in the way of supposing that it was directed to any church; and then comes to the conclusion, that probably it was not originally an *epistle*, but the composition of some companion of Paul, who added the personal allusions toward the close of the letter, for the sake of giving credit to it as a composition of the apostle; so that all investigation about either the author of the epistle, or the persons to whom it is directed, is in vain and useless, pp. 292—294. It seems after all, then, that the author of our epistle is a dissembler and a dishonest man; aiming to stand upon the credit of Paul, because he fears that his own credit is insufficient. But can any candid reader of the epistle refuse to see the unequivocal marks of sincerity, candour, high-raised benevolent feeling, and spiritual comprehensive views, every where exhibited? I repeat it, had the writer of such a piece any need of propping up himself, by the aid of even Paul's name and authority? Then how futile, nay foolish, the attempt to do so, if his style, diction, manner, reasoning, quotations, circle of thought—in a word, every thing—is so *toto caelo* diverse from that of Paul, as Schulz, Seyffarth, and De Wette represent it! Where were the eyes and understandings of the readers? Could they not detect the imposture? And then what would become of the epistle, and of the reputation of the man who wrote it? Truly one should have better reasons than these, before he abandons the conviction which a thorough investigation has forced upon him, that Paul is the author of our epistle.

XXXI. OBJECTIONS BY BOEHME AND BLEEK.

NEARLY contemporary with the work of De Wette, noticed in the preceding section, is the work of C. F. Boehme, comprised in a volume of about 800 pages ; which contains an introduction to our epistle, and a translation of the same, followed by a copious commentary. Of the author little is known in this country, and, if I may judge by such reviews of books in Germany as I have perused, little is said in his own country respecting him. The work was printed at Leipsic, in 1825.

Like the critics whose works have been examined in the preceding sections, Boehme sets out with the most unqualified assertions respecting the discrepancies of style and manner, between the author of our epistle and all the other writers of the New Testament. He asserts, that 'as to the form and method of his work, the rhetorical construction of it, and the constant and accurate observance of order, our author far excels the other contemporary sacred writers.' He extols the art which the writer of our epistle uses, in order to persuade those whom he addresses to follow his advice ; in particular he gives, as an example of this, Heb. iii. 7 ; iv. 13. where the writer very dexterously, as he says, turns the promise of rest in the land of Canaan into a promise of rest in the heavenly world ; to which he adds Heb. xi. 8—16, where, as he avers, "the author by the aid of his rhetorical art, and *contra fidem historiarum*, has rendered it *aliquatenus probabile* that Abraham and the other patriarchs had a spiritual rest in view."

With many other eulogies he loads the author of our epistle, on account of his art, his eloquence, and his excellent Greek ; and from all this, as was to be anticipated, he comes to the conclusion, that the author could not be Paul, nor any of the other writers of the New Testament, he being far superior to them all.

Into the historical and critical examination of this question, however, he does not even pretend to go. He avers, that to do so would be merely *agere actum*. He considers the works of Schulz, Seyffarth, and Ziegler, as having finally settled the question, beyond any hope of retrieve by those who advocate the Pauline origin of our epistle ; and after appealing to the authors just named, and to the considerations which he has himself suggested, in respect to the discrepancies of style and manner between the author and Paul, he concludes by saying, "that Paul was not the author, *satis super que demonstratum est a nobis aliisque*."

This is indeed a summary method of dispatching a question of this nature ; certainly it is a method which spares writers and readers a great deal of severe labour and study. Unfortunately, however, for all these rhetorical appeals to the mere feelings and imagination of men, there are some at least who believe in the Pauline origin of our epistle, that are too φιλόπονοι to shrink from bringing the whole matter to the test of actual investigation, and who will insist upon it, that those who make assertions are bound in duty to prove them.

The work of Boehme, under examination, is not one which bids fair to bring any accession of strength to the cause of those who deny the Pauline origin of our epistle ; and all which I could wish to say respecting his suggestions, has been already said in the preceding pages.

I cannot deny, however, that he has exhibited something *new* in his book.

He has endeavoured to show that Silas or Sylvanus was the author of our epistle, and that it was directed to the church at Antioch ; conjectures which not only have not a single voice of ancient testimony in their favour, but which are destitute of any circumstances that render them even in a slight degree probable. I cannot help thinking of Boehme's introduction to his work, much as one of his countrymen thinks of a certain author who has made some noise of late in the medical world; "He has some new things, and some true things; but his new things are not true things, and his true things are not new things."

Of a very different character from the work of Boehme is that of Prof. Bleek, already named in the preface to this volume. This writer may be reckoned among the first class of German critics, in respect to learning and diligence. I add with great pleasure, also, that he has, in most cases, conducted his arguments with a good degree of moderation and candour, and is free from a censorious spirit. He is certainly by far the most respectable, so far as his efforts in regard to our epistle are concerned, of all who have fought against the Pauline origin of it. That he has now and then overlooked and undervalued the testimony which is against him, seems to me very plain; and to this I have more than once felt myself obliged to advert, in the preceding pages. That in his zeal to carry his point, he has attached undue importance to some of the testimonies and considerations which he regards as being in his favour, seems to me equally plain; and some of these cases I have also felt bound to notice. I trust he will not be offended at this liberty. I give and take it with equal cheerfulness. His aim and mine should be one and the same, viz. the attainment of truth. I am persuaded that he has not wittingly perverted any testimony or argument, on which he has commented. But having apparently settled his mind, before he began the writing of his book, on the question about the Pauline origin of our epistle, he seems to me now and then to exhibit somewhat of the adroitness and management of a special pleader, in order to make out his case. He will pardon me for this frankness; a liberty which he has himself used, in pronouncing judgment on some of my arguments in his Review. In the main, he appears to have treated the subject with fairness and friendly feeling. My convictions are the offspring of an investigation not hasty, but long protracted. I do not deny him the privilege of making the same claim. If then we cannot agree in our opinion as to the result, in judging of certain facts or testimonies, or in some matters of taste about style, the only alternative is, to submit our case, with the reasons for our views, to the public, and leave those to decide who are not embarked as principals or as parties in the discussion. This I shall most cheerfully do; and it is on this ground that I have, all along, (where I found new matter in his work which seemed to claim particular attention, and on which I thought he himself would lay any stress,) not failed to introduce it, and to examine it. If I have omitted any thing of this nature, it is not through design, but merely by accident.

It was more convenient and proper for me thus to consider most of the topics of which he has treated, when any thing new was suggested, than to throw them together in this place, and make a general review of the whole.

The reader will, of course, be most pleased, that a topic entered upon should be completed before it is abandoned.

I have named the work of Bleek here, and give it a separate place at present, merely in order to notice some arguments of his not already included in the preceding parts of this volume.

In sect. 84, p. 381 seq., Bleek alleges against the Pauline origin of our epistle, 'the incorrect representation made by the writer of the arrangement of the Jewish Sanctuary, and of the high-priest's official duties performed in it, particularly in Heb. ix.' The particulars which go to establish this, are, that the golden altar of incense is placed by him in the *inner sanctuary*, Heb. ix. 3, 4; and that the golden vial of manna and the rod of Aaron that budded, are said to be there; which is contrary to 1 Kings viii. 9, and 2 Chron. v. 10. He alleges also, that in ix. 7, the high-priest is said to have gone into the most holy place *only once* in each year; whereas it appears from Lev. xvi. that he went in several times.

These difficulties are not new, but they are converted by Bleek to a new purpose, and therefore demand some notice.

In regard, then, to the *θυμιατήριον* (Heb. ix. 4,) which Bleek translates *altar of incense*, it needs only to be remarked, that the whole strength of his appeal lies in his misconception of the word. *Θυμιατήριον* merely indicates any thing on which incense is burned. Of course it may be used to designate the *altar of incense*, and so it may be to designate a *censer* or *incense-pan* that was borne in the hand. Such a one the high-priest carried with him into the inner sanctuary on the great day of atonement, Lev. xvi. 12—14. It is usually named *מִזְבֵּחַ הַתְּשִׁבֵּת* in Hebrew; but sometimes is called *מִקְדָּשׁ*, as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 19.; Ezek. viii. 11, in both which places the Septuagint render it *θυμιατήριον*.

What is there to show that in Heb. ix. 4, the meaning is not the same?

In regard to the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron, it is sufficient to say, that they were deposited where the writer of our epistle affirms them to have been, as appears from Ex. xvi. 32—34; Num. xvii. 10. (xvii. 25.) All the difficulty suggested by Bleek, arises from his having overlooked the fact, that the writer of our epistle is describing the *tabernacle as it originally was*, not the temple in after ages.

In regard to both these subjects, I refer the reader to Excursus XVI. XVII. at the close of the present work.

In respect to the high-priest's entering the sanctuary more than once, comp. Lev. xvi. 2. It would appear, by Lev. xvi. 12, 14, 15, that during the day of general atonement, he entered the inner sanctuary several times, (see on Heb. ix. 7.) But the writer of our epistle plainly speaks here of *one day, one time*, in distinction from other days and times of the year. Just so does Philo speak of the same subject, "*ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ* the high-priest entered the inner sanctuary." De Mor. II. p. 821. Legat. ad Caium. p. 1035.

With the explanations of these difficulties now given, the nature of the case seems well to accord. How is it possible, I would ask, to suppose with any degree of probability, that the writer of our epistle, whoever he might be, was ignorant of so obvious and palpable a fact as the position of the altar of incense, a thing which no one that had ever been at the temple, or heard a description of its services from those who had been there, could possibly

be ignorant of? Was the writer of our epistle a novice in the knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures? The frequency with which he has quoted them, the manner in which he employs them and speaks of them, may answer this question. And did he not know, must not every Jew at home and abroad have known, that *every morning* and *every evening*, throughout the whole year, incense was burned upon the altar appropriated to this purpose? Ex. xxx. 7, 8; Luke i. 9, 11. Did he not know, too, that the high-priest did not, and could not lawfully, enter the inner sanctuary, except on one day of the year only? This Heb. ix. 7, testifies. How then, since incense, as he well knew, must be burned *every day* on the altar, could he at the same moment mark the position of the altar as being in the inner sanctuary, which could be approached only *once* in each year? The thing is plainly too incredible to meet with assent.

What influence, moreover, could any writer expect to have with Hebrews who looked with wonder and admiration on the apparatus and rites of the temple, provided he manifested an ignorance respecting these things so gross, as the case supposed by Bleek would argue? Truly none. He could reasonably expect them to do nothing less than to scoff at him. A Jew not know whether the altar of incense, which was used every day by the priests, was in a place which could be approached only once in a year! When this can be made probable, then we may consent to regard many other assertions of some critics about our epistle as probable, which we are now compelled to reject.

Nor does the case appear any better in regard to the sacred pot of manna and the rod of Aaron which budded. Could the writer of our epistle be ignorant of passages, which were so deeply interesting to a Jew as 1 Kings i. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10? And even if he had not read them, was it possible that there should not have been a universal knowledge among the Jewish nation, by report, at the period in which he lived, respecting the fact whether any relics of the Mosaic age were in the ark of the testimony? Truly it would be a great tax on one's credulity, to believe what is in itself so exceedingly improbable.

As the text then does not at all compel us, by any sound rules of interpretation, to make such an exegesis as Bleek defends; and as the nature of the case renders his supposition highly improbable; I feel constrained to absolve the writer of our epistle from the charge of such gross ignorance as Bleek attributes to him, and to believe that he needs not correction from the critical acumen of the present times. Bleek himself will bear with me, when I suggest, that this correction does not come in the best manner from him, since he has himself, p. 387, made a statement respecting the Jewish temple at Leontopolis, which implies, that the altar of incense might there have been put in the most holy place, *nach der Einrichtung der Shiftshütte, agreeably to the arrangement of the tabernacle*. This he says, in order to show that if the author of our epistle were an Egyptian, it would be very natural for him to make the mistake he has done, concerning the position of the altar of incense. But was the altar of incense in the most holy place in the tabernacle, as the whole passage in Bleek seems evidently to suppose? Ex. xxx. 6—8, will answer this question.

After producing the objections above canvassed, Bleek proceeds to sum up the historical evidence, in a brief way, which results from the previous investigations in his work. I deem it unnecessary to repeat the examination

of this, as the whole subject has been so copiously discussed in the preceding pages. I shall content myself with only a few remarks on some declarations which this writer now and then makes, in the course of his summary.

He says, that 'after the middle of the second century we find evidence that the epistle was regarded as Paul's; but this, only in a particular part of the church, viz., at Alexandria.'

Is there no evidence, then, that the *oriental* churches regarded it as such, at this time? None from its being in the Peshito? None from what Eusebius and Jerome say, in regard to the custom of the Greek churches?

'At Alexandria, it is doubtful whether it was received on the ground of *tradition*, or only that of critical conclusion.'

I will reply to this only by asking the reader to review the testimony of Pantænus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, relative to this subject.

He asserts, also, that 'in *all* the western churches, from the middle of the second century down to the middle of the third, it was believed not to be Paul's. He suggests too that Clement of Rome, who was manifestly acquainted with our epistle, must have known it to be Paul's, if indeed it was so; and that the tradition would have gone down from him in such a way, that this could never have been called in question at home, which, on the contrary, was the very place that most strenuously denied it.'

In regard to the assertion that *all* the western churches denied the Pauline origin of our epistle, I must refer the reader again to the examination of this subject in the preceding sheets. In respect to Clement of Rome, whether he was the Clement mentioned by Paul in Phil. iv. 3, there is no certain evidence. Tradition speaks in favour of it. But if it were so, it does not follow that he was in circumstances, at the time when our epistle was written, to know whether Paul wrote it or not. If he were not, then he could only judge, as others did, by the probabilities of the case, and by current report. But evidence from either of these sources, was of course of such a nature as might more easily be suspected or gainsayed, than the evidence derived from the author's name being subscribed. After ages might call in question what Clement believed; and there would be nothing strange in this. How often the like things take place elsewhere, needs not to be insisted on here.

XXXII. HEBRAISMS AND NON-CONFORMITY TO CLASSIC USAGE IN THE EPISTLE.

ALL the writers who have declared against the Pauline origin of our epistle, have appealed to Origen's declaration, 'Ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθῆσι τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρᾳ, *the epistle [to the Hebrews] in the texture of its style is more conformed to the Greek idiom, or is better Greek, [than the epistles of Paul.]* Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Ziegler, Schulz, Seyffarth, De Wette, Boehme, Bleek, and others, have one and all urged this consideration, and insisted upon it that Origen's judgment on this point must be considered as decisive.

In respect to the general principles of criticism which are to regulate our investigation of such a matter, I have already said all which I wish to say, p. 135 seq. The actual comparison of our epistle with the acknowledged epistles of Paul, has also been made, p. 118—130 above. It may however be of some importance to add, in this place, a list of some of the Hebraisms and of the examples of non-conformity to classic usage, which occur in our

epistle, in order to meet the very categorical assertion of De Wette, Boehme, and others, that 'the style of our epistle is not only very different from that of Paul, but that it is composed in purer Greek, and with a far more oratorical diction.'

In making out these, I acknowledge the difficulty of the task in some of the cases which occur. It may happen, that what we are on the whole bound to regard as non-conformity with Greek classic usage, in the present state of information on that subject, may turn out, on further examination, to be actually conformed to this usage. Thus, for example, Winer, in his new and laborious investigation of the classics for the sake of illustrating the syntax of the New Testament Greek, has struck out not a few phrases from the list of Hebraisms, Hellenisms, etc., that had before been generally classed as such. Still, I can aver in relation to this subject, that I make use of the best means in my power; and if I sometimes err, I shall rejoice to be corrected in every instance of this nature.

It is proper here, before proceeding to exhibit examples of the kind in question, to say a word on the principles by which one ought to be guided in selecting and judging of such examples.

Hebraism I understand to be, either an imitation of Hebrew phraseology in the expression of an idea, which might have been differently expressed, i. e. by other phrases or forms of the Greek that were more conformed to classic usage; or else the assigning to a Greek word a sense which does not belong to it in classic usage, but which does belong to the corresponding Hebrew word. For an example of the first kind, I would produce *ισχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν*, *אֲחֲרִית הַיָּמִים*, as having a form and sense that are peculiar; as an example of the second kind, one may name *κληρονόμος*, *possessor, lord, ruler*, (as used in Heb. i. 2,) like the Hebrew *יֹרֵשׁ*; but in classic Greek it designates one who takes an estate, etc., by lot, or by testament. In both of these cases, the Greek affords other words by which the idea of the writer might have been conveyed. The choice of these, then, employed in such a way as they are here employed, shows the influence which Hebraistic usage had upon him.

Besides the two classes of words here adverted to, I may name two more, which show departure from classic usage, viz., (1) Such as offer a new or unclassical meaning; and (2) Such as are new, i. e. not classical, in point of form. If now any of these four classes of words can be found in our epistle, so far as they go they are the opposite of the *φράσεις Ἑλληνικωτέρας* which Origen and modern critics assert of the epistle. These are fair subjects of investigation, then; and to these we may also add, combinations of words, i. e. phrases, which, although the words of themselves are proper Greek words, yet the combinations are such as are discrepant from any classic examples.

Having thus marked out the ground which we mean to survey, let us proceed to the task.

Words and phrases used in a Hebraistic sense, or in a way different from what is usual in the Greek classics.

CHAP. I. (1.) *Πατέροις*, *ancestors of old time*, *אֲבוֹתָם*. Seldom or never does classical Greek so employ this word. Besides, *ἡμῶν* (which we might natur-

ally expect) is here omitted; such is the custom of Paul, see Rom. ix. 5; xi. 20; xv. 8. 'Επ' ισχύα του τῶν ἡμερῶν, *the time of the Messiah, the last age of the world*, אֶתְחַיֵּית הַיָּמִים; purely Hebrew. (2) Κληρονόμος, *lord, ruler*, שׂוֹרֵשׁ; in classic Greek, one who takes by lot, or by testament. (3) Δόξα, *splendour, brightness, radiance*, כְּבוֹד; in Greek, opinion, sentiment, maxim, fame, honour. Ὑποστάσις αὐτοῦ, *of his substance*, i. e. of himself, נִפְשׁוֹ, עֲצָמוֹ. Καθαρισμὸν . . . τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, *expiation for sin*, כְּפֻרָּת, (Sept. καθαρισμός Ex. xxix. 36; xxx. 10;) see Comm. in loc. Μεγαλωσύνη, *majesty, excellence*. גִּדְּלֵ אֲדָרָת; not found in the classics. 'Εν ὑψηλοῖς, *in heaven, in the world above*, בְּמַרְוֹם, Sept. ἐν ὑψηλοῖς. (4) Κεκληρονόμηκε, *obtained*, שָׁרַשׁ; Greek, to acquire by lot, to inherit. Same word in i. 14.

I omit purposely all the quotations which follow here, and all throughout the epistle, which are made from the ancient Scriptures; because, as they were doubtless made, in general, from the Septuagint version, they cannot be justly considered as properly belonging to the style of our author. If the Hebraisms in all these quotations were to be added to the list of those in the rest of the epistle, it would make it to appear something very different from Ἑλληνισκώτερον. Whether Origen did, or did not, mean to exclude them, no one, so far as I know, has yet attempted to show.

Chap. II. (2) Λόγος, *commination, command, or revelation*, דְּבַר; not so in the classics. (3) Σωτηρίας, *the Christian religion with its threats and promises*; certainly not a classical sense of the word. (4) Δυνάμεις, *miraculous powers, miracles*, כֹּחַ, עֲוֵה, גִּבּוֹרָה, all of which the Septuagint translate by δυνάμεις; in the classics, not so. Θείησιν, a word unknown to the Attics. (5) Οἰκουμένην μέλλουσιν, *the gospel dispensation*, מְלָכִים וְעָלְמָא; purely Jewish. (10) Δόξαν, *future happiness, a glorious condition in another world*; peculiar to Hellenistic Greek. Τελευτᾶσαι, *to advance to glory, to bestow on one the rewards of piety or obedience after the close of life*; and passively, *to be glorified, to be made happy, or to be rewarded in the upper world, after the Christian struggle on earth is finished*; see and comp. v. 9; vii. 28; xi. 40; xii. 28. See also and comp. Phil. iii. 12, there being no other like example in the New Testament, unless indeed Luke xiii. 32 affords one. The classical sense of this word is *to accomplish, to complete, to render complete, to bring to an end, to finish*, etc.; a sense which gave occasion, no doubt, to a peculiar use of τελευτᾶω in our epistle; but which still is different from it. (11) Ἀγιάζων and ἁγιαζόμενοι, *making atonement for, and those for whom atonement is made or who are expiated*, שָׁרַשׁ and כְּפֻרָּת are both rendered by ἁγιάζω in the Septuagint, comp. x. 10; in the classics, ἁγιάζω means to consecrate, to make or declare sacred. (12) Ἐκκλησία, *public religious assembly*, מִקְדָּשׁ, קָהָל, עֲצָרָה, in the classics, public civil assembly. (14) Σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος,

classic, but the combination is altogether diverse from any in the classics. (3) Καταβολῆς κόσμου, *foundation*, i. e. beginning, creation, of the world, Heb. יְהִי וְיִסְדּוּן, (comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 7, 15; Job. xxxviii. 4; Ps. lxxxii. 5; civ. 5; Prov. viii. 29; Is. xxiv. 18; xl. 21; li. 13, etc.) But where, in the classics, is such an expression used for such a purpose? See also ix. 26. (6) Ἀπολείπεται, *it remains*, i. e. it must be so that; a sense foreign to the classics in such a way as it is here employed, viz., before the *apodosis* of a sentence, and as a kind of *ergo* or *sequitur* of the logicians. See also vr. 9. (9) Σαββατισμός is of course a mere Hebrew word with a Greek ending. Ibid., τῇ λαῶ τοῦ θιού, Heb. יְהוָהּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, a combination foreign to the Greek, and purely Hebrew. (18) Κατίπαυσι, *to rest*, neuter verb; in the classics, *to cause to rest*, *to make quiet*, transitive verb. (12) Ζῶν, *perpetual*, as before. (13) Οὐκ . . . κτίσις, לֹא מְשִׁלָּה, Greek οὐδὲν, *no creature, nothing*; κτίσις, in the classics, means *the act of creating*. Τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ = לְפָנָיו, לְעֵינָיו, i. e. *to him, before him*; for although the sense of *eyes* here would come well after γυμνά, yet it does not at all agree with τετραχηλισμένα, *with neck outstretched and bent back*. The writer plainly had in his mind the meaning of one of the Hebrew expressions mentioned above. (14) Οὐρανός, שָׁמַיָּה, the Hebrew idea of the *firmament above*. Ὁμολογίας *religion, professed subjection to Christ*, Sept. for נִדְּבָה, *votum*. (15) Ἀσθενίαις, *moral weakness*, Sept. for לִשְׁבָּתִים *stumbling*, and לְעֵצָה *claudicatio*; classics, *physical weakness*, with various shades. (16) Θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, without a parallel in the classics.

Chap. V. (2) Μετριοπαθεῖν, *to be compassionate, to show kindness to*; in the classics, *to moderate one's passions of grief, anger, etc.* (3) Προσφέρειν, *to offer gifts and sacrifices to God*, יָרַב, יָרַב, יָרַב; in Greek, not appropriate to this sacred rite. (5) Ἐαυτὸν ἰδοῦναι, *did not arrogate to himself the honour, did not claim for himself the honour*; classics, *to believe, suppose, praise, celebrate*. (7) Τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, *of his incarnation, of his mortal condition or state*, בָּשָׂר; classics, *flesh as a substance, animal body*. Εἰλαβίας, *object of fear, that which he feared*, like the Heb. מוֹרָא, Is. viii. 12, 13; Ps. lxxvi. 12; classic sense, *fear, terror*. Εἰσακουσθεῖς, *delivered, saved*, Sept. for שָׁמַיָּה, עָנָה. (12) Τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων; such an expression is wanting in the classics. Γάλακτος . . . τροφῆς, not a classical metaphor. (13) Λόγον δικαιοσύνης, *Christian or religious doctrine*; without an example in the classics.

Chap. VI. (1) Νεκρῶν ἔργων, *deadly, destructive works*, מְרִיטֵי, מְרִיטֵי occidere, Septuagint, νέκρος; see also ix. 14. (2) Βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς, ἐπιθισιῶς τε χειρῶν, foreign to the classics; as is κρίματος αἰώνιον. (4) Πνεύματος ἁγίου, רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ; an expression and an idea foreign to all the classics. (5) Καλὸν

. . ῥῆμα, *promise of good*, so דְּבַר טוֹב often in Hebrew ; classics, declaration, any thing uttered. Δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, *miraculous powers under the gospel dispensation ; an utter stranger to the classic authors.* (7) Βοτάνην, any kind of *fruit* which the earth produces, βότανα ; in Greek simply, herbage, vegetation. (8) Εἰς καὶσιν, לְבַעַץ ; would not the classical Greek be καὶσις ? (10) Εἰς τὸ δνομα αὐτοῦ, *toward him, toward his cause, for his sake*, (לְשׁוֹם), δνομα being *pleonastic*, as in Hebrew. (11) Πληροφορίαν, a word found only in the New Testament and ecclesiastical Greek. (12) Μακροθυμίας, *patient waiting*, מְדַלֵּג, *prolongatio*, Sept. ; which I cannot find in the classics. Κληρονομοῦντων, *obtaining*, Heb. שָׂרָה ; see on i. 2. (15) Τῆς ἰπαγγελίας, *the promised blessing ; classic sense, promise.* (17) Ἐμειλίτῃσι, *interposed ; classics, to act the part of a mediator.*

Chap. VII. (1) Θεοῦ ὑψίστου, הֵיכָלִי ; the words are classic Greek, but the combination is Hebrew. Κοπή, *slaughter*, מַכָּה ; Greek, hewing, cutting out. (3) Ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, *without any genealogy of parents ; the classic writers apply these words to their gods, and to orphan children, in quite a different sense.* (4) Ἀεροθινίων, *spoils in general*, see Gen. xiv. 20 ; classics, first fruits, part of the spoils of war presented to the gods. Πατριάρχης, מְשִׁיחָא ; I cannot find any trace of this word in the classics. (5) Ἀποδιδάτω, *to tithe, to take a tenth part*, שָׂרָה ; peculiar to Hebrew Greek. Ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ τῆς ὁσφύος Ἀβεράμ, מֵעֵצֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶבְרָם ; the Greeks said γεννησθαι ὑπό τινος in such a case, so that the above expression is purely Hebrew. (6) Διδάτω, as ἀποδιδάτω in vr. 5. (10) Ἐν τῇ ὁσφύϊ τοῦ πατρός, see above on vr. 5. (11) Τελείωσις, in a sense *sui generis*, and foreign to the classics. (15) Σαρκεῖα, *perishable, short-lived*, שָׂרָה ; not found in the classics in such a sense. Δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου, where δύναμιν has the meaning of *precept, ordinance, arrangement*, like ἐντολή in the preceding clause, and ζωῆς that of *perpetuity ; both of which meanings are foreign to the classics.* Ἐτελείωσι, see τελείωσις in vr. 11 above. (20) Ὁρκωμοσίας, peculiar to our epistle ; the classic ὀρκωμόσια, with antepenult accent, is an adjective, ἱερὰ being understood after it ; see also vr. 28. (22) Διαθήκης, in the sense of the Hebrew בְּרִית.

Chap. VIII. (1) Ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλοσύνης, where μεγαλοσύνης is not only a word which is not employed by the classics, but an *abstract* noun designating the Divinity ; comp. Heb. דְּבַר, כְּבוֹד, and כְּבוֹד מְשִׁיחָא. The whole phraseology is altogether of a Hebrew cast ; at least it is not classical. (2) Ἀγίων, plural מִשְׁכָּנֵי קֹדֶשׁ ; classics, ἁγίον. Σκηνῆς, *the divine* מִשְׁכָּנֵי, מִשְׁכָּנֵי ; classics, a common tent or dwelling. (6) Μοίτης, in a different sense from what is usual in the classics. The long quotation from the Septuagint that follows, is not more Hebraistic than the surrounding context.

Chap. IX. (1) Δικαιώματα, ordinance, arrangements, מִשְׁפָּטִים; classics, sentence of justice, decision, just action or requisition. (3) Ἁγία ἀγίων, Heb. מִשְׁפָּטִים קְדָשִׁים, a φράσις which is an entire stranger to the Greek classics, and purely Hebraistic. (4) That μάννα, αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, and Χερουβὶμ δόξης (vr. 5), are forms or phrases purely Hebrew, will not of course be questioned. Δόξη, in the sense of *splendour*, as here, is not classic, but is the Heb. כְּבוֹד. (5) Ἰλαστήριον, חַפְצֵי, Septuagint word; classics, ἱλαστήριος -ία, -ον, adjective. (9) Παραβολή, symbol; classics, comparison, similitude in speech or writing. Τελειῶσαι, to expiate, to render pure, in the sense of פָּקַד or מָחַל; a sense foreign to the classics; comp. x. 1. (10) Βαπτισμοῖς I take to be a Hellenistic, not a classic word; for this appears to be βάπτις or βάπτισμα. See also vi. 2, βαπτισμῶν. (11) Ἀρχιερεὺς μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, unlike any thing in the classics. (12) Ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, of the present world; κτίσις in the classics means, the act of creating. Εὐρέαμενος, form *sui generis*. (13) Κοινωνήσαντες, the unclean, חִלְחָלִים; Greek κοινώω, to communicate. to share, to render common. Ἀγιάζει, purifies, שְׁדָּקָה; Greek, to consecrate, to devote. (16) Φέρεσθαι, accidere, to happen; it is *sui generis*. (18) Ἐγκαινίσταται, was ratified; classics, to renew. (22) Αἱματεκχυσίας, *sui generis*. (24) Ἐμφανισθῆναι, to appear in behalf of, to appear as an advocate or patron; in the classics, to show, to reveal. Ib. τῷ προσώπῳ, before, לִפְנֵי; unknown to the classics. (26) Καταβολῆς κόσμου, a combination unknown to the classics; comp. iv. 3. Συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων, the end of the former dispensation; no where in common Greek. (28) Ἀμαρτίας, sin offering, sacrifice for sin, חַטָּאת, עֲוֹן; not in the classics.

Chap. X. (1) Εἰκόνα, complete image, perfect delineation, in distinction from σκία, an imperfect sketch, תַּבְרִית; the Greek εἰκών is simply, image. Τελειῶσαι, see on ix. 9. (10) Ἁγιασμένοι, comp. ii. 11. (13) Τὸ λοιπόν, thenceforth, as to future times; in the classics, for the rest, in fine, accordingly, etc. The sense here given to τὸ λοιπόν is not inconsistent with the classical use of the word; but would a classic Greek have expressed the idea, "thenceforth expecting," by τὸ λοιπόν ἐκδεχόμενος? Is this a φράσις Ἑλληνικωτέρα? Τεθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, a phrase purely Hebraistic in its hue; see Ps. cx. 1. [2]. (14) Τετιλείωκε, see on ix. 9; x. 1. (19) Παρήσταν, free access; classics, free speech, openness, impartiality. (20) Ζῶσαν qualifying such a word as ὁδόν, is a combination unknown to the classics. (22) Ἐβράντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας, altogether Hebrew in its hue; in the classics, sprinkled. (24) Παροξυσμόν, excitement in a good sense; the Greeks used the word for excitement of anger or other passions, and to designate the exacerbations of fever, etc. (25) Ἡμεῖρα, the day of the Lord, the day of terror, יוֹם, הַיָּדָה יוֹם, altogether in a Hebrew sense. (27) Πυρὸς ζῆλος, חַיִּים חַיִּים,

exactly Hebrew. (29) Κοινόν, *an unclean thing*; see under ix. 13. (31) Ἐμπισίῃ εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζῶντος; the classic Greek is, εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν—εἶναι—ἰκίεσθαι—ἀπικίεσθαι—συνίεναι. The form ἐμπισίῃ εἰς χεῖρας is evidently a copy of the Hebrew נִפְלַל בְּיָד. (32) Ἀθλήσιν . . . παθημάτων, a method of expression foreign to the classics. (35) Παύρησιαν, *confidence, Christian trust*; classics, boldness or freedom of speech. Μισθαποδοσίαν, *reward*; sui generis. (36) Ἐπαγγελίαν, *promised blessing*; classics, promise. (39) Εἰς ἀπόλειαν, like the Heb. inf. לְבַעַר, *that we should be destroyed*; and so, εἰς περιποίησιν; in both cases an evident imitation of the Heb. inf. with לְ.

Chap. XI. (2) Ἐμαρτυρήθησαν, *celebrated, well spoken of*; like the Heb. הִזְכִּיר, הִעֲדָה, Job xxix. 11; classics, to give testimony, to call to witness, etc. (3) Αἰῶνας, *worlds*, עוֹלָמִים, entirely Jewish. Ῥήματι, *command*, רָמַז, רִבְרָה; Greek, saying, thing said. (5) Ἰδεῖν θάνατον, תִּרְוַחַת מוֹת, מוֹת מוֹת. Οὐχ ἐνέλαστο, אֵינֶנּוּ; foreign to the classics. (6) Μισθαποδότης, I cannot find in classic Greek. (7) Κόσμος, *the ungodly, the world who were sinful*; not of classic usage. Δικαιοσύνης, *justifying, of justification*; classics, equity, uprightness. (8) Εἰς κληρονομίαν, לְרִשְׁתָּהּ; would not the φράσις Ἑλληνικωτέραι have been ὡς κληρονομίαν, or rather ὡς ὑπάρχον αὐτοῦ? (9) Συγκληρονόμων, *joint-possessors*, foreign in this sense to common Greek. (19) Ἐν παραβολῇ, peculiar method of expression. (34) Στόματα μαχαίρας, *the edge of the sword*, פִּי־חֶרֶב, unknown to classic authors. (37) Ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας, *with the murderous sword*, a Hebrew combination. (39) Μαρτυρηθέντες, see vr. 1.

Chap. XII. (7) Παιδείαν, *chastisement*, מִדְּוָר; the meaning here given to this word is seldom, if ever, given in the classics. (9) Τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν πατέρας, a Hebrew, not a classic, combination of ideas; σαρκός meaning the *physical* man, in distinction from the *mental* one. Τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων, Heb. לְכָל בָּשָׂר אֱלֹהֵי הַרוּחֹת, Num. xvi. 22; xxvii. 16; foreign to all the classics. (10) Ἀγιότητος can hardly be found, I believe, in the classics. It is a Hellenistic term, corresponding to קִדְּוֶה. (11) Καρπὸν εἰρηνικόν, *peaceful fruit*, i. e. happy fruit, פְּרִי שְׁלוֹם; εἰρηνικόν here manifestly bearing the Hebrew-Greek, and not the classic sense. (14) Οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον, so לֹא יִרְאֶה יְהוָה, לֹא יִרְאֶה יְהוָה; the whole form of expression is manifestly Hebraistic. (16) Βρώσις μιᾶς, *one meal*; classics, the act of eating, or food. The certainty that *meal* is the idea here, arises from the adjunct μιᾶς. Πρωτοτόκια, Heb. בְּכוֹרָה; not used in the classics. (19) Μὴ προστεθῆναι αὐτοῖς λόγον, בְּלִיתִי יוֹסֵף עוֹד לְדַבֵּר, a Hebrew and not a Greek mode of expression. (22) Μυριάς, רַבּוֹת, רַבּוֹת, the usual Hebrew (not a classic) expression for a

large indefinite number. (23) Πρωτότοκον, *first-born* in the sense of *pre-eminent*, like the Heb. בְּכֹרִים; a sense not attached to the classical use of this word. Ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς, כָּל הַכְּתוּב לַחַיִּים, Is. iv. 3. Comp. Ex. xxxii. 32; Ps. lxi. 28; Dan. xii. 1; Luke x. 20, etc., an expression altogether Hebraistic.

Chap. XIII. (1) Φιλαδελφία, *mutual Christian love*; in the classics, e. g. Lucian, in its *literal* sense. (3) ὄντις ἐν σώματι, *in a frail dying state*; not so expressed in the classics. The mode of expression comes from the Hebrew, בָּשָׂר. (7) ἡγουμένων, *teachers, spiritual guides*, מְנַהִיג, אֱלֹהִי; classic sense never that of *teachers*. (8) Χθὲς καὶ σήμερον, אֶתְמול וְהַיּוֹם. Where in all the classics is the like of this, in order to designate all past and present time? (9) Περιπατήσαντες, *who are conversant with, who practise using*, from the Heb. הִתְהַלֵּךְ; the classics use the word only in its literal sense. (15) Θυσίαν αἰνέσεως . . . κάρπον χειλέων; the idea, *sacrifice of praise*, is Hebrew, Lev. vii. 12, זֶבַח הַתֹּדָה; comp. Ps. l. 14, 23. As to κάρπον χειλέων, there is nothing in the classics like it. Plainly it has its original in the Hebrew נְשַׁלְמָה פְּרִים שְׂפָתֵינוּ, Hos. xiv. 3, *we will render to thee the calves* [i. e. the offerings, the fruit] *of our lips*, or rather, *we will render to thee calves with our lips*. (16) Θυσίαις, as applied to εὐκοίτης καὶ κοινωνίας, is purely a Hebrew application. (17) ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, *for you*, לְנַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם; the Greeks, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. (20) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εὐτυχίας, *God who bestows happiness, who secures our welfare*; a mere imitation of the Heb. שְׁלוֹם, the classics never using εὐτυχία in such a sense. (21) Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, from the Hebrew לְעוֹלָם וָעַד, or לְעוֹלָמִי עַד. (25) Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, Hebrew שְׁלוֹם לְכֶם; the Greeks said, χαίρειν, or χαίριτε, or ἰβρώσθε, Acts xv. 29.

In this selection, I have aimed at taking only the more obvious words and phrases. It might be enlarged, by more strenuously urging the principle, in all respects, of dissimilarity to the Greek classic writers. That an idea is *peculiar* to the Christian dispensation, and unknown to the classic authors, has not been the basis of my selection in any case, unless at the same time there is a phraseology, or a combination of words, which is as foreign to the Greeks as the idea itself. If all the *ideas* which are not classical, were to be the guiding principle in our selection, there would be no end of examples. But this would not be a fair and proper method of proceeding. It is the diction and phraseology, and combinations of words, and the sense which is given to the words employed, that I have endeavoured to show are not Ἑλληνικωτέρα, i. e. not better Greek, or more classical Greek, than the epistles of Paul exhibit. The reader has now the result before him.

With such a result in view, what matters it whether De Wette, Schulz, Seyffarth, Bleek, or Origen himself, tells us that our epistle is almost *classical* Greek, and that all runs smoothly and oratorically on? Bleek has, indeed,

spoken in a very positive manner on this subject, in his review of the first edition of my work; but not in a way which affords me any satisfaction. He asks how a Christian writer of Jewish origin could avoid using Hebrew phraseology, in order to designate religious objects? I answer at once, that he could not, and did not; and that nothing can be plainer, than that our epistle is filled with it. But how does this fact prove that the *φράσις* is better Greek than that of Paul? The question is not one concerning the *absolute* state of Hebraism and unclassical usage, but one which respects the *relative* state of it, viz. whether our epistle is *more* free from it than the acknowledged epistles of Paul. What bearing, then, has Bleek's suggestion on this point? I can see none; for all that it goes to show is, that a Hebrew Christian would naturally, if not necessarily, express his ideas of many things pertaining to the Christian religion, in a way like that in which the Hebrew Scriptures express the like ideas.

My list of Hebraisms and of unclassical usage (usage *οὐχ Ἑλληνικωτέρα*) serves to establish one point, viz. that our epistle abounds greatly in them. To make the proof in all respects perfect, I ought perhaps to take some of Paul's epistles, and actually show that the departures from classical usage are not more frequent there. But I content myself for the present, after more than one examination of some of them in respect to the point in question, with denying that they are less frequent in our epistle. The burden of proof that they are less frequent, rests on those who assert the fact that our epistle is *more classical* Greek. I wait for them to prove this allegation by *facts* produced, not by assertions. These last ought not to go current any longer.

Bleek suggests, also, that 'the writer of our epistle was a diligent reader of the Septuagint version, and this must have had an influence on his style,' Rev. p. 27. Indeed? And what sort of Greek does the Septuagint consist of? Is it purer than that of Paul? And if the writer of our epistle modelled himself after this, must his *φράσις* be *Ἑλληνικωτέρα* than that of Paul? A singular argument truly it is, to allege that the influence or imitation of the most corrupt of all Greek extant, will save a writer from the imputation of being as Hebraistic and unclassical as Paul.

Bleek intimates, that 'to produce such words as *ἀγγελος* and *ἰσχυατον τῶν ἡμερῶν* as Hebraisms, is hardly fair, because it would be a mere affectation of purism in a writer, not to employ these words in a sense which the corresponding Hebrew words had,' Rev. p. 26. But may not the same remark be made of all the other Hebraisms of the New Testament, or of the Septuagint? The question about Hebraism or unclassical usage lies, after all, in a narrow compass. When a writer who is a Hebrew employs the word *ἀγγελος* to designate, like *מַלְאָכִי*, a heavenly messenger, did he not give to this word a shade

of meaning which of itself it had not in the Greek language? This will not be denied. Then, secondly, did the meaning which he gave to *ἀγγελος* originate, in his mind, from the meaning of the Heb. *מַלְאָכִי*? This seems equally

certain. What is this, then, but Hebraism—true, genuine Hebraism? When a form of expression is employed that is unknown to classic Greek, or a sense given to a word which the Greek does not give, and in these cases the writer is plainly influenced by Hebrew idiom; what is Hebraism, if this be not? And does not *ἀγγελος* belong to the latter class just named?

Does not ἔσχατον τῶν ἡμερῶν also belong to the first? Would a mere Greek reader even conjecture what the writer of our epistle meant by the phrase in Heb. i. 1? He would very naturally have inquired, 'In the last of what days?' And when told that the phrase means *in the last times*, viz. the times of the Messiah, and that the Hebrews so understood אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, he could well say, 'This is very different from our Greek phraseology. Why not say, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ, or ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, בְּיָמֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ?'

After all, too, the use of ἡμέραις itself in such a sense, and in such a connexion, is Hebraism; the Greeks seldom or never employing it just in this way. The Greeks would, of course, have employed καιρός or χρόνος.

In either of these cases, what room is there for the allegation of Bleek, that 'the ideas are so peculiar, and so connected with the religious views of the author of our epistle, that he could not avoid using the words which he has employed? What difficulty was there in saying ἄγγελος οὐράνιος, in a classical way, just as the Greeks said θεοὶ οὐράνιοι; or in saying οὐρανίων or οὐρανίδης? And why not say, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ; or ἐν χρόνῳ ἐσχάτῳ τοῦ κόσμου? I can see no difficulty; and if none, then the writer of our epistle might, with entire facility, have expressed himself here in a classical way, without any affectation of purism.

The same, now, may be shown to be true respecting the greater part of the words which I have included in my list of Hebraisms and of unclassical usage. For example; I take the words as they offer themselves, without selecting for my purpose; Heb. i. 2, κληρονόμος, *lord, ruler, rightful owner and disposer*; the classic sense of the word is, one who receives any thing by lot, or by testament. Now, was it not easy for the writer of our epistle to say here κύριον πάντων? Comp. Gal. iv. 1. So in vr. 3, could not δόξα, *splendour*, have been with perfect ease exchanged for a *classical* word? Could no word be found in the classics, for the idea expressed by the newly-coined word μεγαλυσύνη, vr. 3! And was it not easy to express in a classical way, the idea conveyed by ἐν ὑψηλοῖς = עַל מְרָומִים? Was there no convenient word in

Greek besides λόγος (il. 2), to express the idea of *commination* or *command*? And does the Greek furnish no word for designating *miracles* or *miraculous powers* except δυνάμεις, in ii. 4? And could any mere Greek reader possibly understand οἰκουμένην μέλλουσαν, in ii. 5? It were easy to proceed in the same way through the list, with questions of the like import; but I forbear. Bleek himself, in looking again at this subject, will find there is something more to be done, in order to satisfy critical readers, than to make strong assertions, and append interrogation and exclamation points to extracts which he may make from those who differ from him in opinion.

Still further to contend against the view which I have given above, he produces several words, such as ὑποστάσις αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμόν . . . τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, μεγαλυσύνη, etc., and asks, whether, because they are not classical, they are therefore to be reckoned as *Hebraisms*? But in this question, he leaves entirely out of view one *professed* object of the list of words in question. It professes on the face of it to be a list, not of Hebraisms only, but of *unclassical* words, i. e. of words used in an *unclassical* way. Has Mr Bleek, by his

interrogation points, shown the *classical* usage of these words, as employed in our epistle? If not, then the subject remains in *statu quo*. This is yet to be done, before the *Φράσις Ἑλληνικωτέρα* of our epistle is established; for surely this expression of Origen means nothing less than *purser Greek, better Greek, more classical Greek*.

Over all the rest of the examples which I have produced, Bleek leaps with the single affirmation, that almost all of them are like those which he has produced, and which, as his mode of speaking seems to intimate, he has so speedily dispatched. But how? Why, by *asserting* that a great part of my examples are not proper Hebraisms. But are there not many of them which were not produced as such? Is it not one great point in question, to show that the *Φράσις* is often *unclassical*? And has Mr Bleek, in any measure, shown that this is not true?

So long as this is not even attempted, on his part, the point in controversy is not at all affected; and I hope for indulgence from the able writer whom I am controverting, when I say, that his affirmation, p. 27 of his Review, that 'the language of our epistle is beyond comparison of a purer Greek character than that of the epistles of Paul,' will be believed by me, when he actually shows that a greater number of departures from classic usage are found in Paul than in our author. It is proper now to insist, that this shall be *actually shown*, not merely asserted with confidence.

After a renewed examination of this subject, I make again the appeal with boldness, and call upon all those who assert the *almost classic* style and manner of our epistle, to produce more true Hebraisms, and more words or idioms foreign to the Greek classics, in any of Paul's acknowledged epistles. I will even venture to make another offer; which is, that I will show that some at least of his acknowledged epistles exhibit less Hebrew colouring, when they shall have shown that some of them exhibit more.

It does not signify to beat the air, in this contest. *Assertions* are one thing; *facts* are another. If Origen and all the Greek fathers were to assert, that our epistle is *Ἑλληνικωτέρα* than Paul's, it could not make it so. "To the work of *examination*," would be my reply. Let every critic go to this work for himself, if he knows enough of Hebrew idiom to do it; and the result will be an abiding conviction, that Origen had as little reason for the assertion in question, as he had for the adventurous remark which he made on the use of the Greek article by the sacred writers. Origen's assertion, and every other man's, on this subject, can be brought to the test; and he who subjects them to this process, I am persuaded, will find himself brought, at last, if he will examine *impartially* and *fully*, to a firm conviction, that they are *mere* assertions, and nothing more.

I add merely, that the list of Hebraisms and unclassical usage, in our epistle, would have been much more swelled, if I had not omitted, for the most part, to repeat the same words, so often as I found them repeated and used in a Hebraistic or unclassical manner. Such words are ἀδελφός, ἅγιος, ἀγιάζω, ἁμαρτία, ἀσθένεια, δικαίωμα, ἐγκαταλείπω, ἐπαγγελία, καθ' ἡμέραν, κληρονόμος, κληρονομία, κατάπαυσις, λόγος ἀρχῆς, μισθαποδοσία, μεγαλωσύνη, μεσίτης, νεκρός, οἶκος, σάρξ, τελειόω, and others.

I have one more remark to make, before I quit this topic. The Hebrew colouring of the Septuagint version, and the unclassical Greek of it in general, will be admitted by all critics of any taste or discernment. There is, indeed, a very great difference between different parts of this version, some of it being

absolutely barbarous Greek, while some other parts, e. g. the book of Proverbs, is much nearer to the classic style. But in nearly the whole of it, certainly in all the prophets and historical books, the Greek, even at the best, is palpably different from that of the classics.

With this fact in view, I ask that an impartial critic, laying aside all preconceived theories with regard to the style of our epistle, would read the whole continuously through, without stopping to see whether it is possible to invent some distinction between the style of the epistle itself, and that of the quotations from the Septuagint. If he do this, I venture to predict, that he will not be able to perceive any difference that would ever strike the attention, between the Greek of Septuagint extracts, and the surrounding Greek of the author himself. All runs smoothly on. No transition is perceived merely from the style. Were it not for the formulas of quotations, and the recollection of the Old Testament passages quoted, the reader would never imagine that the nature of the element was changed in which he was before moving. And if this be so, then where lies the proof that our epistle is better Greek than that of Paul? Is Paul less pure than the Septuagint in general? Surely this will not be affirmed. That the fact is as I have stated it, I fully believe. But then the satisfactory evidence of its correctness must be derived from the impartial reading itself of the epistle, by every man who is capable of judging with respect to the matter before us. I venture to believe that Bleek himself will not refuse his assent to the statement just made.

I cannot conclude the present section, without adverting once more to another topic connected with the preceding one, which seems to me to have been treated in a very singular way, by some of the opponents of the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews. I refer to the alleged style and manner of the epistle. We are often reminded of the oratorical manner, of the well-rounded periods, of the nicely adjusted phraseology, and, particularly, of the almost classical use of the connectives and particles, which our epistle exhibits. All is said to run on smoothly, easily, with little or no ellipsis, without sentences being suspended, or change of construction made in them. In short, the whole is a tolerably near approach to the manner of well reputed Greek classics.

One part of this subject I have already examined, in Sect. 22. 3. It would be well for the reader to review this in connexion with the present remarks. He will there see how often interrupted and suspended sentences occur in our epistle, after the manner of Paul. As a sufficient reply to all the remarks which have been made on complete, well-rounded, and flowing periods of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the easy, perspicuous manner of it, I must beg the reader to consult, and attentively study the passages now to be pointed out. I begin with Heb. i. 1—4. Which is the main object of assertion, in this complicated and protracted sentence? 'God has spoken to us by his Son; his Son is Lord and creator of all things; he is the very image of the Father and endowed with almighty power; he made expiation by the offering up of himself for our sins; he is seated on a throne of glory above; and he is far superior to the angels:' such are the affirmations all contained in this one complex, involved sentence. Which of all these is the writer's *main point*, and in what does the "rounding off" of this period consist?

Heb. ii. 9, ὅπως χρείται κ. τ. λ.; to what does this clause relate, or with

what part of the preceding context is it connected? Does the writer mean, (as he appears to say,) that Jesus was crowned with glory and honour, that he might by the grace of God taste of death for every man? And if so, what can be the idea conveyed by such a sentiment? Or if he does not mean this, but means to say that Jesus was made a little lower than the angels, that by the grace of God, etc., i. e. he was endowed with a human nature, in order that he might suffer, etc., then why was not ὅπως κ. τ. λ. arranged after Ἰησοῦν or after ἀγγέλους?

Will the advocates of special perspicuity and rotundity of style in our epistle tell us what the object of iii. 4. is, and what the sentiment actually contained in it, and how it contributes to forward the design of the writer, i. e. to aid the sentiment of the context?

Will they show us with what ἐν τῷ λεγίσθαι is connected, in iii. 15, and what is the occasion of repeating this quotation?

In iv. 2, καὶ γὰρ κ. τ. λ. is an unfinished comparison; where is this completed? In iv. 3—9 is a series of involved sentences, of unfinished comparisons, of incomplete and suspended sentences, which scarcely has an equal in all the New Testament. Let the reader try his own skill at reading and interpreting it, and deciphering the connexion of thought and reasoning; and then he will need neither Bleek nor myself to aid him in giving his opinion concerning it.

Is there not a large ellipsis in v. 5? And to whom does ὁς, in vr. 7, relate, and to what verb is it the nominative? If to ἔμαθιν in vr. 8, as Dr Knapp and others make it, then he must allow at least that "interrupted" sentences are found in our author. Then, again, what is the sentiment and object of vr. 7?

Is there no difficulty in vi. 1, 2, 4—6; and 17, 18? What sort of a sentence does Bleek call that in vii. 1—3? And where are the rounded periods, the connexion and the perspicuity of vii. 8—17? In viii. 4, to what does the εἰ μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. refer? The writer had just affirmed, that Christ, being a priest, must, like other priests, have some offering to make, vr. 3. One would naturally expect, that the writer was going on with his εἰ μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. to show this; but if this be the case, is it not a difficult matter to render it plain.

In what way is the sentence in ix. 6—10, to be characterized? It consists of as many distinct parts as it contains verses; and as to vr. 10, it seems almost to set at defiance the efforts of all commentators satisfactorily to point out its connexion, or even to make out its grammatical construction. I call upon the advocates of the classic style of our epistle, to produce any thing from the writings of Paul, that is more obscure or apparently disconnected in construction, than this. And what shall be said of ix. 15—18? Does all run on smoothly here?

In ix. 27, 28 is a comparison by καθ' ὅσον . . . οὕτω καὶ κ. τ. λ. In the latter member of this, the principal stress lies upon ἐκ δευτέρου χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ὀφθῆσται κ. τ. λ.; but where is the antithesis to this in the first member of the comparison?

In x. 5—10 is a sentence, or sentences, which, in point of involution and obscurity, may be compared with any that the reader pleases to collate, which he can find in the epistles of Paul. Let him inquire specially as to the "rounding and finish" in vs. 9, 10, with their connexion.

Examine the sentence beginning with x. 19, which Dr Knapp has pointed

as ending with *vr. 25*; and rightly if the grammatical series, *προσερχόμεθα . . . κατέχουμεν . . . καὶ κατανοῶμεν* be regarded as determining the boundaries of a sentence. But then, the “rounding off” and the “oratorical finish” of this sentence, and the perspicuity of it, particularly of *vr. 20*, is what yet remains to be exhibited.

In *xii. 25*, how is the *τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς* the proper antithesis of *τὸν ἀπ’ οὐρανῶν*?

In *xiii. 11*, one would expect *δὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ.* to be an introduction to something confirming the preceding verse; but he finds the matter of the eleventh verse entirely foreign to the subject of the tenth.

It were easy to increase the list of difficulties, such as I have now touched upon, and such as are presented in the preceding part of this section. I might show, that the classical rules of the article are not always observed; for instance, *Hebrews i. 1*, *ἐν υἱῷ*, where Chrysostom and Theophylact have filled up what is manifestly wanting, by saying, *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*. So in the use of *καί*, of *γὰρ*, of *πάλιν*, and in some cases of *μὲν* and *δέ*, it were easy to point out passages the *classical* vindication of which would occasion trouble enough.

But I forbear. While the testimonies above produced remain, every one can judge for himself who has ability to judge.

The difference between my mode of proceeding and that of Bleek and some others, relative to the point before us, is this: I appeal to *facts*; they deal in categorical assertions, and in exclamation and interrogation points affixed to the sentiments of their opponents. And so long as the controversy rests in this position, I cheerfully submit it to the public. Having spent the best part of my life in explaining the epistles of Paul, I still confess myself unable to find in him more Hebraism, more departure from classical usage as to the choice of words or the meaning given to them, more involved “*unperiodic*” sentences, or more obscurity in any respect, than are to be found in our epistle.

XXXIII. ALEXANDRINE HUE OF THE EPISTLE.

EICHHORN and others, who have strenuously insisted that Paul is not the author of our epistle, have endeavoured to show that it is probably of *Alexandrine* origin. But the arguments adduced for this purpose, seem to me incapable of standing the test of a critical examination.

(1) ‘The author of the epistle to the Hebrews treats the ancient Jewish Scriptures as containing a mysterious and secret sense concealed under the words. He also regards the various ritual observances of the ancient law, only as types and shadows of things under the Christian dispensation, *Hebrews x. 1*; *ix. 8*. Philo of Alexandria expresses the same views, *De Confusione Linguarum*, p. 348.’ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, p. 442.

That the general views of the author of our epistle in regard to the meaning

and object of Jewish rites, coincided with those of Philo, I should not be disposed to deny. But who is going to show us, that these were not founded in truth? If, as I believe, the Jewish dispensation had its origin in divine communications and directions, there can be no rational doubt that it had some important end in view. Surely now the sacrifices and various rites of external purification, could never, in and of themselves, be deemed an object worthy of special divine interposition and command. Their connexion with some higher and more spiritual object and end, was what stamped their highest real value upon them. In any other point of view, they could scarcely be thought worthy of the character of Him who requires men to worship him in spirit and in truth.

That a man of such enlarged views as Philo should have seen and felt this, and that Paul should have done the same, is not a matter of wonder to any one, who considers the tendency of an enlightened mind to look on the *spiritual* design of religion as infinitely the most important and interesting part of it.

What can be more diverse, however, than the particular form which Philo gives to his speculations on this subject, and that in which the ideas of our author are developed? Philo allegorizes on every thing, and every where, almost without distinction. The historical facts in the book of Genesis, the connexion of Abraham with Sarah and Hagar, and all other occurrences related in the Pentateuch, are, if occasion presents an opportunity, converted into allegory, and made the theme of exuberant speculative mysticism. Neither is there one word in all, which has any relation to the Messiah or to his atoning sacrifice.

How very different the types and shadows presented by our epistle are, the intelligent and critical reader need not be informed. All is brought to bear on one single point—the death of Christ, the propitiatory sacrifice for sin made by it, and the effectual reconciliation to God accomplished in this manner.

To reason then as Eichhorn has done, is just the same as to bring forward the allegation, that Philo believed in the existence of one supreme God; that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews did the same; and then draw the inference, that the writer of this epistle must therefore have lived, or at least been nurtured, at Alexandria. I venture to say, that there never has been so rational an account of the *object* of the Jewish ritual, as the author of our epistle gives; nor one so worthy of the great Author of the old and the new dispensations, nor so consonant with the fundamental maxim that ‘God is a spirit, and requires men to worship him in a spiritual manner.’

(2) ‘Philo intimates, that the higher mysteries of the Jewish religion are only for the initiated, *μύστοις*. In like manner our epistle, v. 11—vi. 3.’ Einleit. p. 444.

I can find no trace of reserve in our epistle, in regard to the *ἀμύστοις* or *uninitiated*. The expression of deep regret, that those whom the writer addresses had not made higher acquisitions of religious knowledge, I can easily find. Severe reproof for such negligence, I see; but not a word about any distinctions between *μύστοις* and *ἀμύστοις*, *initiated* and *uninitiated*, am I able to discover. Philo, in respect to this, is more than half

a Grecian Platonist; but the writer of our epistle practises no concealment at all.

(3) 'The Alexandrine author of the book of Wisdom has praised wisdom on account of its nature and qualities, and then adduced historical examples to illustrate all this, Wisdom i—ix; x. 1—xvi. 1. So the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, after urging and eulogizing faith, adduces historical examples of it, in chap. xi., in order more strongly to impress its importance,' p. 445.

To which one may reply, that from the days of the author of our epistle down to the present time, almost every practical writer on religion, and every preacher on the subject of faith, has done the same. But does this prove that every such writer and preacher was born or nurtured at Alexandria? Can a thing so obvious to the common sense of all men as the appropriate method of treating a subject, be adduced to establish a special relation between any two men as to country or education?

(4) 'Many thoughts and expressions, in the epistle to the Hebrews, resemble those of Philo,' p. 446 seq.

So Eichhorn, who has occupied several pages with detailing expressions which afford such resemblances. So Schulz, who has occupied fourteen pages with alleged parallels of this nature, printed in opposite columns. So Bleek also, who, in his Review, accuses me of 'being declamatory, and of making several strange assertions, which, if they do not betray want of knowledge, manifest too great haste, and need only to be quoted in order to be refuted for *German* readers,' p. 28.

I have examined the parallels of Dr Schulz *de novo*, on the present occasion, neither in haste, nor without endeavouring to see what the nature of the proof in question is. I must still be indulged in making the same general remarks which were made in the first edition of this work, appealing to readers of discernment whether they are "declamatory," and waiting the issue of their judgment without agitation.

Every considerate man, who makes this examination, will very naturally call to mind, that the author of our epistle and Philo were contemporaries. At least, the former must have come upon the stage, before the latter left it. Then, both were educated as Jews; both were deeply read in the Jewish Scriptures, above all in the law of Moses. Both thought, reasoned, and expressed themselves as Hebrews, writing in Greek. Both had the same views, fundamentally, of the great points of the religion of Moses. Both had high moral feelings, and a deep interest in them. Could it be possible, now, that there should not be points of resemblance between Philo and our author, when writing on similar subjects? Surely not, any more than that there should not be points of similarity, between the sentiments of a Christian divine in any particular age and country, and those of another of the like views, near the same age, and in a different country.

Both Philo and our author often appeal to the Jewish Scriptures. And because they deduce from them like sentiments, does this prove that our author must have been of the Alexandrine school? Why is not the argument just as good the other way, viz., to prove that Philo must have belonged to some other country, i. e. to that in which our author lived? All that such resemblance can prove is, that both belonged to the *Mosaic school*; and who will deny this?

Nearly all the striking parallels in Schulz's list, p. 265 seq., abridged and extracted by Bleek, p. 398 seq., are of the kind just mentioned; i. e. they have their origin either in the *words* of the Old Testament, or in the *facts* which it relates. E. g.

Heb. iv. 14, ἀρχιερεὶς μέγαν; Philo, μέγας ἀρχιερεύς; both from the יִיָּדֹבֿ לִיָּדֹבֿ of the Hebrew Scriptures. So in Heb. v. 2, 5, Moses πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκῇ αὐτοῦ, which is twice produced by Schulz from Philo, in order to show that our epistle has an Alexandrine hue. So again in the parallels to Heb. iv. 14; vi. 13, 19; vii. 1; viii. 5, etc.

In many other passages, there is merely a coincidence of thought, in some one particular or on some important subject, while the generality of expression is as diverse as in any writers whatever. E. g.

Heb. i. 3, φέρων . . . τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ; Philo, ὁ τὰ μὲν ὄντα φέρων, καὶ τὰ πάντα γεννῶν, and ῥήματι ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ποιῇ. Heb. iv. 12 is cited, and as a parallel of it several passages in which the word of God is spoken of as τομεύς; in both authors the original is Is. xlix. 2, comp. xi. 4; in all other respects, the course of thought and language in Philo is exceedingly diverse from that in our epistle.

So in iv. 13, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, the parallel of which, in Philo, is made to be, ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ὁξυδερκέστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα ἰφορᾶν εἶναι ἱκανός κ. τ. λ. As to *language*, the resemblance is faint enough; as to *thought*, the idea is common to the two writers, that God, or his word, is omniscient. Must a man be brought up at Alexandria, in order to say this?

In other passages of Schulz, the resemblance consists merely in appeal to the same *facts* related in the Scriptures; E. g.

Heb. vii. 1—4, and the passages from Philo, all of which, like the passage in our epistle, are deduced from the narration in Genesis. So in respect to Heb. vii. 27, ὃς [Χριστὸς] οὐκ ἔχει καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνάγκην κ. τ. λ.; the parallel in Philo is said to be, ἀρχιερεύς . . . κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εὐχάς τε καὶ θυσίας τελῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν κ. τ. λ.; the common source of both writers being the Mosaic statutes in regard to this subject; and surely the diction here is diverse enough to render the imitation of the one by the other quite incredible.

Of this nature are nearly the whole of the instances produced by Schulz. Who now can gather from such a passage as the following, any evidence that the writer of our epistle belonged to Alexandria, and was conversant with the writings of Philo?

Philo . τῆς κιβωτοῦ ἐπίθεμα . . . τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν ἱεροῖς βίβλοις ἱλαστήριον . . . τὸ ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἱλαστήριον, βάσις ἐπὶ τῶν πτηνῶν δυοῖν, αἱ . . . προσαγορεύεται Χερουβίμ κ. τ. λ. Epistle to the Hebrews: ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῆς Χερουβίμ τῆς δόξης, κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον.

And must a man then, have lived at Alexandria, and have read Philo, in order to speak of the ἱλαστήριον and of the Χερουβίμ? And if these two technical words, which every Jew on earth that could utter a Greek sentence, and had heard of the Hebrew tabernacle or temple, must have known, are taken out of the parallel in question, where is the "quid Philoneum" which is so anxiously sought for?

Put now out of consideration all the necessary resemblances, which, treating of the same subjects, receiving substantially the same education, living in

the same age, belonging to the same peculiar people, and, above all, appealing to the same divine book as the source of ideas, and expressions, and facts—leave all these things out of sight, and then, I venture to ask, what is the special resemblance left between Philo and the writer of our epistle? And confident as Bleek appears to be on this question, I have no fears as to the answer which will be given by every impartial judge, who is competent to examine the subject. Can any man read a page of Philo's Greek, and then a page of our epistle, without saying that the difference is as striking, with the exceptions made above, as between our epistle and any of the later Greek classical writers? What can be more remote from our epistle, than the swollen, forced, mystical, and frequently unnatural and bombastic periods of Philo Judæus?

The writers whom I am now controverting, are indebted to J. B. Carpzoff, (*Exercitationes Sacræ in Pauli epistola ad Hebræos, ex Philone, Alexandrino. Helmstadt, 1750,*) for the materials which they have wrought up into the form of an argument for the Alexandrine origin of our epistle. But they do not once seem to have reflected, that if the same iron diligence which Carpzoff has exhibited in his work, had been applied to the acknowledged epistles of Paul in the same way, as large a harvest of resemblances might have been gathered. In regard to allegory, for example, which is a main point of alleged resemblance, what could be more obvious, than to appeal to 1 Corinthians x. 1—6, 10, 11; Romans v. 14; 1 Corinthians xv. 45—47; 2 Corinthians iii. 18—18; Galatians iv. 22—31; also to Colossians ii. 16, 17; Galatians iii. 23—25, iv. 1—5? May it not be said of these passages, (as Jerome has often and erroneously been represented as saying of our epistle, and which has so often been appealed to with confidence,) '*spirant quid Philoneum?*' Let the experiment be made by another Carpzoff, and I venture to predict, that, assuming the principle of argument which is assumed by Eichhorn, Schulz, and Bleek, we may easily show that Paul himself must have been an Alexandrian, and been educated in the Philonean school. Bleek says (Review p. 28), that "it is necessary only to cite the above statements in order to refute them, for a *German* scholar." It may be so, for those German scholars who have made up their minds on the whole subject, by virtue of a *priori* argument; but it will not be so, I trust, on the part of others, whether German, American, or English. It has not been so with such men as Storr, Hug, and a multitude of others who could easily be named. Hug, in the second edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, says, in reference to the very parallelisms in question of Dr Schulz, "The uniformity of the objects is here the ground of mutual resemblance" [as to style,] p. 463.

For the present, I tender the labouring oar to those who deny that as frequent resemblances between Philo and Paul may be found, as between Philo and our epistle. I make this exception only as to the position, (and every candid man will allow me to make this,) viz. that from the very nature of the subjects in our epistle, which *ex professo* treats of Levitical ordinances, etc., more frequent recurrence must necessarily be made to those ordinances, than in epistles where such a subject is not treated of. Now as Philo often handles the same topics, the same in various respects, of course there must be a frequent analogy between the two writers who appeal to the same source. But as to all which does not come under this category, I call

on Bleek, or any other opponent of the Pauline origin of our epistle, to show that there is less resemblance in Paul to the writings of Philo, than in our epistle. It will be more to the purpose to accept this challenge, than it will be to assert, that 'the considerations which are suggested by his opponents, only need to be quoted in order to be refuted,' i. e. for his own countrymen. On this side of the Atlantic, at least, it is true, as we are accustomed to think, that refutation must be made out in another way.

One hint more, and I shall dismiss the subject. Is not the Septuagint, Alexandrine Greek? Are not the Apocryphal books connected with the Old Testament, Alexandrine Greek? Does not the *whole* of the New Testament Greek bear a resemblance to the style of these two classes of books? Are not Paul's epistles Hebrew Greek, like all the rest? How can it be shown, then, that the author of our epistle was an Alexandrian, because he writes Alexandrine Greek? If the argument be valid for this purpose which Eichhorn and Schulz employ, then may we prove that all the New Testament writers were Alexandrians. *Quod nimium probat, nihil probat.*

XXXIV. RESULT.

THE conclusion to be deduced from the whole of the preceding examination, seems to be, that the arguments drawn from the style and diction of the epistle to the Hebrews, are not to be relied on as deciding the question against the Pauline origin of it. Cases of this nature cannot be determined by *assertion*. Allegations made for such a purpose, if found to be contradicted by *facts*, cannot fail, in the end, to pass for nothing more than allegations.

One other thing may be said with truth, which has an important bearing on this question. If the *internal* evidence is altogether insufficient to decide the point at issue in the negative, the *external* is equally so. Indeed, the *historical* evidence against the Pauline origin of our epistle is, as we have seen, so little, so vague, and for the most part so indirect, that we may well say, 'the objections have never been of an *historical* nature, but of a *conjectural* one.' They have arisen more from taste and feeling, than from tradition or testimony. Accordingly, in all the objections of the western churches, we do not find a single instance of appeal to ancient tradition or historical evidence as the ground of them; as Hug has most truly and forcibly remarked. The objections evidently belong to that class which arise from feeling and taste, or from the exigencies of religious dispute. Why then should we attribute much weight to them?

On the whole, I must acquiesce in the opinion of Origen, which I repeat as the general voice of antiquity; IT IS NOT WITHOUT REASON THE ANCIENTS HAVE HANDED IT DOWN TO US THAT THIS EPISTLE IS PAUL'S. Nor should I differ materially from those, who (with Eusebius) can say: Τοῦ δὲ Παύλου π ρ ό δ η λ ο ι

καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες, fourteen epistles are CLEARLY and CERTAINLY Paul's. I consider, however, the form of the proposition, as stated by Origen, to be the most becoming in regard to a point so controverted, and to contain for substance all which it is necessary or expedient for us to assert and to believe.

XXXV. WAS BARNABAS THE AUTHOR?

WHOEVER is satisfied with the arguments in favour of the Pauline origin of our epistle, may dispense with the examination, whether any other person than this apostle has a title to be considered as the author. As past experience, however, must lead one to believe, that unanimity in regard to this subject is not yet to be expected, but that some may still incline to adopt opinions about the authorship of our epistle which were avowed or defended in ancient times; it seems to be necessary, briefly at least, to examine the claims of some others, as well as those of Paul.

The doubts raised in ancient times, whether Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, occasioned conjectures with regard to several other persons. Among the remains of ancient Christian writings, we find some hints that Barnabas was the author of our epistle. We first meet with these in the essay of Tertullian, de Pudicitia, c. 201. "Exstat," says he, "enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos," i. e. *there is extant an epistle of Barnabas, inscribed to the Hebrews*. This is simple assertion, without any reference to the reasons why Tertullian supposes Barnabas to be the author. He does not intimate whether he gathers it from tradition, or assumes it as a matter of mere opinion. He speaks of it as a thing which he believes; which seems to imply, that others in that quarter of the church were probably of the same opinion. But we find no mention of this opinion again until so late as the end of the 4th century, when Jerome adverting to it says, "Most [of the Latins] believe that the epistle to the Hebrews belongs to Barnabas, or Clement;" see Berth. p. 2953, and Jerome in his Epist. ad Dardanum. Again, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, under the word *Paulus* he says: "The epistle to the Hebrews is thought not to be his, on account of the discrepancy of the style; but to belong to Barnabas, according to Tertullian; or to the evangelist Luke, according to some; or to Clement of Rome." The same thing Philastrius (A. D. 380) repeats, Hæres., c. 89. And in modern times Cameron and Schmidt have undertaken to defend the hypothesis, that Barnabas was the author of this epistle; Bertholdt, ubi supra.

This is all the evidence which history gives us in respect to this subject; and this surely is too slender to build any opinion upon, which can lay claim to critical confidence.

But all hope of defending this opinion, with any degree of plausibility is removed, by a comparison of the epistle to the Hebrews

with an epistle of Barnabas still extant, and, undoubtedly, the same that was extant in the days of Tertullian, as the quotations from it by the ancient Christian fathers evince. I produce here a few short extracts from this epistle, to enable every one to judge for himself, whether the author of the one epistle can be rationally supposed to have written the other.

Chap. IX. Μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα, περὶ πάντων πλουσίως, ὅτι Ἀβραάμ, ὁ πρῶτος περιτομὴν δοὺς, ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν υἱὸν περιέτεμε, λαβὼν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα· λέγει γάρ· Καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραάμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ τριακοσίους. Τίς οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῃ γνώσις; Μάθετε τοὺς δεκαοκτὼ πρώτους, εἴτα τοὺς τριακοσίους. Τὸ δὲ δεκαοκτὼ, ἰῶτα δέκα, ἦτα ὀκτὼ· ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν· ὅτι δὲ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ Τ ἔμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ Τριακοσίους. Δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖ γραμμασι καὶ ἐν ἐνί, τὸν σταυρόν. Οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ δέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν. Οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα ὅτι ἄξιοι ἐστέ ὑμεῖς· i. e. Children, learn abundantly in regard to all things; for Abraham, who first instituted circumcision, practised this rite, looking forward in the Spirit to the Son, receiving the doctrine of the three letters. For [the Scripture] says, And Abraham circumcised, of his household, three hundred and eighteen men. What instruction is imparted by this? Learn as to the first eighteen, then as to the three hundred. As to eighteen, ἰῶτα signifies ten, and ἦτα eight; this means, *Jesus*. And because the cross, signified by *T*, would possess grace, it says *three hundred*. It points out Jesus, therefore, by the two letters, and the cross by one. He knows this, who has conferred upon us the engrafted gift of his doctrine. No one has learned more genuine doctrine of me; but I know that ye are worthy of it." Cotelerius, Pat. Apostol. Tom. I. p. 28.

So then, because Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen persons, (which by the way is not said in the Scriptures, see Genesis xvii. 23—27, comp. Genesis xiv. 14; which gave occasion to the mistake,) the system of gospel truth is disclosed in this mysterious number; and this because ἰῶτα stands for *ten*, ἦτα for *eight*, and ταῦ for *three hundred*, i. e. here is Jesus, and he crucified. Where in all the New Testament is any thing like such egregious trifling as this?

See now, how the same Barnabas can explain the ceremony of the red heifer, the ashes of which were sprinkled upon offenders. After stating the ceremony, and that the ashes were sprinkled by three children, he thus proceeds:—

Ὁ μόσχος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οἱ προσφερόντες, ἄνδρες ἁμαρτωλοὶ, οἱ προσενέγκαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν· εἴτα οὐκέτι ἄνδρες, οὐκέτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ἡ δόξα. Οἱ δὲ βαντίζοντες παῖδες, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμόν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἔδωκε τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, (οὔσι δεκαδύο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν, ὅτι δεκαδύο αἱ φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,) εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν. Διὰ τί δὲ τρεῖς παῖδες οἱ βαντίζοντες; Εἰς μαρτύριον Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι οὗτοι μεγάλοι τῷ Θεῷ. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; Ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ· διότι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες εἰς αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Διὰ τί δὲ τὸ ἔριον καὶ τὸν ὕσσωπον; Ὅτι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμίραι ἔσονται πονηραὶ, καὶ ρυπαραὶ, ἐν αἷς ἡμεῖς σωθησόμεθα· ὅτι καὶ ἀλγῶν τὴν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ ρύπου τοῦ ὕσσωπου

ἰαται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτω γενόμενα, ἡμῖν μὲν ἐστὶ φανερά, ἐκείνοις δὲ σκοτεινά· ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν φωνῆς τοῦ κυρίου.

But enough. If every thing were cited which betrays a feeble and puerile mind, the whole epistle must be transcribed. Let him who needs further argument on this subject, peruse the whole epistle to the Hebrews, and then read through the epistle of Barnabas. It is impossible that he should not feel the almost indescribable difference between the two writers.

Here then is a case, where the possibility of mistake in judging is very small. The difference between this writer and him who wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in respect to style, precision, clearness, energy, brevity—in a word, every thing which characterizes any writing—is heaven-wide. The most obtuse perception cannot fail to discern it. It is a hopeless case to plead the cause of a hypothesis like this.

The question whether the Barnabas, who is said to be the author of the epistle from which quotations are made above, was the same that is mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, and in the epistles of Paul, is one about which critics are divided. The majority seem to be in favour of the negative. The principal reasons are of an *internal* nature, viz. the contents of the epistle; which seem to be unworthy of him who stood in such a near and dear relation to Paul. One almost spontaneously adopts this opinion, from the mere reading of the epistle. But whether Barnabas, the companion of Paul, wrote this epistle or not, whoever did write it, he surely was not the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. A greater difference in writing can scarcely be even imagined.

If the *apostolic* Barnabas were not the author in question, then we have no writing of his with which we can compare our epistle, and, of course, no means of judging in this way. And as to the testimony of Tertullian in respect to Barnabas, it appears at most only to give the opinion of the churches in Proconsular Africa; inasmuch as Origen and Eusebius know nothing of such an opinion.

XXXVI. WAS LUKE THE AUTHOR?

THE first suggestion among the ancient fathers, that Luke had any part in the composition of the epistle to the Hebrews, is found in a fragment of Clement of Alexandria, preserved by Eusebius (Ecc. Hist. VI. 14), in which Clement asserts, that “Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, and that Luke carefully translated it into the Greek;” see note p. 67. The same opinion or tradition Origen mentions thus: “If I may give my opinion, I should say, The thoughts are the apostle’s; but the phraseology and composition belong to some one who relates what the apostle said, and, as it were, comments on the words of his master. But who wrote [i. e. wrote down] the epistle, God only knows. Report which has come down to us,

says, either that Clement of Rome wrote it, or that Luke the evangelist did," p. 71 *supra*.

Both Bertholdt and Eichhorn have adduced Origen as asserting, that report attributed the epistle to the Hebrews to Luke as the *real author*; which the context in Origen by no means allows. I cannot but understand him as saying merely, that 'the ancients had a report, that either Luke or Clement *wrote down* the epistle;' which corresponds with the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, Origen's teacher in early life. We have seen that afterwards, among the Latin churches, either Luke or Clement, was regarded as the real author of this epistle; for so the testimony of Jerome and Philastrius, cited in the preceding section, would seem to indicate.

We have no *historical* ground, then, on which we can build the opinion, that Luke was the author of this epistle. An uncertain tradition of the fourth century is surely insufficient. And even if Origen be understood as asserting, that tradition, in his day, assigned the composition of our epistle to Luke; he also asserts, at the same time, that that traditionary testimony was at variance with itself; as one party assigned it to Clement of Rome. He, evidently, credits neither the one nor the other; at least, not in such a way as to be fully persuaded in his own mind; for he says, "Who wrote down the epistle, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν."

The same uncertainty both Jerome and Philastrius exhibit, in the testimony to which allusion has just been made.

It is no doubt true, that the style of Luke approximates much nearer to that of the epistle to the Hebrews, than the style of the epistle attributed to Barnabas; so that a comparison in this respect, does not lead to so clear and satisfactory a result in this case as in that. But the situation of Luke, (born and educated abroad, as he was, and never having resided long in Palestine), would hardly lead one to believe that he was so deeply versed in Rabbinical lore, and in Jewish feelings and modes of thinking, as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews must have been. Besides, it is certain, (at least it would seem to be so,) from the whole tenor of our epistle, that the author of it must have been a Hebrew. But from Colossians iv. 14, compared with iv. 10, it appears plainly that Luke was a Hellenist.

The main difficulty, however, is the *want* of any *external* evidence that Luke was the author. And as there are, at least, no internal circumstances or evidence from style which speak much in favour of such an opinion, it must be abandoned as improbable and altogether unsupported.

XXXVII. WAS CLEMENT OF ROME THE AUTHOR?

ORIGEN is the first who mentions Clement as the possible writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. In what sense he does this, has been already considered. Jerome and Philastrius, long afterwards, mention that some in the Latin churches attributed the epistle to the Hebrews to Clement of Rome. The evidence of this from testimony, then, is not entitled to any degree of credit, sufficient to create serious doubts whether Clement may not have been the author.

The internal evidence, drawn from a comparison of the epistle to the Hebrews with Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, by no means favours the supposition in question. Clement has often cited the epistle to the Hebrews. The manner in which he does this, seems to afford pretty good evidence, that he did not write that epistle himself; for, as we have already seen, he appeals to it as Scripture, in order to establish and confirm the sentiments which he is inculcating, and in the same manner as he does elsewhere to the other Scriptures.* Is this to be supposed, in case he himself wrote that epistle? Did Clement attribute scriptural authority to his own epistle? Or did the church whom he addressed, attribute scriptural authority to any epistles but to those of an apostle? Does he any where in his letter appeal to other epistles than such? The obvious answer to these inquiries determines the question, whether Clement wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, in the negative.

But further. The discrepancy of style is so great between the epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews, as to make it sufficiently evident that both did not proceed from the same pen. I refer not merely to the choice of words, although this might be easily shown to be considerable, but to the general spirit and manner of the execution. There is an energy, originality, vividness of conception, and intensity of feeling, displayed every where in the epistle to the Hebrews, which is wholly wanting in Clement's epistle. This is plain, kind, faithful; but it is moderate, comparatively tame, made up of many extracts from the Old Testament and from Paul, and of imitations as close as they could well be of the latter. But what a wide difference there is, after all, between the original writer and the imitator, every one must feel who reads both. The one is a feeble rivulet gliding gently along, which, but for the occasional contributions it receives from other streams, would become absorbed by the earth over which it passes, and cease to flow; the other a mighty stream, overflowing all its banks, supplying with water and fertilizing all the country through which it passes. It really seems to me, that a man might as well mistake a canal on the banks of the Nile for the noble river itself, as mistake Clement for the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

* Bleek. Commentary, Vol. I. p. 411, says, that 'the relation of the passages in Clement, which are cited from the epistle to the Hebrews, is such that we must regard it as much more probable that he quoted from our epistle, than that he copied himself.' Yet in his Review of my work, p. 28, he has appended two interrogation points to the like sentiment quoted from me. He will pardon me for asking, whether a sentiment can pass for correct on the east side of the Atlantic, and need double questioning on the west of it.

XXXVIII. WAS SILVANUS THE AUTHOR?

THE belief that such was the case, is recent. Mynster and Boehme, (both living authors I believe), have assayed to defend this opinion.

Mynster grounds it on the supposition, that our epistle was sent to the Galatian church along with the one inscribed to the Galatians, although not written by Paul but by Sylvanus, who was in company with him. In this last respect he differs from Storr, while he agrees with him as to other important circumstances.

If the reader will re-peruse Sect. 5, and especially the contents of No. 8 in that section, he will see that the internal evidence of our epistle decides conclusively against such a supposition as that of Mynster.

In regard to Boehme, his opinion is built on the assumed resemblance of the first epistle of Peter to the epistle to the Hebrews. Both of these he regards as written by Silvanus or Silas, who was an intimate friend and companion of Paul, Acts xv. 40 seq.; xvi. 19 seq.; xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 5; 2 Corinthians i. 19; 1 Thessalonians i. 1; 2 Thessalonians i. 1; and also of Peter. 1 Peter v. 12. But as the alleged authorship is incapable of any satisfactory proof, so it seems also to be destitute of any probability. As to the likeness of style between the two epistles (Hebrews and 1 Peter), I must appeal to what has been said above, and to every unprejudiced reader who is able to judge of such a matter. A hypothesis that has not a better foundation than this, I cannot believe will find much favour among the more intelligent class of critics.

Bleek himself finds the reason alleged by Boehme to be quite insufficient, although he elsewhere asserts, as we have seen above, the strong resemblance between the epistle to the Hebrews and the first epistle of Peter. But the principal reason, he says, which renders the opinion of Boehme improbable, is, that Silvanus or Silas was a resident at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 22, and must have known better than to commit the mistakes made in Hebrews ix. 3, 4. On the same ground he decides against Mark as the author of our epistle, Commentary, I. p. 408.

The subject of these *mistakes* has been examined above, Sect. 31, and to this examination I must refer the reader. It would at least have been well, before so many important arguments were built on the alleged mistakes of Heb. ix. 3, 4, to have inquired still further, whether the mistake was in the writer of the passage or in his commentator.

XXXIX. WAS APOLLOS THE AUTHOR?

A supposition never made by any of the ancient churches, and first ventured upon, I believe, by Luther, *Commentarium in Genesin* xlviii. 20; *Postill. Ecclesiæ Test. Sancti Johannis Evangelio*, p. 44. But this opinion has since been applauded or defended by Le Clerc, Heumann, Muller, Semler, Ziegler, Bertholdt, Dindorf, and very recently and at some length, by Bleek.

The difficulties attending the supposition are,

(1) We have no *external* evidence in favour of it; no voice of antiquity being raised to testify, that Apollos has left one single line of any written composition behind him, much less such an epistle as that to the Hebrews.

(2) We have no *internal* evidence of such a fact; for there is no testimony of this nature in the epistle itself; and there can be no evidence drawn from the style of it compared with the style and diction of Apollos, inasmuch as we have no writing of Apollos with which the comparison can be made.

Bleek however urges,

(1) That Apollos was 'a Jew of Alexandria, eloquent, and well versed in the Scriptures, Acts xviii. 24; 1 Corinthians i—iv. His eloquence will account,' he thinks, 'for the oratorical manner of our epistle in distinction from that of Paul. His being an Alexandrian, will explain his attachment to types, allegory, and mystical explanation,' etc. But was such a mode of explanation, at that time, limited to Alexandria? And as to "being mighty in the Scriptures," how could a man be called so, who committed so gross and obvious a mistake as Bleek attributes to the writer, in ix. 3, 4 of our epistle?

(2) 'Apollos was a very zealous advocate for Christianity in opposition to Judaism, Acts xviii. 28.' Answer: So was Paul, and so were many others.

(3) 'Apollos appears to have been intimately connected with Paul, Titus iii. 13.' Answer: So was Timothy and many others.

The paragraph of Bleek, on this subject, is closed by high commendation of Luther, for "correct critical tact" in making the discovery in question; and in his Review, Bleek has expressed the hope that his view of this subject in his Commentary, Sect. 91, may win more of my regard than I have manifested for it in the first edition of my work.

One thing I very readily concede, viz., that of all the men who have been *supposed* to be the authors of our epistle, Paul excepted, Apollos appears to have been most peculiarly qualified. The *possibility* that Apollos wrote it, who will deny? The *probability* is what most concerns us. How then, among all the conjectures of the ancients, Barnabas, Luke, Clement of Rome, comes it that none of them should ever have hit upon the fortunate conjecture

of Luther; and specially when this would seem to be so obvious a one? Why did not Pantænus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, vindicate this honour to a native of their own beloved city? Or if you say that Pantænus and Clement did not do this because they had a preconceived opinion that Paul was the author; why did not Origen, whom Bleek represents as so doubtful about the author of our epistle, hit upon this happy conjecture in respect to his native townsman? And how could it be, that not a trace of such a belief can be found ever to have existed at Alexandria, the native place of Apollos, provided he were really the author of our epistle? Of all the places in the Christian world, at that time, this was the one most likely to preserve and perpetuate the honour due to him. And how could it be, that the report of Apollos as being the author should never have reached that place? Somebody certainly did once know who wrote our epistle. The greetings, etc., at the close of it, make it certain that the church to whom it was addressed must have known this. Would not the fame of this have reached Alexandria, the second metropolis of the world? And would not the memory of it have been perpetuated in the noble school there, down to future ages? I do not aver all this to be so; but I must confess, that in the light of such questions, I am obliged to regard the conjecture of Luther as far less probable and happy than it appears to be to Bleek; nay, to believe that it is altogether improbable.

If Bleek should ask, whether the same or the like questions may not be urged in regard to Paul as the author, I answer that for the most part they may. But then the reply to them will be a different one; and this is, that the churches at Alexandria were uniform in their belief that Paul was the author. I hope he will not take it amiss, therefore, that I feel obliged still to regard the happy conjecture of Luther, as without adequate support, and even against probability.

XL. IN WHAT LANGUAGE WAS THE EPISTLE ORIGINALLY WRITTEN?

On this question there has been a difference of opinion among critics, both in ancient and modern times.

Clement of Alexandria says, that "Paul wrote to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke carefully translated it into Greek," Euseb. *Histor. Eccles.* VI. 14.

Eusebius in the same manner says, that "Paul wrote to the Hebrews in his vernacular language, and that, according to report, either Luke or Clement translated it," Euseb. III. 28.

So Jerome also; "*Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraice, (Catalogus virorum illustrium voc. Paulus;)*" and then he adds, that "this epistle was translated into Greek, so that the colouring of the style was made diverse, in this way, from that of Paul's."

Of the same opinion in respect to this, was Clement of Alexandria, Theodoret, Euthalius, Primasius, Johannes Damascenus, Œcumenius, Theophylact, and others.

Origen, as we have seen above, supposes that the *thoughts* contained in the epistle were Paul's, while the *diction* or *costume* of it must be attributed to the person who wrote down the sentiments of the apostle.

By the *Hebrew* language, no one can reasonably doubt, these fathers meant the *Jerusalem* dialect which was spoken in the days of the apostles, and not the ancient Hebrew which had long ceased to be a vernacular language.

It is quite plain, also, that these fathers were led to the conclusion that the epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in the dialect of Palestine, from their belief, so universal in ancient times, of its having been addressed to some church, or to the churches, in that country. It was very natural to draw such a conclusion; for would not an epistle addressed to Hebrews, in all probability be more acceptable if written in their own vernacular language? Moreover, Paul was well acquainted with that language, for he was brought up at Jerusalem and "at the feet of Gamaliel;" and when he visited there, he had addressed the Jewish multitude, who were excited against him, in their native tongue, Acts xxii. 1, 2. Why should it not be supposed, that if, as is probable, our epistle was originally directed to Palestine, it was written in the dialect of that country?

So the fathers above quoted evidently thought and reasoned; although our fathers have said nothing on this point, and do not appear to have coincided in opinion with those to which I have just referred. Among the moderns, also, several critics have undertaken to defend the same opinion; and particularly Michaelis, who has discussed the subject quite at length, in his introduction to this epistle.

I do not think it necessary minutely to examine his arguments. To my own mind they appear altogether unsatisfactory. Some of them are built on an exegesis most palpably erroneous, and which, if admitted, would deduce a very strange meaning from the words of the epistle. Yet, assuming such a meaning, he thence concludes, that the *original* writer must have expressed a different idea, and that the *translator* mistook his meaning. He then undertakes to conjecture what the original Hebrew must have been. In other cases, he deduces his arguments from considerations wholly *a priori*; as if these were admissible, in a question of mere *fact*. He has not adduced a single instance of what he calls *wrong translation*, which wears the appearance of any considerable probability.

On the other hand, Bolton, a sharp-sighted critic, and well acquainted with the Aramæan language (who has gone through with the New Testament, and found almost every where marks, as he thinks, of translation from Aramæan documents), confesses that, in respect to this epistle, he finds not a single vestige of incorrect translation from an Aramæan original, and *no marks that there was ever such an original*. This testimony is of considerable importance in respect to the question before us; as it comes from a critic, who spent many years on the study of that which is most intimately connected with the very subject under consideration, viz. the detection of the Aramæan originals of the various parts of the New Testament, Bertholdt, p. 2976.

The principal *arguments* in favour of a Hebrew original, are deduced from two sources. First, that *Hebrews* are addressed in our epistle, to whom the Hebrew language would have been more acceptable and intelligible, and many of whom, indeed, could not understand Greek, certainly could not read it. Secondly, that the diversity of style in the epistle to the Hebrews is so

great, when compared with Paul's epistles, that, unless we suppose the Greek costume did in fact come from another hand, we must be led to the conclusion that Paul did not write it.

Both of these topics have been already discussed above. I merely add here, therefore, that in case the writer of the epistle designed it should have a wide circulation among the Jews, to write in Greek was altogether the most feasible method of accomplishing this. Besides, if Paul did address it to the church at Cæsarea, it is altogether probable that he wrote in Greek, as Greek was the principal language of that city. Even if he did not, it was not necessary that he should write in Hebrew; for in every considerable place in Palestine, there were more or less who understood the Greek language. Whoever wishes to see this last position established beyond any reasonable doubt, may read Hug's *Einleit.* in *das N. Test.* Vol. II. Sect. 10.

When Paul wrote to the *Romans*, he did not write in *Latin*; yet there was no difficulty in making his epistle understood, for the knowledge of Greek was very common at Rome. If Paul understood the Latin language (which is no where affirmed, and he had not resided, when he wrote our epistle, in any of the countries where it was commonly used), still he understood Greek so much better, that he would of course prefer writing in it.

For a similar reason, if no other could be given, one may regard it as more probable, that he would write the epistle to the Hebrews in the Greek language. At the time of writing it, he had been abroad probably as much as twenty-five years, in Greek countries, and had been in Palestine, during all that period, only a few days. The Jews abroad whom he every where saw, spoke *Greek*, not Hebrew. In Greek he preached and conversed. Is it any wonder, then, that after twenty-five years' incessant labour of preaching, conversing, and writing in this language, he should have preferred writing in it? Indeed can it be probable, that, under circumstances like these, he still possessed an equal facility of writing in his native dialect of Palestine?

I cannot think it strange, therefore, that although the epistle to the Hebrews was in all probability directed to some part of Palestine, yet it was written by Paul in Greek, and not in Hebrew. But, whatever may be the estimation put upon arguments of this nature, there are *internal marks* of its having been originally composed in Greek, which cannot well be overlooked. Let us examine them.

Some of the arguments, produced by those who maintain, that the original language of our epistle was Greek, it must be acknowledged, do not seem to be well founded. To such belongs the following: viz. 'Instances of paronomasia occur in this epistle; which necessarily implies, that it was originally composed in its present language.' For example:

Heb. v. 8, ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν. v. 14, πρὸς διακρίσιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ. vii. 3, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ. ix. 10, ἐπὶ βρώμασι καὶ πόμασι. xi. 37, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν. xiii. 14, οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπιζητοῦμεν. vii. 22, κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἔγγυος Ἰησοῦς, comp. vi. 19, ἐγγίζομεν τῷ θεῷ. x. 34, τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε, γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κρείττονα ὑπερξίον ὀφθαλμοῖς. See Eichhorn, Sect. 270. Bertholdt, p. 2987, who has only repeated the same things which Eichhorn had before said.

Of these instances, that only from x. 34, seems to betray any real marks of *design*; and even here, the marks are by no means of a decisive nature. Every one who will examine any Greek writing whatever, may find in it

more or less of apparent paronomasia in the same way, without any difficulty ; and this, where the author had no intention of exhibiting it. Whether an author really *designed* to exhibit paronomasia or not, will, in general, be very apparent. I cannot perceive that any one of the alleged paronomasias in question, really appears to be the effect of design. If they are altogether accidental, they must have occurred in the Hebrews, even if its present language is merely that of a *translation*. In fact, even designed paronomasias may, not unfrequently, occur in a translation. The argument in favour of the Greek being the original language of the epistle to the Hebrews, built on such instances of paronomasia as the above, (where, in most cases, it is a mere homophony of like tenses or cases,) is too uncertain and too slender to be rested on, as a proper support of the opinion in question.

But there are better arguments than such, to prove that the epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Greek. They are derived from the manner in which the quotations from the Old Testament are made and employed in our epistle.

(1) The author has, nearly throughout, quoted the Septuagint version, and followed it in some cases, even where it differs somewhat from the Hebrew. This, indeed, might be done to a certain extent by a translator. For example ; if Paul had appealed to the Hebrew Scriptures, and cited passages from them, the translator might have taken the corresponding passages in his Greek Bible. It might easily be supposed that it would have been very natural for him to do so, in all cases where there was no considerable difference between the original Hebrew and the Greek version. This argument, therefore, cannot be much relied on. But it is further alleged,

(2) That the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has cited and employed the Septuagint version, in order to illustrate his positions, in cases where the Septuagint does not correspond with the original Hebrew. For example ; Hebrews i. 6, *Let all the angels of God worship him*, is quoted, in order to show that the Son of God is superior to the angels. If this be quoted, as is more generally supposed, from Psalm xcvi. 7, the context there seems to indicate, that the subject is *the superiority of Jehovah to idol-gods*, not of Christ to the angels. Instead of " Let all the angels of God worship him," the Hebrew runs thus, " Worship him, all ye gods ;" and so our English translation has it. If the quotation be made from Deuteronomy xxxii. 43, as some have supposed, then is the argument still stronger ; for in the original Hebrew there is not a vestige of the passage quoted ; it is found only in the Septuagint. In either case the force of the appeal seems to rest on the Septuagint version, rather than on the original Hebrew. Of course the writer must be supposed to have used that version, in his original composition, by all those who hold that he appeals in this case to a passage of the Old Testament. Such is the usual form of this argument ; but as I have doubts whether the psalm is not *Messianic*, I cannot attribute so much to dependence here on the Septuagint.

(3) It is said that the writer in Hebrews ii. appeals to Psalms viii. in order to prove that the Son of God must possess a human nature, which should be exalted above that of angels, and placed at the head of the creation.

But the phrase in Hebrew, *Thou hast made him a little below the Elohim*, is rendered by the Septuagint, *Thou hast made him for a little time* [or a little] *lower than the angels*; rendering אֲלֹהִים *angels*, which, to say the least, is an unusual sense of the word. Yet, on the sense of the version in the Septuagint, turns the force of the proof that Christ was, in his human nature, superior to the angels.

But as it has now come to be conceded, that אֲלֹהִים may mean *angels*, (see Ges. Thesaurus Linguae Hebraeae, in voce), I should not lay much stress on this argument.

(4) In Hebrews vii., the writer has translated the appellations *Melchisedek, king of Salem*, and told at length what they mean in Greek. It is possible that such a thing might be done by a translator; but then the explanation, in this case, appears to be interwoven with the discourse itself, and to be a *prima manu*.

(5) In Hebrews ix. 16, 17, Christ is said, in reference to the *old* covenant under Moses, to be the mediator of a *new* and *better* covenant, בְּרִית, in Greek διαθήκη. But from the double meaning of διαθήκη in Greek, viz. *covenant* and *testament*, the writer takes occasion, having mentioned the death of Jesus, to observe that the new διαθήκη has received its full confirmation, viz. as a *testament*, by the death of the testator; and that he may the more effectually remove all offence at the death of Jesus, he goes on to say that a διαθήκη, i. e. *testament*, (for now he uses the word in this sense,) *has no force while the testator is living*. Of course the death of Jesus was necessary to ratify the *new* διαθήκη; and it did, in fact, ratify and establish it, to all intents and purposes.

Now this reasoning seems to depend on the two-fold sense of the word διαθήκη in Greek; for the original בְּרִית, in Hebrew, never has the sense of *testament* or *will*. The Greek word διαθήκη has, indeed, been adopted into the Rabbinic Hebrew, and sounds בְּרִיתִיקִי. But that it belonged to the Hebrew language in Paul's day, there is no certain proof; and even if there were, בְּרִית must have been the only word to which he referred, for בְּרִית is an appropriate word to designate the Abrahamic and Mosaic dispensations or the old covenants. Of course the writer's illustration seems to depend on the two-fold meaning of the *Greek* word διαθήκη; and consequently his language must have been Greek.

(6) In Hebrews x. 3 seq. the writer undertakes to show, that the sacrifice of Christ was not only necessary, in order to make expiation for sin, but that it was predicted in the Psalms that he should make such an offering. In proof of this, he quotes the Septuagint version, *A body hast thou prepared for me*, Psalm xxxix. 6; (xl. 7,) viz. a body for an offering or expiatory sacrifice. Compare now Psalm xl. 7, where the Hebrew runs thus, אָזְנִים לִי, *mine ears hast thou opened or bored*, i. e. thou hast made me obedient. But it is the Septuagint version which appears to give direct occasion for the specific allegation of the writer, viz. that Christ had made an offering of himself as a propitiatory sacrifice.

Other instances of a similar nature have been produced by critics from our epistle ; but as they are less striking, and may admit of some doubt, I have thought it best to exclude them. These are sufficient to show, that as the nature, or at least the form, of the proof or argument which the writer brings forward, depends, in some respects, on the form of the Septuagint version, so it is probable that he must have written in Greek and appealed to the Greek version ; for it is improbable, to the last degree, that if the epistle had been written in Hebrew, he would have appealed to any but the original Hebrew Scriptures when addressing those who were acquainted with them.

Whatever difficulties the theologian or the interpreter may find, in reconciling these facts with the method of arguing which he may suppose appropriate to an inspired writer, it cannot alter the facts themselves. These seem not to be matters of conjecture. And admitting this, we are compelled to draw the conclusion, that **THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF OUR EPISTLE MUST HAVE BEEN GREEK.**

I would add, that the vivid colouring and animation of the whole epistle, the impassioned and energetic expression of it, and its native, unconstrained appearance, all contribute to prove that it was originally written in the same language in which it now appears.

CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL HELPS

TO THE

STUDY OF THE EPISTLE.

It is not my object to make out a copious catalogue of these, but only to notice those which are more particularly deserving of attention.

ANCIENT GREEK COMMENTATORS.

CHRYSOSTOM, Theodoret, and Theophylact, the Greek commentators on this epistle, are all deserving of an attentive perusal, in various respects. Philological, in the technical sense of this word, the reader must not expect to find them. Chrysostom is the most copious, flowing, and oratorical; Theodoret, the most brief and comprehensive; but Theophylact is by far the most agreeable, especially for beginners in the study of Greek commentary. He comprises all that is valuable in Chrysostom, and, for the most part, nearly in Chrysostom's words; while, at the same time, he has given to the whole more ease, simplicity, and compactness. Seldom does he venture upon any new opinion of his own, and when he does, it is with great deference to his predecessors. The book deserves a republication at the present day, as a part of the apparatus requisite to the study of our epistle, and as one of the easiest and best means of introducing the young interpreter to an acquaintance with the Greek commentators.

If a glossary should be added to such a book, containing the few words in Theophylact that are not found in our common Greek lexicons, and also the very good Latin translation which now accompanies the Greek of Theophylact, it would constitute an excellent book for commencing the study and the knowledge of the original Greek fathers.

ENGLISH COMMENTATORS.

OWEN, Exposition of the epistle to the Hebrews, with preliminary Exercitations, 7 vols. 8vo, Edinb. 1812—14. The work is replete with remarks of a doctrinal and experimental nature. The philology of it will be less valued, at the present day.

J. Pierce, Paraphrase and Notes on the epistles of Paul, 4to, Lond. 1733.—Some of the sentiments differ widely from those of Owen, and are such as ought to be examined with great caution; but the work, as a whole, exceeds any English commentary which I have read. The author has a great deal of acuteness, and is by no means wanting in regard to a tact for criticism.

Dr S. T. Bloomfield has recently published an edition of the Greek Testament, with English Notes, in which he has paid special attention to the epistle to the Hebrews, and his notes are a good summary of what has been done to illustrate it, and also contain valuable remarks that are original. The book is an exceedingly beautiful one, and is printed with great care. It will doubtless facilitate and promote the critical study of the New Testament. It is in two vols. 8vo.

The works of Sykes, Whitby, Doddridge, Macknight, Scott, Clark, and others, on this epistle, may profit some classes of readers, but they are not adapted to the higher purposes of philology.

 COMMENTATORS IN LATIN AND GERMAN.

AMONG the older commentators, Erasmus, Grotius, Le Clerc, Drusius, J. Cappell, Limborch, and Wolfius, have distinguished themselves. The more recent works are the following:—

J. B. Carpzovius, Exercitt. in Pauli epist. ad Hebræos, ex Philone Alexandrino, 8vo, Helmst. 1750.—The same author has also published, Uebersetzung des Briefs an die Hebræer, Helmst. 1795.

J. A. Cramer, Erklærung des Briefs an die Hebræer, 4to, Kopenhagen, 1757, a work replete with learning, and well deserving of attention.

C. F. Schmidius, Observatt. super epist. ad Hebræos, histor. crit. et theologicæ, 8vo, Lips. 1766.

J. D. Michaelis, Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebræer, 4to, 2 edit. 1780.

S. F. N. Morus, Der Brief an die Hebræer uebersetzt, 8vo, Leipz. 1786.

G. C. Storr, Pauli Brief an die Hebræer erläutert, 8vo, Tübingen, 1809.

J. A. Ernesti, Lectiones in epist. ad Hebræos; Illustrationes adjecit *G. J. Dindorf*, 8vo, Lips. 1795—a book of real worth, in a critical respect, although not executed with much taste as to form and manner. I have found in it more to my purpose, than in any other of the commentaries which I have consulted.

Heinrichs, in Nov. Test. Koppiano, Vol. viii.—This is a work which exhibits some striking remarks, and no inconsiderable tact for exegesis. But the occasional extravagance of this writer's opinions, and the haste with which he throws off his works, are to be regretted, as he plainly possesses ability to go deeper into his subjects of inquiry.

D. Schulz, Der Brief an die Hebræer, Einleitung, Uebersetzung, und Anmerkungen, 8vo, Breslau, 1818.

Epist. ad Heb. Latine vertit, atque commentario instruxit perpetuo, *C. F. Boehme*, 8vo, Lips. 1825. See above, Sect. 31.

Der Brief an die Hebræer erläutert, etc., von *Friedrich Bleek*, Berlin, 1828. The first volume only has been received, which contains a more ample and learned discussion of the critical question in respect to the epistle to the Hebrews, than any of the preceding books that I have met with.

Kuinoel, Comm. in Epist. ad Hebræos, Lips. 1831; the latest critical explanation of the epistle which I have seen, and the best, that of Ernesti by Dindorf excepted.

LITERATURE OF THE EPISTLE.

THE introductions of Michaelis, Hænlein, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, De Wette, Bleek, Schott, and Kuinoel, exhibit the sum of

what has been hitherto accomplished, in regard to this subject. Seyffarth and Schulz, in the works examined above, have also discussed the same subject; as have Ziegler, Noesselt, Weber, Lardner, and others. Wolfius, Storr, Schmidt, Cramer, and most other commentators, have touched, more or less, on the literary topics that pertain to the epistle. Lardner, Storr, Ziegler, Cramer, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hug, Schulz, and Bleek, are most conspicuous among the class of writers now under consideration.

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COMMENTARY.

COMMENTARY.

SUMMARY OF WHAT IS CONTAINED IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE writer of this epistle is a Hebrew, and addresses his Hebrew brethren who had made a profession of the Christian religion. Nothing can be plainer, than that those addressed are considered as being in danger of apostasy from that religion. To warn them against this danger, is the principal object of our epistle. In order to do this, the writer proceeds to lay before them the aggravated guilt and the awful doom of those who make defection from Christianity; to direct their views towards that crown of glory which fadeth not away, and which is reserved in heaven for all who persevere, even to the end of life, in their fidelity to Christ; to put them on their guard against the various enticements of sin which might allure them from the path of Christian duty; and especially to guard them against relapsing into superstitious views, respecting the importance and necessity of the ceremonial rites and sacrifices of the Levitical institutions, and against being induced by these to relax their confidence in Jesus and in his atoning sacrifice.

To these last sources of danger the Hebrew Christians were particularly exposed. Nothing could well be more magnificent and imposing than the temple worship, as practised by the Jews at that time. The temple, built after their return from the captivity, was not, indeed, so rich in ornament as that which Solomon had built. But it had, at a vast expense, been greatly extended and beautified by Herod. It was regarded by all Jews as the peculiar dwelling place of Jehovah—the only one in which he designed to manifest himself on earth. The Jewish nation, also, habitually regarded themselves as the only one to whom God had made a special revelation. The worship practised in the temple, had been instituted by Moses under divine guidance, and continued with but partial interruptions for about 1500 years. All the exterior of

this worship, was adapted to strike the eye and impress the mind of the beholder. The awfulness of the place in which it was celebrated; the magnificent costume of the priests; the spacious and lofty apartment in which they officiated; the solemn part which he who offered any sacrifice was himself called to perform; above all, the apprehension that full pardon for sin and reconciliation to God were obtained by the rites and offerings which the law prescribed; contributed to make deep and lasting impressions on the mind of all Hebrews, who seriously exercised their thoughts on the subject of religion and paid their devotions in the temple. All their education, from the first dawning of the youthful mind, had a direct tendency to confirm and strengthen these impressions. Never was a nation more enthusiastically attached to its customs, rites, and country, than were the Jews. They looked abroad upon other nations as outcasts from God, and unworthy of his paternal kindness and blessing.

The New Testament is full of evidence adapted to show the correctness of this statement. The disputes which the extension of Christian privileges to the Gentiles occasioned among the first Jewish converts; the reluctance with which the former were admitted to participate in them; and the repeated, violent, and long protracted opposition that was made to abandoning the peculiar rites of the Mosaic institutions; all contribute to evince how deeply engraven upon the mind of every Jew was the impression, that the laws of Moses were never to be changed, and that the Messiah himself was rather to restore and modify than to repeal them.

In such a state of mind had the Christian converts once been whom the writer of our epistle addressed. What wonder, now, if they were exposed from this quarter to be shaken in their attachment to the new religion which they had professed, and which confessedly gave up all confidence in the religious rites of the Levitical institutions? Temptations from without also assailed them. Their unbelieving Hebrew brethren argued with them; opposed them; ridiculed them; made powerful appeals to all the feelings with which their birth, education, and former worship had inspired them; persecuted them; traduced them to the heathen magistrates; and excommunicated them. They suffered the loss of property, and of liberty. Their lives were threatened. The coming of Christ, which they had supposed would speedily take place for their deliverance, was delayed. How could it be, that

human frailty, joined with former prejudices and present sufferings, should not exercise a dangerous influence upon them?

In this state the apostle saw them to be, and set himself about the important and difficult work of correcting their errors, and encouraging their desponding minds. How was this to be done with the greatest probability of success? Plain arguments and considerations of such a nature as were best adapted to meet the difficulties with which they were contending, were those to which he would most readily resort. And throughout the whole epistle it is manifest that he has done this, with consummate skill, judgment, and force.

As the greatest of all the dangers to which the Hebrew converts were exposed, was that which resulted from their former religious attachments and prejudices, excited and augmented as they daily were by the efforts of their unbelieving Jewish brethren; so the writer of our epistle employs his principal force, in order to preclude or avert this danger. Other topics are subordinate with him. Although they are often touched upon, and with great skill and power, yet they are so interwoven with the main object before him, that they are in a measure concealed from the first view of a hasty reader.

The general plan of the epistle may be briefly represented. It consists in a comparison of the new dispensation with the old, and in pointing out the various grounds of preference which belong to the new. From this superiority of the new dispensation various arguments are deduced, in order to show the importance of cleaving to the Christian profession instead of reverting back to Judaism, which latter could not now be the means of saving those who embraced it. Considerations of such a nature are repeated, as often as the comparisons introduced afford occasion for them. This accounts for the repetition of hortatory addresses, so often found in our epistle.

The Jews gloried in their dispensation, because angels had been employed as mediators of it when the law was given at Sinai. In their view, this stamped a high and heavenly honour upon it. Our author does not attack their views of this subject, but he commences his epistle by showing that Christ, the mediator and head of the new dispensation, as it regards his name, his rank, his dominion, his creative and eternal power, is superior to the angels, i. 1—14. On this ground, then, Christianity may claim a prece-

dence ; and hence he exhorts them to give their most earnest attention to it, ii. 1—4.

Nor can they object to the superiority of the Messiah, that he possessed a *human* nature, while the angels are spiritual and heavenly beings. For in his human nature he is Lord of the universe, ii. 5—10. It was this nature, too, which gave him a nearer and more endearing sympathy with his followers ; and by taking this upon him, he was enabled to make an expiatory offering for sin by his death ; so that he is now fitted not only to exercise compassion toward men, but to save them from the bondage of sin and from its condemning power, ii. 11—18.

Having thus disposed of this topic, he next proceeds to compare Jesus, the head of the new dispensation, with Moses the head of the ancient one. Like Moses, he was set over the house of God and intrusted with it, and was faithful to his trust. But the honour due to Jesus is as much more than that due to Moses, as the builder of a house is worthy of more honour than the house itself. Christ too was set over God's house as a *Son* ; but Moses only as a *servant*, iii. 1—6.

If now the Israelites of old were solemnly admonished to hearken to the precepts given under the Mosaic dispensation, then surely believers in Christ may be more solemnly urged to beware of disobedience to his injunctions, iii. 7—19. And this warning holds good and is applicable in all respects, because the rest which was promised to believers in ancient times, and was lost through unbelief, is still proffered to all who believe in Jesus and persevere in their profession, and only to such, iv. 1—10. Awful commination is indeed still uttered against those who are guilty of apostasy, iv. 11—13.

Thus much for the comparison of Christ with Moses. Next, the writer proceeds to compare Jesus, as a priest, with the Jewish priesthood, and particularly with the high priest, the most dignified of all who were invested with the sacerdotal office.

He first introduces Christ as a compassionate high priest, and exalted to the highest dignity in the heavens, iv. 14—16. Next, he states the various things which are attached to the priesthood, as existing among the sons of Levi. 1. A high priest must present oblations and sacrifices, v. 1. 2. He must be compassionate and sympathetic towards others, and especially so, as he is himself frail

and erring, v. 2. 3. 3. He must be appointed of God to this office, v. 4.

In all these respects he now goes on to make a comparison of Jesus, the high priest of Christianity, and to show his superiority to the Jewish priests.

First, Christ was divinely appointed a priest, and that of the highest order, v. 5, 6.

Secondly, Christ our great high priest was encompassed with human infirmity, like other priests, but by this he was fitted to exercise compassionate sympathy, v. 7, 8. After he had suffered, he was exalted to glory and became a high priest after the order of Melchizedek, v. 9, 10.

The difficulty of the subject now suggested, affords an occasion for the writer to advert to the state of religious ignorance in which those were whom he addressed, v. 11—14; to exhort them to come out of it, and to warn them against the fearful danger that would result from not doing so, vi. 1—8. To this he subjoins commendation as to some things, and powerful motives of encouragement to go on in their Christian course, vi. 9—20.

He now resumes the subject of Melchizedek; shows the superiority of his priesthood over that of the sons of Levi, vii. 1—10; and then argues that Christ, who was a perpetual priest of the like order with Melchizedek, must of course be superior to the Jewish priests, vii. 11—25.

Christ too, as high priest differs in one important respect from the Jewish priests, viz. in that he needed no sacrifice for himself as an erring sinful man like the sons of Levi, but was sinless and perfect, yea, even exalted to a state of supreme glory, vii. 26—28.

The great object, however, at which the writer aims in the sequel of his epistle, is, to show that the high priest of Christianity officiates in heaven for his followers, viii. 1, 2. The Jewish priests perform their functions in a temple, which is merely an image of the heavenly one, viii. 3—6.

The new covenant of which Jesus is mediator, is altogether superior to the old, viii. 6—13. The ordinances and apparatus of service attached to this, were all mere types of heavenly things, ix. 1—10. The services themselves were imperfect as to the end attained by them, since they accomplished nothing more than external purification; but the blood of Christ, the mediator of the new covenant, sanctifies internally, and procures eternal redemp-

tion and an everlasting inheritance, for all the chosen of God in every age of the world, ix. 11—15. (If the new covenant be examined in another light, viz. one in which another signification of the word *διαθήκη*, *testament*, might occasion us to examine it, it may be regarded as made valid by the death of Jesus, and thus securing an inheritance to the people of God, ix. 16, 17.) Because the blood of Christ was to sanction the new covenant, therefore the first covenant (*διαθήκη*), with all the apparatus attached to it, was sanctified by blood (which is the emblem of death), ix. 18—22. If the earthly sanctuary was thus consecrated, then the heavenly one must be so by a sacrifice of a still higher nature, ix. 23, 24. Sacrifices in the earthly temple must be *often* repeated; but the sacrifice of Christ did *once for all* accomplish the great purposes for which it was offered, ix. 24—28.

Indeed, no legal sacrifices could make any real atonement for sin, x. 1—4; therefore Christ voluntarily proffered himself as a sin-offering, entirely and for ever to effect this, x. 5—18.

Thus is completed the comparison of Christ, and of his functions as a priest in the heavenly tabernacle, with the Jewish priests and their functions in the earthly tabernacle. In all respects, Jesus the high priest of the Christian religion appears greatly superior.

The writer now proceeds to various bold and powerful exhortations, mixed with awful warnings against defection from the Christian religion, x. 19—31. He sets before them the effects of persevering faith in the ancient patriarchs, prophets, and distinguished worthies, xi. 1—40. This he follows up with continued exhortations and encouragements and warnings, xii. 1—29; and then closes his epistle with divers practical directions, cautions, and salutations, xiii. 1—25.

Such is the brief view of the course of thought and reasoning in our epistle. It is plain that there are three great points of comparison in it, which constitute the main object at which the writer aims, in order that he may show the superiority of Christianity over Judaism.

I. The superiority of Christ, the mediator of the new covenant, over angels who were employed as mediators when the old covenant was established, Chap. i. ii.

II. The superiority of Christ, the head of the new dispensation, over Moses the head of the old, Chap. iii. iv.

III. The superiority of Christ as high priest of the new dispen-

sation, and of the services which he performs, over the priesthood of the Mosaic institution and all the services which were appropriate to their office, v. 1—x. 18.

Exhortations, warnings, reproofs, and encouragements, are intermixed in some manner with the main discussions; e. g. ii. 1—4. iii. 1. iii. 7—iv. 16. iv. 11—vi. 20; but from x. 19 to the end of the epistle, nearly all is of the nature just described; so that about one half of the epistle is of a parenetical or hortatory nature.

In judging of the relevancy and importance of the subjects discussed in our epistle, it is very plain that we are not to make up an opinion deduced merely from viewing the present necessities and condition of Christians. We were not born Jews, nor educated as such. We have none of their prejudices, peculiar sympathies, temptations, and trials. What was adapted to them, in the days of Paul, and under the circumstances above described; nay, what was absolutely indispensable for their instruction, reproof, and confirmation, may, in many respects, be scarcely appropriate to us in our condition and circumstances. Such is indeed the fact, in regard to many of the things introduced into the epistle to the Hebrews; as I shall have occasion hereafter repeatedly to notice. But who that judges with any good degree of candour and fairness, would ever think of bringing it as an accusation against our author, that he has inserted in his epistle that which was altogether appropriate to those whom he addressed, although it may not and does not have an equal bearing upon all times and nations? Surely the last ground of just accusation which can be advanced against any writer, is, that 'he has written in a manner peculiarly adapted to accomplish the end for which he wrote.' In what a different plight would the world of authors be, if all of them were justly liable to such an imputation!

Of necessity, now, many things addressed to the Jews of Paul's day, are comparatively inapplicable to us. So far, however, as our circumstances agree with theirs in any respect, just so far the spirit of what was said to them will apply to us. So far as what was said to them was founded in general Christian truths and principles, just so far we may be instructed and guided by it. Consequently the epistle, while it contains many things appropriate only to the Hebrews of early times, also contains many which can never cease to interest the church of God while Christianity exists in the world.

These general views may serve to aid the critical student, in commencing the exegetical study of our epistle. The more particular detail of what is here hinted, is reserved for the introductions to various parts of the epistle, which are inserted (*pro re natâ*) in the body of the commentary which follows.

COMMENTARY.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTERS I. 1—II. 4.

The object of the writer being to commend Christianity to those whom he addressed, in such a manner as to prevent defection from it, he begins by setting forth Christ as the author of the new revelation which God had made to men, i. 1. He then touches upon the dignity of his office; he is Lord of the world, which indeed he also created, i. 2. He is the true image of God, and the representative of his glory and perfections to men; he is endowed with sovereign power; and having made atonement for the sins of men, he is exalted to the highest majesty in the heavens, i. 3. This mediator of the new dispensation is exalted above angels, who were the mediators of the ancient one. His name, SON, is more exalted than theirs; for they have not been addressed, like him, with such an appellation, i. 4, 5. He is the object of worship by the angels; while they are employed only as the swift and ready messengers of God, i. 6, 7. The King Messiah has an eternal and righteous dominion; and is elevated, on account of his love of righteousness, to honour and happiness above all other kings, i. 8, 9. Him, too, one of the sacred writers addressed as the creator of the heavens and the earth, and as immutable and imperishable, i. 10—12. But no exaltation to such dominion is conferred upon angels, i. 13; they are only ministerial agents, employed for the good of those who are to be heirs of the salvation which Christ bestows, i. 14.

If such be the dignity and elevation of the Messiah, then surely the attentive consideration of all which he addresses to his followers, may be justly demanded. Obedience to the ancient revelation was enforced by just and unavoidable penalties; how can the neglect of the new and more perfect one go unpunished? ii. 1, 2. Especially must this be the case, since it was promulgated by Christ himself, in person, and was confirmed, on the part of God, by a great variety of wondrous miracles and gifts, ii. 3, 4.

CHAP. I.

Ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή. Respecting this title, see p. 25. l. seq.

Ver. 1. Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, literally *in many parts and in various ways*. Of the Greek commentators some give a different sense to each of the words; e. g. Theodoret, πολυμερῶς, τὰς παντοδαπὰς οἰκονομίας σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ πολυτρόπως, τῶν θείων ὁπτασιῶν τὸ διάφορον, i. e. πολυμερῶς signifies *the various dispensations*, but πολυτρόπως *the diversity of divine visions*. Theophylact interprets the words in question, by διαφόρως καὶ πολυειδῶς, *diversely and in various ways*. But Chrysostom expresses the sense of both words, by διαφόρως simply. Modern commentators are divided in the same manner. The Greek idiom allows either mode of interpretation; and precedents may be found for each. See Schleusner on the words; and compare Clem. Alex. Strom. I. 4. p. 331. V. 6. p. 667, ed. Potter; also

VI. 7, where the words in question are used respecting a revelation. If the two words be construed separately, then πολυμερῶς should be interpreted as referring to the *matter* of ancient revelation, given in different parts and at different times, thus conveying the idea of the gradual development of truth in different ages and by different persons; and πολυτρόπως must be understood as indicating the *various ways* in which these revelations were communicated, i. e. by dreams, visions, symbols, Urim and Thummim, prophetic ecstasy, etc. But if both words are regarded as being used only to designate with intensity the *variety* of ancient revelations, (and such a mode of phraseology is very common both in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, then the whole may be paraphrased thus: 'God, who in ancient times made communications in *many different ways* by the prophets to the fathers, hath,' etc. The word πολυμερῶς does not, of itself, signify *sundry times*; but still the idea of *various parts* or *portions*, which it does properly signify, may very naturally be understood as implying *diverse times* at which, or *occasions* on which, the different parts of revelation were communicated; or the idea of πολυμερῶς may be simply that of *repetition*, so that *often* would well communicate the sense of it. In this way I have ventured to translate it. But Kuinoel and Dindorf refer both words merely to the *variety* of matter or doctrines comprised in ancient revelation. But what becomes of the *antithesis* with the latter part of the verse, in this way of interpretation? Is there a less variety of subjects touched on by the New Testament, than by the Old?

Of the two modes of interpreting these words, I rather prefer that which separates them, and gives a distinct meaning to each. The writer evidently designs to present an antithesis between the manner of the ancient and the Christian dispensation. This antithesis is rendered more striking, if we understand the first clause in the verse thus; 'God, who in ancient times made communications to the fathers by the prophets, in sundry parts and in various ways, has now made a revelation to us by his Son;' i. e. he has completed the whole revelation, which he intends to make under the new dispensation, by his *Son*,—by his *Son only*, and not by a *long continued series* of prophets, as of old. The apostles, and other inspired writers of the New Testament, received their communications from the *Son*, who gave them the Holy Spirit, Matt. xi. 27, comp. John xiv. 26. xvi. 13; and facts show that the Christian

revelation was completed, during that generation which was contemporary with the Saviour when he dwelt on earth.

Πάλαι, *in ancient times*; for communications by prophets to the Jews had ceased, since the time of Malachi and his contemporaries, i. e. for the space of about four hundred years. Hence the writer avoids using an expression which would imply, that revelations had been continued down to the time then present. By πάλαι he evidently means to designate the whole time, during which communications of the divine will were continued under the former dispensation.

Λαλήσας most commonly designates *oral communication*. But since the writer here affirms, that God had spoken (λαλήσας) πολυτρόπως, it must of course be understood, (as indeed it is often used,) to designate the more general idea of *communication made in any manner*, by visions, symbols, etc., as well as by voices.

Τοῖς πατέράσι, *ancestors*; see Wahl's Lex. We might naturally expect that ἡμῶν would be subjoined; but Paul commonly uses the word πατέρες in the sense just noted, without the pronoun annexed. See Rom. ix. 5. xi. 28. xv. 8.

Ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, *by the prophets*. The use of ἐν with the Dat. instead of διὰ with the Gen. is frequent in the N. Test.; as any one may see in Wahl's Lex., ἐν No. 3. a. The *frequent* use of it in this way, is a *Hebraism*; for ἐν corresponds to the Hebrew עַל, which is employed with great latitude of signification, and in cases of the same nature as that in question; e. g. Hosea i. 2, *the word of the Lord by Hosea*, עַל־הוֹשֵׁעַ. But an occasional use of ἐν in a similar way by native Greek writers, may also be found; e. g. Thucyd. VII. 11, *what has been done before, ye know ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, by many other letters*.

Προφῆταις in the language of the New Testament means, not only those who predict future events, but *all who are employed by God to make religious communications of any kind* to his people.

Ἐκ ἰσχύατος τῶν ἡμερῶν—many copies read, ἐκ ἰσχύατος τῶν ἡμερῶν. The Seventy use both forms of expression, as a translation of the Hebrew אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים; thus showing that they were regarded by them as *synonymes*. It is a matter of indifference as to the *sense* of the text, which reading is adopted.

The meaning of the phrase is best understood, from a comparison of the corresponding expressions in Hebrew. In the Old Testament, אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, אַחֲרֵית, אַחֲרֵיתֵינוּ, and יוֹם אַחֲרָיו, are often em-

ployed *synonymously*; and all of them to designate the general idea of *hereafter, at a future time, in the sequel*. Whether this future time be more or less remote, depends entirely on the context and scope of the passage; see Gen. xlix. 1. Num. xxiv. 14. Deut. iv. 30. Prov. xxxi. 25. But **אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים**, in particular, is used to denote *the future period in which the Messiah* (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*) *was to appear*; Is. ii. 2. Hos. iii. 5. Micah iv. 1. Joel iii. 1. [ii. 28], **אַחֲרֵיכֶן**. This phrase, as it would seem from the usage in these places, early passed into a kind of technical designation of the time of the Messiah, or rather of the new dispensation under him. Thus Rabbi Nachmanides on Gen. xlix. 1. says, “All our doctors agree, that **אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** means *the times of the Messiah*.” That such a use of the phrase in question was already an established one in the time of our Saviour, is abundantly evident from the frequency with which *αἱ ἔσχαται ἡμέραι* is employed in the New Testament, in order to designate *the period of the Christian dispensation*. Like other appellations brought into use in a similar way (comp. Luke vii. 20), it continued to be employed after the “last days,” i. e. the Christian dispensation, had commenced; and it is employed to designate *any part of the time which this dispensation comprises*; being limited only by the context, in the same manner as the Hebrew **אַחֲרֵית**, etc., as exhibited above. In John vi. 39, 40, 44, 54, and xi. 24, *ἔσχατη ἡμέρα* is indeed used to denote the *end of time*, when the resurrection of the dead will take place. But in each of these cases *ἀναστήσω* or *ἀνάστασις* accompanies it, so as to save all doubt in respect to its meaning. In all other cases, it designates *the period of the new dispensation*. Many synonymous expressions are also employed to designate the same idea; e. g. *ὁ ἔσχατος καιρὸς, οἱ ἔσχατοι καιροί, ἡ ἔσχατη ὥρα*, and *ὑστεροὶ καιροί*.

The Jews, it is said, divided the periods of the world into **הַיָּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה**, *the present age or world*, i. e. the period of the Mosaic dispensation, and **הַיָּעוֹלָם הַבָּא**, *the age or world to come*, i. e. the time of the Messiah's reign. The former is called, in the New Testament, *ὁ αἰὼν ὅστις, ὁ νῦν αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐνεστῶς, ὁ καιρὸς ὅστις*, and *ὁ αἰὼν*; the latter *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων—ἐρχόμενος—ἐπεῖνος, οἱ αἰῶνες οἱ ἐπερχόμενοι, ἡ οἰκουμένη ἡ μέλλουσα*. This latter class of expressions, thus understood, are equivalent to the phrases *ἔσχαται ἡμέραι, ἔσχατων ἡμερῶν*, etc.

Such is the representation of Wahl (on the word *αἰὼν* in his lexicon), of Bretschneider (Lex.), and of other critics, in regard to

this subject. But that it is too definitely made, and therefore not in all respects well founded, is quite clear from the very authority to which Wahl refers; i. e. Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. sub voc. עולם. The Rabbins certainly used עולם הָיָה for *mundus hic, mundus habitabilis*, the earth; also for *mundus medius*, i. e. the regions of the air, stars, firmament, etc.; and for *mundus supremus*, i. e. of angels and spirits. It is equally certain, that they employed עולם הָבָא for *mundus post resurrectionem mortuorum, mundus animarum a corpore solutarum*, as well as for *the age of the Messiah*. Buxtorf merely says: “Quidam per עולם הָבָא intelligunt יְמֵי מָשִׁיחַ, *dies Messiae*.” It would seem, then, that Wahl, Bretschneider, and others, have made an excessive use of the supposed Rabbinic sense of the word αἰών.

Be this however as it may, still, from the Old Testament usage we may easily make out, (as I have endeavoured to do,) the sense of ἐν ἰσχύει τῶν ἡμερῶν. The phrase in Heb. i. 1, appears to mean *during the last dispensation, or under the last period*, viz. that of the Messiah.

Τούτων, *THESE last days*, is as much as to say, ‘The period in question has already commenced.’

ἡμῶν, *to us*, by a κοίνωσις, i. e. a figure of speech or mode of speaking, in which the writer joins himself with those whom he addresses. The meaning is, *to Christians, to the Church*; not excluding others, but intending still to designate, in this place, particularly himself and those to whom he wrote. So Luke uses ἡμῶν for *Christians* in chap. i. 1; and Paul in like manner, often in his epistles. If we insist here that ἡμῶν is to be literally and strictly taken, (as those do, in respect to ii. 3, who argue against the Pauline origin of our epistle from ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἰβεβαίωθη there,) then this passage would be a direct contradiction of the sentiment in ii. 3, inasmuch as it will contain a declaration, that the Son himself spoke to the writer of our epistle, and to those whom he addressed.

Ἐν υἱῷ, i. e. διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ. So Chrysostom and Theophylact; for ἐν here is used as above in ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. That the article would be added to υἱῷ here, if the phrase was constructed according to the common usage of the Greek language and of the New Testament writers, is quite obvious; although I find none of the modern commentators who take notice of it. In accordance with this principle, both Chrysostom and Theophylact supply it in their

paraphrase, expressing the sense διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ. After all the *rules* which have been laid down respecting the insertion or omission of the article in Greek, and all the theories which have been advanced, he who investigates for himself, and is guided only by *facts*, will find not a little that is arbitrary in the *actual* use of it. The cases are certainly very numerous, where Greek writers insert or reject it at pleasure. What is this but an *arbitrary* use of it? Some very sensible remarks on this subject may be found, in Lawrence's Remarks on our English Version.

It is plain, in the present case, that υἱὸς is *monadic*; that it designates one individual peculiarly distinguished; and that the pronoun αὐτοῦ is omitted after it; on all which accounts (according to *theory*) the article should be added. But all the Codices of the New Testament agree in omitting it. The circumstance is in itself of but little importance; still, as it has an important bearing upon *theories* which respect the use of the article, it well deserves particular notice.

It may be, however, that υἱὸς in this case is employed as a kind of *proper* name (just as *we* now use it); and on this account it omits the article, by a license usual in respect to proper names. So Bloomfield in his N. Test.

Some distinguished commentators have maintained, that the sentiment of Heb. i. 1, is in direct opposition to the opinion commonly received by the Christian fathers, and still very generally maintained, viz., that the Son of God made all the revelations to the ancient prophets; and that all the *theophanies* mentioned in the Old Testament, are to be ascribed to the *Logos*. These commentators suppose that their own views, in opposition to the sentiment of those fathers, are confirmed by Heb. ii. 1—4, where the *aggravated* guilt of those who reject the gospel which was revealed by the Son of God, is urged, and the writer grounds the fact of its *being aggravated*, upon the assumption that the law in ancient times was spoken only by the mediation of angels. But still, though this reasoning seems to be satisfactory at first view, it should be remembered that the writer is there, as well as in Heb. i. 1, speaking of the Son of God as *incarnate*, as possessing our nature and addressing us in it. In this manner he did not address the church in ancient times; and the emphasis may lie upon this circumstance; comp. John i. 14. For that the *Logos*, or Christ in his divine nature, did make revelations to the ancient church,

seems to be an obvious deduction from John xii. 41. 1 Co. x. 4. x. 9, and other like passages.

Ver. 2. "Ὁν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, *whom he has constituted Lord of all*, i. e. of the world. "Ἐθηκε, *constituted, appointed, ordained*; see Wahl on εἰσέημι, No. 3. In the same sense the Greeks employ εἰσέημι.

Κληρονόμον, *lord, possessor*, in accordance with the Heb. idiom. In classic Greek, κληρονόμος means, (1) *One who acquires any thing by lot.* (2) *One who inherits any thing after the death of the possessor.* The Son *inherited* the world in neither of these ways; consequently κληρονόμος here is employed in the manner of the Hebrew שָׁרַף, which means *to take into possession* in any manner, or simply *to acquire.* *To inherit* is only a *secondary* sense of שָׁרַף. The Latins employed *hæres* in a sense like that here assigned to κληρονόμος. Thus Justinian, Inst. II. 19. § ult., *Pro hærede gerere, est pro domino gerere*; veteres enim *hæredes pro dominis* appellabant. So Festus, *Hæres apud antiquos pro domino ponebatur*; comp. Gal. iv. 1. Acts ii. 36. x. 36. Ps. lxxxix. 27 [28]. John xvii. 10, which confirm the interpretation here given, as to the *senti-ment* which it conveys.

Δι' ἧ, *by whom.* It is contended here, that διὰ is not limited to signify the *instrumental cause* (so called), but that it often designates the *principal cause.* This is true; see Wahl on διὰ, l. c. where both the classical and New Testament usage of διὰ, in this sense, is shown. But there is still a philological *possibility* of the sense which Grotius gives it here, viz. *on account of whom*; see Wahl No. 2, and to the instances there adduced of διὰ used with the Gen., and signifying *on account of*, add Rom. v. 19 bis, viii. 3, and perhaps 2 Cor. ix. 13 and 2 Pet. i. 3, διὰ δόξης. In all these cases, however, διὰ does not properly denote the *final cause* or *end* for which a thing is done; but only a *motive* for doing it, an *instrument* as it were in bringing it about. To say that the worlds were made *on account of the Son*, as the final end or object of them, would imply something more than saying, or something different from saying, that they were made *by him.* The sense, however, which Grotius puts upon διὰ, cannot be defended by any examples sufficiently plain, or cogent enough, to justify the admission of it in this place.

Τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε, *he [i. e. Θεός] made the world.* So, beyond any reasonable doubt, αἰῶνες is to be understood in xi. 3, and in 1 Tim. i. 17. The singular (αἰών) is also occasionally employed to desig-

nate *world*; e. g. Mat. xiii. 40, 49. xxviii. 20. 1 Cor. iii. 18. Eph. i. 21. 1 Tim. vi. 17. The classical use of *αἰών* is, (1) *Age, period of time*. (2) *Age of man, time of life, life itself*. *Αἰῶνας*, then, is used here (like *עלמין, עלם*, in the Chaldee and later Hebrew,) for *world* or *worlds*. There appears to be no difference between the plural and singular form of *αἰών*, taken in the sense now in question; a case which is very frequent in regard to a great number of words in Greek and Hebrew; e. g. in respect to *מִשְׁכָּן, אֵל, ים*, etc., also *σάββατον, οὐρανός*, etc. The Hebrews do not appear to have had the idea of any other habitable worlds besides the earth. Hence if *αἰῶνες* be designed to have a *plural* meaning in the instances in Heb. i. 2. xi. 3. 1 Tim. i. 17, then the meaning must be *present world and future world*. But I apprehend the meaning of the writer to be simply, that 'God made the world by his Son;' in which, however, is involved the idea, that he made all things.

Theodoret explains it as meaning, *ages*; and so others have since done. But what is the sense of the assertion, that God made the *ages* by his Son? If we understand this of the common periods of the life of man; or, with Theodoret, of the ages of the world; or of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, with others; what is it to the writer's purpose to assert this, in a passage which is evidently designed to show the *exalted pre-eminence* of the Son of God? As to the sentiment conveyed by the interpretation which I have adopted, viz. *he made the world*, it is confirmed by Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 15—19. John i. 3, 10. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Heb. i. 10. See EXCURSUS I. II.; and for the sense of *αἰών*, comp. my essay on this word in the Spirit of the Pilgrims, Aug. 1829, pp. 423, 447 seq.

Ver. 3. "Ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. The ancient Greek commentators, and after them most of the modern ones, have applied these words to the *divine* nature of Christ. An examination of the imagery which they present is necessary in order to develope their real meaning.

Ἀπαύγασμα means *radiance, light flowing from a luminous body*, and is a derivate of *ἀπανγάζω*, i. q. *αὐγάζω*, *to shine, to emit splendour*. *Δόξα* in classical Greek means, 1. *Opinion, sentiment, supposition, maxim*. 2. *Fame, honour, reputation*. But in our text, it plainly means the same as the Hebrew *תְּבִצָּה* often does, viz. *splendour, brightness*; comp. Luke ii. 9. ix. 31. Acts xxii. 11. vii. 55. Mat. vi. 29. 1 Cor. xv. 41.

Χαρακτὴρ is properly *an engraving or stamping instrument, or a*

person who engraves or stamps. But it is very commonly employed for the *figure itself* or *the image engraved or stamped*, e. g. upon coins, stones, metal, wood, or wax. So our English version, *express image*, i. e. image expressed or stamped. Hence, because the resemblance between the figure enstamped and the instrument by which it is enstamped is so exact, χαράκτῃς also means *exact image, resemblance, or delineation*.

ὑπόστασις, in the classical sense anciently attached to it, means, 1. *Foundation, substratum, substructio.* 2. *Steadfastness.* 3. *Purpose, resolution, determination.* 4. *Substance, essence, being.* In the sense of *person*, it first began to be used by the Greek writers *after* the Arian controversy commenced. It was employed particularly in this way by Athanasius, in order that he might make a distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, while he maintained that the *persons* (πρόσωπα) in the Trinity were of one οὐσία, but yet were three ὑποστάσεις. The sense of *person*, then, being attached to this word long *after* the New Testament was written, it cannot be properly assigned to the word here. It plainly retains the more ancient meaning of *substance* or *essence*.

The nature of the imagery presented by the two phrases in our verse, may be thus explained. If God be represented to us under the image of *splendour*, or of a *luminary* or *source of light*, then is Christ the *radiance of that splendour*, or *the light emitted from that luminary*. That is, as a luminous body becomes perceptible in consequence of the light radiated from it, so God has manifested or exhibited himself to us in the person of his Son. To the same purpose John says, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed him," John i. 18. So again, "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father," xiv. 9; and again, "He that seeth me, seeth him that sent me," xii. 45. In Col. i. 15, Christ is called "the image of the invisible God," i. e. he by whom the invisible God is, as it were, presented to our inspection. In him God has exhibited to man the perfections of his character, i. e. has exhibited τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, which word is figuratively used to designate the divine perfections. So 2 Cor. iv. 6, δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, i. e. the divine perfections as displayed by Jesus Christ; a phrase of the like nature with that which I am endeavouring to explain.

Again; if God be represented under the image of ὑπόστασις, *substance, essence*, then is Christ the development of that substance to

our view; he is the *image, representation, or delineation* of it. As an image upon a coin presents the exact lineaments of the stamp which made it, so does Christ present the *χαράκτῆρ* of the Father; he presents us with his likeness, i. e. reveals to us, in his person and work, just and proper views of the perfections of the Father. In accordance with these views, the old Syriac version renders *ὑπόστασις αὐτοῦ* by ܡܝܬܐܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ *his substance*.

That both expressions are to be understood *figuratively*, is beyond all doubt; for God is not, in a *literal* sense, *splendour* or a *luminous substance*: nor is his *ὑπόστασις*, in itself considered, i. e. physically or metaphysically considered, capable of being represented to our senses.

In the opinion, that the verse now under consideration relates to the *incarnate* Messiah, and not to the Logos in his divine nature simply considered, I find that Scott and Beza concur; not to mention others among the most respectable commentators. See EXCURSUS III.

Φέγων . . . τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, sustaining, i. e. guiding, managing, controlling, the universe by his own powerful word. So Chrysostom; *Φέγων, τουτίστι κυβερνῶν, τὰ διαπίπτοντα συγκερατῶν, governing, holding together that which is ready to fall asunder or preserving that which is ready to perish.* So Paul says of Christ, as *ἐκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, that *he is before all things, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν*, Col. i. 17. *Φέγων* thus employed, corresponds to the Hebrew *נָשָׂא* as used in Is. xlv. 3. lxvi. 9, in the sense of *curo, conservo, to sustain, to preserve*, as a mother does her child. The Greeks sometimes joined *Φέγειν* and *ἀγειν* in the same phrase, in order to express the *administration of affairs*. *Τὰ πάντα* is a common expression in Greek, for the *universe*.

Τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, by his own powerful word. Such a mode of expression is not, as Ernesti names it, properly Hebraism; for it is very common in all languages, although more frequent in the oriental than in the occidental tongues. *Αὐτοῦ*, sc. *ἑαυτοῦ* (not *αὐτοῦ*), i. e. by *his own* powerful word, viz. the word of the Son, and not by the word of God as *αὐτοῦ* would mean. The meaning of the whole phrase is, ‘He directs and controls the universe by his own omnipotent word.’ It seems to be evidently an expression of the like nature with “God said, Let there be light, and there was light,” Gen. i. 3. also, “He spake, and it was done; he command-

ed, and it stood fast," Ps. xxxiii. 9. In other terms, 'The Son has the universe at the control of his mere *word*;' an expression signifying omnipotent, irresistible control. But inasmuch as the universe was created by him (verse 2,) it surely cannot appear strange that he who made it should control it.

Δι' ἑαυτοῦ . . . τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, *having by himself made expiation for our sins*. Καθαρισμός usually means *purification*; but in Hellenistic Greek it is also employed for *expiation*; e. g. in Ex. xxix. 36. xxx. 10, the Seventy use it for the Hebrew כִּפּוּר, *atonement, expiation*. That καθαρισμόν cannot be used here in the simple sense of *purification* by moral means, such as doctrine, etc., is evident from its being joined with δι' ἑαυτοῦ; which is explained in ii. 14, by διὰ τοῦ θανάτου; in ix. 12, by διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος; and in ix. 26, by διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ. This last expression I regard as the *full* form, expressing what is elliptically expressed in our text by δι' ἑαυτοῦ.

After he had thus by the sacrifice of himself made expiation for sin, ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, *he sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high*, i. e. of God in the highest heavens, οὐρανοῖς being understood after ὑψηλοῖς; or of *supreme majesty*, (see Wahl's Lex. on οὐρανός). The verb ἐκάθισεν here corresponds to the Hebrew יָשַׁב, which, applied to God and to kings, does not mean simply *to sit*, but *to sit enthroned, to sit on a throne*; e. g. Ps. ii. 4, and often, *To sit on a throne, or to sit at the right hand of one on a throne*, implies *commanding, ruling, judging*.

Μεγαλωσύνης, *majesty, magnificence*, מְגַלּוּת, גִּבּוֹרָה, הִגְדָּלָה. Here it is the *abstract*, as grammarians say, used for the *concrete*, i. e. on the right hand of the *majestic One* or the *magnificent One*, viz. יְהוָה הַגִּבּוֹר הַמְּגַלּוּת. So Liber Enochi (Fabricii Cod. Pseudep. V. T. p. 187), ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγαλωσύνης. See EXCURSUS IV.

Ver. 4. Τοσούτῳ κρείττων . . . ὄνομα, *being exalted as much above the angels, as he has obtained an appellation more honourable than they*. Κρείττων, *præstantior, augustior, of higher rank or place, eminentior*. Γενόμενος, *constituted, rendered, etc.* It is here applied to the elevation of the Son to the *mediatorial* throne, after his death. Διαφορώτερον, *more eminent, more distinguished*; παρ' αὐτούς, *than they*, i. e. than the angels. Παρά after the comparative degree, is not common out of this epistle; but the like examples are in Luke iii. 13. 3 Esd. iv. 35. It makes of itself a comparative degree, as used in Luke xiii. 2. Rom. i. 25. xiv. 5. Heb. i. 9. ii. 7. Κεκληρονόμηκε, *obtained*,

acquired, as in verse 2d. ὄνομα, either *name*, i. e. title as υἱός, or *rank, dignity*. Commentators are divided in opinion, respecting which of these meanings should be preferred. But the argument in the sequel shows, that the title SON is the ground on which the superiority of Christ over the angels is proved. If it be objected that angels are also called *sons*, and men too, the answer is easy. No one *individual* except Jesus, is ever called by way of eminence **THE SON of God**, i. e. the Messiah or the king of Israel, John i. 49.

The appeal is here made to Jewish readers of the Old Testament, who applied Ps. ii. 7 and 2 Sam. vii. 14 to the Messiah. In *such* a sense as in these passages, namely one that imported supreme dominion and authority, neither angels nor men were called *sons of God*. But Jesus bore this title, which according to the Jewish Scriptures was indicative of supreme dignity; and consequently he had an appellation of a more exalted nature than that of the angels, who are *servants* (i. 14), not lords.

Ver. 5. Τίμι γὰρ . . . γιγίνησθαι σε; *for to which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee?* Γιγίνησθαι σε must of course be *figuratively* understood. But how? In Ps. ii. the context shows that the expression here quoted has reference to Christ *as king*, as constituted king or lord over all; see vs. 6, 8, etc. *To beget* is metaphorical language suited to the name *Son*; but as *Son* here plainly means *the Messiah* or *the anointed King*, dropping the metaphor we come of course to the meaning, *constituted, made, appointed*, substantially like that of γινόμενος above.

In regard to σήμερον, which has been often construed as meaning *from eternity*, Theodoret has plainly expressed its true sense; οὐ τὴν αἰώνιον δηλοῖ γέννησιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῷ χρόνῳ συνευγμένην, *it does not express his eternal generation, but that which is connected with time*. For surely Christ was exalted to the mediatorial throne in time, i. e. after his resurrection; and such an exaltation is the subject of description in the second Psalm. Such a view of the meaning the context also demands, where his *acquired* condition is the particular subject of comparison with the rank and condition of the angels. So Chrysostom, after quoting vr. 5, says: ταῦτα εἰρηται μὲν εἰς τὴν σάρκα, *this is spoken concerning his human nature*. And so Paul, Acts xiii. 33 seq., explains the passage in Ps. ii. 7, quoted in the present verse.

Ἐγὼ ἴσομαι . . . εἰς υἱόν. In common Greek it would be, ἐγὼ ἴσομαι πατὴρ αὐτοῦ . . . υἱός μου. The form of expression αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, corresponds altogether to the Hebrew אֲנִי לֵאלֹהִים; and μοι εἰς υἱόν, to

לִי לְבָן, 2 Sam. vii. 14, whence the quotation is taken. The term *Son* seems here to designate one who should be entitled to all the rights and privileges of a son; and in particular, one who should be an heir to the throne of his Father. This same figurative expression, *heirship, being heir*, the writer has applied to the Son in the context, vs. 2, 4. Now as the angels are not entitled to *such* privileges, the appellation *Son*, which implies a *right* to them in this case, shows that he to whom it is applied, is elevated above the angels. And this is the position which the argument in Heb. i. is designed to establish.

If we may credit Abarbanel, the ancient Jewish doctors held that the Messiah would be exalted above Abraham, Moses, and the angels. However this may be, the apostle in applying this and the following quotations to the Messiah, must have supposed himself addressing those who would readily concede that they ought to be thus applied. Otherwise we cannot suppose that he could have regarded this mode of reasoning as at all efficacious, or adapted to convince those to whom he wrote.

Ver. 6. "Ὅταν δὲ πάλιν...λέγει, an exceedingly controverted, and somewhat difficult passage. Πάλιν is rendered *contra, ex adverso, in genere, on the other hand, on the contrary*, by some respectable commentators. But, although no doubt the word has such a meaning at times, yet here there does not seem to be any *antithesis* to the sentiment which precedes, but *accession*, i. e. a new argument is here added in order to show the dignity of the Son. Others join πάλιν with εισαγάγη, and render the phrase thus: *when he again introduces his first begotten into the world*. This seems to be the plainest and most obvious construction of the Greek as it now stands; but the difficulty with this interpretation is, that no introduction into the world has been before mentioned; to what, then, can a *second* introduction here relate?

I must therefore prefer another sense of πάλιν here, viz. *at another time, or rather, on another occasion*; a sense which the reader will see very clearly exhibited in John i. 35. viii. 12, 21. Acts xvii. 32. I would separate πάλιν here from the rest of the verse by commas, and then the whole runs on smoothly thus: *moreover when, on another occasion, he introduces his first begotten into the world, he saith*, etc. In this way of construing the phrase, I do not feel the need of seeking to vindicate a transposition or metathesis of ὅταν and πάλιν, by a reference to Rom. i. 20. v. 6. 1 Cor. i. 2.

with Kuinoel, or to Acts xii. 27. 1 Cor. iv. 18. 2 Cor. vii. 6, with Abresch, for examples of transposition. It is true that *καὶ πάλιν* is, in this epistle, the usual mode of designating repeated quotations from Scripture; see i. 5. ii. 13 bis, x. 30. But in all these examples, the quotations are intimately connected in respect to oneness of design, i. e. they relate very intimately to one and the same subject or position. But in the case before us, a *new* argument is introduced in order to establish or illustrate the dignity of Christ; and this is very appropriately introduced by employing *δέ*, instead of *καί*, which is used in the other examples just noticed; for *δέ* is often employed in such a way, although it never begins a sentence. I apprehend that the writer, in choosing *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν* instead of *πάλιν δὲ ὅταν*, meant plainly to distinguish his transition to a new topic, or rather, a new argument; for *πάλιν δὲ* would naturally have indicated the same connexion as *καὶ πάλιν*, which would not comport with the object of the author, who now passes to a new subject of consideration. This circumstance, which seems to be overlooked by the critics, so far as I know, appears to render any effort to account for a supposed metathesis, quite unnecessary.

Only one difficulty remains. What can be the meaning of *εἰσαγάγη ... οἰκουμένην*; The most simple and best established sense of *οἰκουμένην* is *world*, meaning (*pro re natâ*) either *habitable world*, or *world of men*. But what is it to *introduce* the first begotten to the world, or into the world? Does this relate to the birth of Christ, or to his mission as a teacher? So far as the language merely is concerned, it may be interpreted in either way. And in respect to historical facts one might say, after comparing Luke i. 11 seq. i. 26 seq. ii. 8 seq. that the writer of our epistle probably referred in his own mind, to the homage which angels paid the infant Saviour. But a re-examination of this whole subject has now led me to believe, that the laws of exegesis here require us to understand the writer as referring to *something said in the Old Testament* concerning Christ, in as much as he classes the words that follow, with other citations from the same Scriptures. On the same ground, also, I must now understand *εἰσαγάγη* as referring to an introduction of the Saviour into the world, which is described in the Old Testament Scriptures, and not to his actual introduction itself, considered simply as an historical fact. Most evidently the writer means to appeal to a passage of Scripture, which he regards as

having relation to the introduction of the Messiah among men. He means therefore to say, that ‘on another occasion [different from those he had just named], God says, when speaking of the Messiah as introduced into the world, Let all the angels,’ etc. The usage of the sacred writers in speaking of that which is declared to be done, or predicted as being done by the prophets who make such declaration or utter such prediction, is well known; e. g. Jer. i. 10. Is. vi. 10, etc.

Πρωτόγονος, so far as the etymology is concerned, may mean *first-born* or *first-begotten*. The latter is the sense here, because the Son is here considered as related to the Father. But the title *first-begotten* I do not regard as having reference here to time merely or principally, but, like the Heb. בְּכֹרֶת, meaning the Son who has the preeminence above all things, and is destined to the throne of the kingdom.

There is scarcely room for any doubt, moreover, that the writer means to quote here from Ps. xcvi. 7. See EXCURSUS VI. The Jews, as Kimchi declares, construed Ps. xciii.—ci. as having relation to the Messiah. Whatever may be true in regard to this, however, as to most of these psalms, it is clear that there is nothing in Ps. xcvi. which contradicts the exegesis that Paul here puts upon it. The whole psalm may very well be understood as referring to the ushering in of the gospel-dispensation, the new and glorious reign of Jehovah, the true kingdom of God; and this by means of the Messiah whose reign is now to be established, and who is to be acknowledged as Lord of all. I concede that this is not a necessary interpretation, so far as the mere words of the psalm are concerned; but, with such a leader as Paul, we may well follow the interpretation given in the verse before us, since no important objections can be raised against it in the way of philology. Some difficulties not here noticed, are touched upon in the Excursus; to which I must refer the reader.

Καὶ . . . ὁδοῦ. Καὶ here exhibited does not appear in Ps. xcvi. 7 (Sept. xcvi. 7). I regard it, therefore, as an *intensive* particle here, added by the apostle with the design of expressing strongly the Hebrew וְשָׁתַחֲוָה. I have not expressed it in the translation; but one might render the phrase thus: *let all the angels of God indeed worship him, or even pay him obeisance or adoration*. Whether the *worship* here spoken of is *spiritual*, seems to be in some good measure determined by the nature of the beings who are commanded

to render it. *Civil* homage can hardly be predicated of angels. Still the worship in question is, no doubt, the homage paid to him who is constituted King and Lord over the new and universal empire, the kingdom of God, which the xcvi. Psalm celebrates as being established.

Calvin's view of the whole exactly coincides with the interpretation above. In respect to Ps. xcvi. he says: Si... totum Psalmum percurras, nihil aliud videbis quam regnum Christi... nec aliud est argumentum Psalmi, quam veluti solenne diploma, quo in ejus regni possessionem mittitur Christus. Of εἰσαγωγή he says: Apte hic apostolus, quum dicit ipsum *introduci in orbem*, quia scilicet illic ejus ad homines *adventus describitur*.

Ver. 7. Καὶ πρὸς μὲν ... πνεύς, *with respect to the angels, also, he saith, Who maketh his angels winds, and his ministering servants flaming fire*; i. e. who maketh his angels that serve him the ministers of his will, as the winds and the lightning are. The Hebrew וְשָׁרֵי לֵשֶׁת, and Greek πνεύς φλόγα, often mean *lightning*; as plainly they do here. The whole phrase is susceptible of another interpretation; viz., who making his angels winds, i. e. swift as the winds, and his servants lightning, i. e. rapid, or terrible, or resistless as the lightning. But this does not suit the design for which the apostle quotes it, so well as the first interpretation. His object is to show, that the angels are employed simply in a *ministerial* capacity; while the Son is *Lord* of all. Our English version, which has rendered רוחות (Ps. civ. 4) by *spirits*, gives an erroneous view of the meaning of the original.

Others construe the Hebrew original thus: *who maketh the winds his messengers, and the lightning his servants*: and they defend this by alleging, that the context in the psalm shows the design of the writer to be only to declare the glory of God as displayed in the *visible* creation; consequently it is inapposite to suppose him here to be speaking of the *angels* as an order of *invisible* intelligent beings. But in Ps. civ. 1—3, the *invisible* as well as *visible* majesty of God is described; and it is natural that the writer should proceed, and augment the force of his description, by introducing the angels as the ministering servants of the Deity. Besides, the Hebrew does not allow us properly to translate, *who maketh the winds his angels or messengers*. In order to mean this, the Hebrew must be written עָשָׂה מְלָאכָיו רוחות, and not, as now, עָשָׂה מְלָאכָיו;

תַּחֲמוֹת comp. Ps. civ. 3, וְשָׁם עֲבִים רְכוּבוֹ, which surely cannot be rendered, "Who maketh his chariot clouds."

Καὶ . . . μὲν, the καὶ I take here to be a *continuative* (as it often is) which is equivalent to *moreover, also, etiam*. As to μὲν it stands here as the sign of the *protasis* in the sentence to which it belongs, but, as is very often the case in such instances, is incapable of being translated; see Bretschneider Lex. μὲν, II.

It would seem that the nom. to λέγει here cannot be θεός, for then the quotation would naturally be in the *first* person, as it is in vr. 5 above. The nom. is probably ἡ γραφή or ὁ νόμος. Λέγει may be rendered in the passive voice, to avoid expressing the nom., since the writer has not expressed it; and so Storr and Schulz, *heißt es, it is said*. So the usual appeal in the Mishna, רָמַזְנוּ. Compare also φησί, in 1 Cor. vi. 16. And in this view of the subject Boehme coincides. The quotation in our verse is from Ps. civ. 4.

Ver. 8, 9. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν . . . αἰώνιος, *but respecting the Son* [it is said], *Thy throne, O God, is eternal*. Θρόνος is plainly the emblem of *dominion*; because kings, when acting in their capacity as rulers, were accustomed to sit on thrones. Ὁ θεός is not the *nom.* case, as some have maintained, but the *vocative*. It is the usual voc. and nearly the only form of it, throughout the Septuagint; e. g. Ps. iii. 7. iv. 1. v. 10. vii. 1, et passim. The Attics, moreover, frequently retain the form of the nom. in the voc. of the second declension; Buttman's Gram. sect. 36. note 2. To translate thus, *God is thy throne*, would be to introduce a mode of expression foreign to the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures; for where is God ever said to be the *throne of his creatures*? And what could be the sense of such an expression? *Throne* is the emblem of *dominion*, not of support. So Theoph., Θρόνος γὰρ . . . ὁ βασιλείας σύμβολον. Figuratively used, as here, it is of the same import as *sceptre*, ῥάβδος. Gesenius formerly rendered the phrase, *thy God's throne is eternal*, i. e. the throne which God gives thee. But must not the Hebrew then be תַּחֲמוֹת נְסִינָה? the pronoun following the second of the two nouns in regimen, according to the usual custom, Heb. Gramm. sect. 473. a. A different construction is possible, perhaps, as Ps. lxxi. 7. Ezek. xvi. 27. Lev. vi. 3 may lead one to believe. In order to make out the meaning which Gesenius gives, it would seem necessary to admit an ellipsis here; e. g. [נְסִינָה] תַּחֲמוֹת נְסִינָה, which will bear such a sense; although no parallel to this

sense, I believe, can be found. And so Gesenius, in the recent edition of his lexicon. The more natural sense would be, 'Thou hast a part in the throne of God,' or 'Thou art seated on God's throne;' which would come substantially to the same sense as I have given above.

'Ράβδος εὐθύτητος... σου, *a sceptre of justice is the sceptre of thy kingdom, or thy reign is just.* The former clause declares the *perpetuity* of the Son's reign; the present one, its *equitable nature*. Both speak of the future. It is quite plain, too, that the two clauses are a poetic parallelism, as they belong to Ps. xlv. 7; and also that the subject of both clauses is the same, viz. the dominion or reign of the Son or Messiah.

Ver. 9. 'Ηγάπησας ... ἀνομίαν, *thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity*, i. e. thou hast been "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners;" thou hast been perfectly innocent and upright, altogether obedient to the divine law; comp. Phil. ii. 8, seq. Such a negative form of expression as καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν, following an affirmative one, is very common in the Scriptures, and is designed to give intensity to the affirmative assertion which precedes it; comp. John i. 8, 20, et al. sæpe.

Διὰ τοῦτο ... ἀγαλλιάσεις; *because of this, O God, thy God has anointed thee with the oil of gladness.* But the phrase is equally susceptible of the rendering, *God, thy God, has anointed thee*, etc.; and this without any alteration of the general sense of the passage. Theophylact, however, thought otherwise; for he says, "ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὧ θεὸς ἐστίν, as our enemy Symmachus (here a credible witness) affirms, who renders the Hebrew thus, θεὸς, ὁ θεός σου."

Ἐλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεις, i. e. κατ' ἔλαιον. Kings were anointed with oil, in order to consecrate them to their office; see Acts iv. 27. Ps. ii. 6. 1 Sam. x. 1. xvi. 13. Sirach xlvi. 13. Perfumed oil or precious ointment was often employed, also, on festive occasions; and honoured guests at an entertainment were frequently bedewed with it. But ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεις here appears to mean *the oil of consecration to office*, viz. the office of king, to which the Messiah was promoted in consequence of his obedience, comp. Phil. ii. 8. seq. As to the phrase *oil of gladness*, it means perfumed or odoriferous oil, which was exhibited and used on occasions where there was much festivity and gladness. A joyful occasion would be the coronation season of the king Messiah, when the most precious and costly oil would be used to anoint him for his office.

Παρά τοὺς μετόχους σου, lit. *in comparison with thine associates*, i. e. in office, viz. kings. God has bestowed a higher reward, a greater honour on the king Messiah, than on any other kings. He has made him ‘King of kings and Lord of lords.’

Thus much for the *words*. The general *sentiment* remains to be stated. The words are quoted from Ps. xlv. 6, 7. That this whole psalm relates to the Messiah, has been generally believed by Jewish and Christian commentators; and it is at last acknowledged by Rosenmueller, in the second edition of his *Comm. in Psalmos*. All other explanations seem liable to insuperable difficulties; and this, one may hope, will soon be universally felt and acknowledged.

That the whole psalm relates to the Messiah, however, as *mediatorial* king, can scarcely be doubted by any one who compares together all its different parts. This king is called מָלֵךְ, θεός. Does the word θεός here denote the *divine* or the *kingly* nature or condition of the Messiah? Most interpreters, who admit the doctrine of the Saviour’s divine nature, contend for the first of these senses; as I have myself once done, in a former publication. But further examination has led me to believe, that there are grounds to doubt of such an application of the word θεός in this passage. The king here called θεός, has for himself a θεός; “*thy God* hath anointed *thee*.” The same king has *associates* (μετόχους), i. e. others who in some respects are in a similar condition or office. As *divine*, who are the μέτοχοι with the Saviour, to whom he is preferred? Besides, his equity, his government, his state, as described in Ps. xlv., are all such as belong to the king *Messiah*. Now as *Elohim* is a title sometimes given to kings or magistrates, (see in Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6, comp. John x. 35, for in Ex. vii. 1 and iv, 16 it is a different case), although no *one individual* king or magistrate is ever called simply *Elohim*, may not this title be applied in a sense altogether *peculiar* and *preeminent* to the Messiah as king, designating his great superiority over all other kings, and distinguishing him as σύνθετος with God, as ‘King of kings, and Lord of lords?’ Rev. xvii. 14. Comp. Heb. i. 3, and the note on ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ κ. τ. λ. Such an explanation, to say the least, removes some of the difficulties which attend the usual one; while the following verses leave no just room to doubt what was the opinion of the writer of our epistle, in regard to the divine nature of the Messiah.

The *perpetuity* of the kingdom mentioned here, may be the same as that in Luke i. 33; with which, however, it may be well to

compare 1 Cor. xv. 24—28. Indeed it must be such, allowing the kingdom of the Messiah to be the one which is here meant.

Ver. 10. Καὶ, σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, . . . ἐθεμελίωσας, *also* [it is said], *Thou, Lord, in the beginning didst lay the foundation of the earth.* This verse is, by construction, necessarily connected with the preceding ones; vr. 7, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει—vr. 8, πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν [λέγει]—vr. 10, καὶ i. e. πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν λέγει]. An address to Jehovah here, considered simply as creator, is utterly irrelevant to the scope of the writer, and to the object which he evidently has in view. Both the grammatical construction and the plain design of the passage, unite in declaring this.

Κατ' ἀρχάς, for which the Heb. (Ps. cii. 25) has לְפָנֶיךָ, *of old, formerly*, equivalent to בְּרֵאשִׁית in Gen. i. 1. Κύριε, in the New Testament and Septuagint, corresponds both to יְיָ and לַיָּה or יְהוָה in the Hebrew. Here it corresponds to לַיָּה, in Ps. cii. 24, Sept. Ἐθεμελίωσας, *thou hast laid the foundation*; θεμελιόω, applied to a building, has this sense. But here it is, of course, applied in a figurative manner, to designate the original and primary act of creation, so to speak; viz. that act which may be compared to what a workman does when he lays the foundation of a building. The Son, therefore, did not merely arrange or set in order the materials of creation already brought into being, but laid the foundation of the universe, i. e. performed the original act or first work, viz. that of bringing it into being.

* Ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, יְיָ יִצְחָק, *the work of thy hands*, i. q. thy work. The phrase is borrowed from the fact, that *hands* are the instruments by which men usually perform any operation; and this is like other human operations and affections, figuratively transferred to God. Οἱ οὐρανοί means all parts of the creation except the earth; see Gen. i. 1. The Hebrews designated the sun, moon, and stars, i. e. all the visible creation besides the earth, by the word שָׁמַיִם, *heavens*.

Ver. 11. Αὐτοί, *they*, i. e. the heavens and the earth. Σὺ δὲ διαμενεῖς, (Hebrew יָדָמְךָ), *thou shalt continue, be permanent, stand fast.* It is the opposite of ἀπολοῦνται. Παλαιωθήσονται *shall wax old*, a word which, applied to a garment, the image here used, means *to go into a state of decay or desuetude, to become unfit for use.* Hence the metaphorical language that follows.

Ver 12. Καὶ ὡσεὶ . . . αὐτοὺς, *and as a vesture shalt thou fold them*

up. ἑλξεις means *to fold up, to roll together*. The heavens are often represented as an *expanse* (שָׁמַיִם), and *rolling them up* means, of course, *to remove them*. The language, however, in the case before us, is borrowed from the custom of *folding up* and *laying aside* garments, which have become unfit for use. The Hebrew word, for which ἑλξεις is put, is הָלַחְתָּ, *thou shalt change, remove*. Ἀλλαγήσονται, *they shall decay, they shall be changed*, i. e. be removed, taken away, or *shall pass away*, Hebrew הָלַחְתָּ, Ps. cii. 26. Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 10. Is. li. 6, also xxxiv. 4, where the image is fully presented. Σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ (Heb. אַתָּה הוּא), *thou art he*, viz. he who liveth for ever, *thou art always the same*. So the sequel leads us to interpret this. Τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι, *thy years shall never cease or fail*, i. e. shall never come to an end.

This would be true, if it was spoken merely with reference to the future, and should be construed as having respect only to eternity *a parte post*, as it is technically called, i. e. eternity to come. But as it stands here, in connexion with having created the heavens and the earth κατ' ἀρχάς, it can hardly be understood to mean less than absolute eternity, or eternity *a parte ante et a parte post*. See EXCURSUS VII.

Ver. 13. Πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων . . . δεξιῶν μου, *but unto which of the angels has he ever said, Sit at my right hand*. That is, where is any example of his addressing any one of the angels, and asking him *to sit at his right hand*, i. e. to be σύνθερος with him? See on δεξιᾷ μεγαλοσύνης, under vr. 3 above.

Ἔως ἂν θῶ . . . ποδῶν σου, *until I shall make thine enemies thy footstool*, i. e. reduce them to the most entire subjection. These words are quoted from Ps. cx. 1 (Sept. cix. 1), and are applied to the Messiah. *To make enemies a footstool*, is an expression borrowed from the custom in ancient times, of treading upon the necks of captives and captive kings on the occasion of celebrating a triumph over them, and in token of their complete prostration and subjection; see Joshua x. 24, and often so in Homer. *Enemies* signifies all such as are opposed to the doctrines or duties of the Christian religion. In Ps. cx. 1, the Messiah is invited *to sit at the right hand of God*, (i. e. at his right hand on his throne, comp. Rev. iii. 21), *until* (ἕως, ἕως ἂν) *his enemies should be utterly subdued?* But what follows this period, when they shall have been thus subdued? The apostle has told us. It is the *mediatorial* throne to which the

Messiah is exalted; it is to him as *constituted* king, that his enemies are to be brought in subjection; and when this is accomplished, the *mediatorial* throne and reign, *as such*, are to cease. So 1 Cor. xv. 24—28 seems to assure us.

Ver. 14. How different the station and employment of angels from those of the Messiah! He is *σύνθετος* with God, and commands the universe; they are spirits employed merely as ministers to execute his will. Are they not all *λειτουργικά πνεύματα*; Comp. 1 K. xxii. 19. Zech. iii. 5—7. Dan. vii. 10. Is. vi. 1. Luke i. 19. By the Rabbins, the angels are frequently named *מַלְאָכֵי דְּשִׁירָתָא*, *angeli ministerii*. *Εἰς διακονίαν*, *for ministering, in order to serve, for the aid of*. *Διακονία* means any kind of service or assistance whatever. It is here said to be performed *διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας πληροῦσαι σωτηρίαν*, *on account of those who are to obtain salvation*, i. e. on account of Christians who are the heirs of future glory or happiness, or who will obtain it.

Whatever may be the opinion of some modern critics, in regard to the real existence of angels as intelligent beings; it appears quite clear, that the writer of our epistle regarded them as such. To have instituted, a comparison between the Son of God on the one hand, and mere *abstract qualities* or *imaginary beings* on the other, would not seem to be very apposite, at least not apposite to any serious purpose. And if the writer looked upon angels as only *imaginary* beings or personifications of qualities, with what propriety or consistency could he represent them as worshipping the Son of God, or as ministering to the saints? But Ps. cii. 3 is first erroneously translated, *he maketh the winds his angels, and flaming fire his servants*, *λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ*, and it is then used as a proof that the *elements* themselves are called angels. Hence it is concluded, that it is unnecessary to suppose angels to be an order of real intelligent beings. But as this translation is not well grounded (see on vr. 7), any such conclusion built upon it cannot be stable. That the sacred writers every where regard angels, and speak of them, as intelligent beings having a *real* existence, appears so plain, that it would seem as if no one, who is not strongly wedded to his own *a priori* and philosophical reasoning, could venture to deny it.

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. Διὰ τοῦτο, *on this account, therefore*, i. e. since Christ, who is at the head of the new dispensation, is so much exalted above the angels who were the mediators of the old (see vr. 2), *it becomes us*, etc. Ἡμᾶς, *us* by κοίνωσις, i. e. a method of speaking in which the writer includes himself with those whom he addresses. See sect. xxvii. 17, of the Introduction.

Προσέχειν is elliptical, προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν is the full expression, and means *attendere, to give heed to*. Abresch thinks it is here equivalent to ἀντίχεισθαι, *retinere, tenaciter adherere*; which Dindorf also favours. But evidently this is unnecessary, inasmuch as περισσότηρως is connected with it, and designates the *intensity* of mind with which attention should be paid to the things that the Son of God reveals. Ἀκουσθεῖσι, *things heard*, are the truths and doctrines of the Christian religion which had been declared to them; see vs. 3, 4.

Παραρῥυῶμεν, a long contested and difficult word. Two senses have been principally contended for; (a) *To fall, to stumble, or to perish*. This sense Chrysostom and Theophylact give it: παραρῥυῶμεν, τουτίσσι, ἀπολώμεθα, ἐκπίσωμεν. Both illustrate it by the proverbial saying, addressed to a child, υἱέ, μὴ παραρῥυῖς, Prov. iii. 21, in order to guard him against stumbling. In like manner Theodoret represents the word as spoken here, ἵνα μὴ τινα ὀλισθόν ὑπομείνωμεν, *so that we may not suffer a lapse, or may not stumble, fall*. So Suidas explains it by παραπίσωμεν; Hesych. by ἐκπίσωμεν; Lex. Cyrilli, μὴ παραρῥυῖς· μὴ ἐκπίσης, μὴ παρασύρης. The Syriac and Arabic interpreters have rendered it, *that we may not fall*. Alberti and Matthiæ, with many modern critics, assign to it the same sense. The idea connected with *stumbling, falling*, by this class of commentators, is not that of transgression, but of *punishment, of destruction*; as is evident from the whole of their illustrations, when compared each with himself and with the others.

But, although this view of the word has been often given, none of the passages adduced from the Greek writers, and alleged to justify it, seem adequate for this purpose. Wetstein has collected a large number of passages, which contain the word in question. But most of them are only such as designate the well known senses of the word παραρῥύω, viz. *to flow, to flow by*; as τῷ παρὰ πόλιν παραρῥύει

ῥέοντι ποταμῷ, Plutarch; πρὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ, Xen.; *to flow into*, as παραρρεῖς . . . εἰς τὸ στόμα ἰδρῶς, Galen; in all which cases the word is applied to the flowing of *liquids*; *to flow out*, as εἴ τις ἀφροδίσιος λόγος παραρρεῖ, Ælian. In some cases the word is figuratively applied to locomotion in men; as παραρρεῖς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν νεῶν [ναὸν] τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Plutarch. None of these instances justify the sense of *perishing, falling into ruin*.

(b) The other sense contended for, is that of *suffering to flow from the mind or memory*, i. e. to forget. That παραρρεῖν is frequently applied to things that glide or pass away from the mind, is well established. E. g. "Many who seem to be believers . . . need, for the sake of remembering . . . examples drawn from objects of sense . . . ἵνα μὴ τέλειον παραρρεῖ, *so that they will not entirely escape*, i. e. from the mind, Origen contra Celsum, p. 393." "That τὰ καλὰ may not be merely temporary, καὶ μὴ παραρρεῖ λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενα, *and may not escape* [flow away], being obscured in the abysses of forgetfulness," Greg. Nazianz. So Lucian: "εἴ τι ἐν τῷ ποιήσεως ὁρόμῳ παραρρεῖν λάθῃ, *if any thing flowing away* [escaping] *in the poetic course is forgotten*," Diss. cum Hesiod. 5. So in Latin, "frustra docemur, si quidquid audimus *præterfluat* [παραρρεῖ], Quintil. XI. 2." "It cannot enter into the mind of the judge, ante enim *præterlabitur* quam percepta est, *for it glides away* before it is apprehended," Cicero de Orat. II. 25.

But in all these cases παραρρεῖν is applied only to *things*, and not to *persons*. That *a thing* παραρρεῖ, *should escape* from me, and that *I* should be said παραρρεῖν in respect to that thing, are two very different expressions; and consequently all the instances above, which have been adduced by learned critics, do not meet the difficulty of the case. Παραρρεῖμεν is applied in our text to *persons*, not to *things*, as in the above quotations.

In the classics, I have been able to find no example which is in point for our case. The Septuagint have used the word but once, Prov. iii. 21, οὐκ, μὴ παραρρεῖς, τήρησον δὲ ἐμὴν βουλήν καὶ ἔννοιαν, *son, do not pass by* [neglect], *but keep my counsel and advice*. This is the very proverb to which Chrysostom and Theophylact appeal, as an illustration of the word in question; but the true sense of this word, in Prov. iii. 21, they do not seem to have apprehended. Παραρρεῖς here plainly does not mean to *perish, to fall*, but it is the antithesis of τήρησον, *keep, attend to, practise*, and consequently means *to pass by, to neglect, to transgress*. In like manner Clemens Alex.,

speaking of women, says, "They are bound by virtuous modesty, *ἵνα μὴ παραρῥύωσι τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ χαυνότητα*, *not to neglect* [pass by or transgress] the truth on account of effeminate weakness," *Pedagog.* III. p. 246. These two instances seem to meet the wants of our case, as *παραρῥύω* is here applied to *persons*.

The sense which our passage demands, is better made out by following these examples than in any other way. The writer of our epistle need not be understood as designing to say, in chap. ii. 1, *Take heed or you will perish*; for he speaks of *punishment* immediately afterwards, in ii. 2. The explanation of Chrysostom, then, and of the great number of critics who have followed him, seems not to be adequately supported by the nature of the context, nor by any classic example in point. The other explanation, *lest we should let them slip, lest we should not retain them, lest they should glide away*, may be regarded as an approximation to the right meaning of the word. Plainly *μὴ παραρῥύωμεν*, here applied to *persons*, may mean *lest we should pass by*, viz. the things which we have heard, *lest we should neglect them, lest we should transgress* [pass beyond] *them*; for so the writer himself seems to have explained it in the context. *For if*, says he, every *πράσις* and *παρακοή* received a due reward [under the law of Moses], *how shall we escape punishment, ἃ μὲλ ἤσαντες, having neglected so great salvation*. That *ἀμελήσαντες* here refers to the same thing which is designated by *παραρῥύωμεν*, appears on the whole to be probable; for first the writer exhorts them 'to attend diligently to what they had heard, lest they should *pass by* or *neglect* it;' and then he says 'if they *do neglect* it (*ἀμελήσαντες*), punishment will be the certain consequence, a punishment more severe than that inflicted on transgressors under the law.' So Calvin: *Attendere et præterfluere sunt opposita . . . neque enim eorum opinionem probō, qui pro interire accipiunt [παραρῥύωμεν]*. Consideranda est antithesis inter retentionem et profusionem.

The same sentiment is obtained, if we compare *παραρῥύωμεν* with the preceding *περισσοτέρως . . . προσέχιν*. Now as *προσέχιν* means *to attend diligently, to give heed*, so *παραρῥύωμεν* would seem to mean *to treat with neglect, to be ἀμελήσαντες*, as it is expressed in the following verse. In a word, the sentiment is, '*diligent attention to the truths of the gospel is necessary to guard us against neglect or transgression; which neglect is followed by certain and aggravated condemnation.*' Kuinoel attributes to *παραρῥύωμεν* the twofold sense

of apostasy and destruction, p. 45. But is it not the fact, that the παράλασις and ἀμελήσαντες of vr. 2, are epexegetical of παραρῥυῶμεν? I acknowledge it is possible that πῶς ἐκφυζόμεθα may be the epexe-gesis of it; and in this case, παραρῥυῶμεν must have the sense which Chrysostom gives to it, viz. *lest we perish*.

If an apology be due for dwelling so long on the verbal criticism of this word, it is, that the word has been so long contested, and so unsatisfactorily illustrated.

Ver. 2. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος, *if the communication* [revelation] *made by angels*. The Jewish law is undoubtedly the λόγος δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς, in this case. The meaning is, that angels were present and assisted at the giving of the law. See EXCURSUS VIII.

Ἐγένετο βέβαιος, *was ratified, was made firm and stable*, i. e. its threatenings and promises were exactly fulfilled; nothing which the law declared was null, or failed of being carried into execution. Compare Rom. iv. 16. Heb. ix. 17. 2 Pet. i. 19.

Καὶ πᾶσα παράλασις καὶ παρακοή, *every transgression and act of disobedience*. The words are nearly or quite synonymous by usage, both of them being employed in a secondary or derived sense. Παράλασις (from παραλαίνω) literally means *going beyond, passing by* any thing; but it is here applied to a moral action. So παρακοή comes from παρακούω, which means (1) *To hear in a careless or negligent manner*. (2) *To disobey*, i. e. it is the opposite of ἀκούω *to hear, or to obey*. Παράλασις καὶ παρακοή, taken together, mean *every kind of transgression, or every kind of offence against the law*.

Ἐνδίκον μισθαποδοσίαν, *just retribution, or condign punishment*. Μισθαποδοσία designates the reward of retributive justice, i. e. punishment, as well as the reward for virtuous conduct; and this, in heathen as well as sacred writers.

Ver. 3. Πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφυζόμεθα, *how shall we escape?* viz. escape the μισθαποδοσίαν reserved for transgressors; compare Heb. xii. 25. So Rom. ii. 3, ἐκφεύγειν τὸ κρίμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. So Æsch. Eumen. ver. 756, ἐκφεύγειν αἵματος δίκην.

Τηλικαύτης σωτηρίας, i. e. the Christian religion; for so the word σωτηρία sometimes signifies; comp. Jude vr. 3, perhaps Rom. xi. 11. and Heb. vi. 9. The full phrase would seem to be ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας, which is found in Acts xiii. 26. It is, however, the Christian religion with all its promised blessings and tremendous threats, which is here designated by σωτηρία. How can we escape with impunity *if we neglect* (ἀμελήσαντες) them? Ἀμελήσαντες here

means more, however, than simple *neglect*; it is plainly emphatic in this connexion, and means *to treat with utter disregard or contempt*, such namely as would be implied in an apostasy.

Ἦτις ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα λαλεῖσθαι, equivalent to ἐν ἀρχῇ λαληθεῖσα, *which was at first declared or published*. The Greeks often use the phrase ἀρχὴν λαλῶν, to signify *at first*, or *taking its rise, commencing its origin*. Τοῦ Κυρίου, viz. Christ.

ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαιώθη, *was confirmed unto us by those who heard [him], i. e. the Lord, or by those who heard [it], i. e. the gospel, σωτηρίαν*. Ἐβεβαιώθη here means *delivered or declared with confirmation to us*, i. e. Christians. So Theophylact, διεπορευμένη εἰς ἡμᾶς βεβαίως καὶ πιστῶς, *was propagated to us surely and faithfully*. Because the writer here says εἰς ἡμᾶς, some critics, as we have seen, draw the conclusion that Paul could not have been the author of this epistle, since he received the gospel immediately from Christ himself, Gal. i. 12, and not from those who heard the Saviour declare it. But Cicero says, in one of his orations, *NOS perdimus rempublicam*. Shall we conclude that he did not write the oration, because he did not himself destroy the republic? See on ἡμᾶς, under vr. 1, and see also Introduction, sec. 27. No. 17.

Ver. 4. Συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασι, *God attesting, being co-witness, viz. to the truth of what was preached, by various wonderful events*. Σημεῖον, as used often in the New Testament and in the Septuagint, means *any extraordinary sign or miraculous event*, designed to show the certainty that something which had been promised or predicted should take place, or that a prophet was what he professed to be. Τέρας, *portentum, prodigium, miracle*, has nearly the same meaning, and is very commonly joined with σημεῖον in the New Testament. Both connected mean *various extraordinary events or prodigies*, designed to confirm, establish, or render credible, any prediction or declaration of Christ, or of his messengers. Hea-then writers sometimes employ both words in connexion; e. g. Ælian, Var. Hist. XII. 57. The corresponding Hebrew phrase is *ומופתים ותאות*, *signs and wonders*, i. e. wonderful signs or proofs of any thing. Such the people of God often required, and such were often given. See Gen. xv. 8—18. xxiv. 12—27. Judges vi. 17, 21, 36—40. 2 K. xix. 29. Is. xxxviii. 7, 8. vii. 14—16, et alibi. Comp. Matt. xii. 38. xvi. 1—3.

Καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσι, *and various miraculous powers*. Sometimes δύναμις is put for *miracle*, as Matt. vii. 22. xi. 20, 21, 23, et alibi.

But as *σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν* denote *miraculous events*, in our verse, I understand *δυνάμεισι* as referring here to the *miraculous powers* which were imparted to the primitive teachers of the Christian religion. In such a sense the word is employed, in Mark vi. 14. Acts vi. 8. x. 38. The Septuagint do not employ this word to translate either *אֵי* or *מוֹפְתִים*, but always use *σημεῖον* and *τέρατα*.

What follows is connected with the phrase just explained; viz. *καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς*, literally, *and distributions of the Holy Spirit*, i. e. the imparting of divine influence; which refers particularly to the various species of this influence which consisted in the power of working miracles; see 1 Cor. xii. 6—11. Compare also John vii. 39. Acts i. 5, 8. ii. 4, 17, 18, 83. v. 32. viii. 15, 19. x. 44—47. xix. 1—6. *Ποικίλαις δυνάμεισι . . . καὶ μερισμοῖς*, if considered as a hendiadys (*ἐν διὰ δυοῶν*), may thus be rendered, *various miraculous powers imparted by divine influence*.

Κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν, *as it seemed good in his [God's] sight*, i. e. *as he pleased*, or *as the Holy Spirit pleased*; which last is favoured by 1 Cor. xii. 6—11, and to this I have conformed the pointing of my translation.

The sum of the whole warning (vs. 1—4) is, 'Beware that you do not slight the gospel, whose threatenings are more to be dreaded than those of the law; inasmuch as the gospel is a revelation of a higher nature, and has been confirmed by more striking and more abundant miracles wrought by divine power.'

The writer, after having thus stopped for a moment to warn his readers against the consequences of defection from Christianity, returns to his subject, viz. the comparison of Christ with the angels. Having established, by appeals to the Old Testament, i. 5—14, the superiority of the former over the latter in several points of view, he now proceeds to show that the new or Christian dispensation was not ordered or arranged, like the Mosaic one, by angels, but that the Son of Man, the Messiah, was, in his human nature, placed at the head of it. Now as the Jews, one and all, conceded that the dispensation of the Messiah would be of a higher order than that of Moses, proof that Jesus was the sole mediator or head of the new dispensation, and that angels were not employed as mediators or *intermediis* in it, would satisfy them that Jesus was superior to the angels; since the place which he holds in the *new* economy, is higher than that which they had under the *old*, because the new economy itself is of a higher nature than the old. At the same time, an objection which a Jew, weak in Christian faith and strong in his attachment to the Mosaic institutions, would very naturally feel, is met and tacitly answered by the apostle in what follows. The unbelieving Jews doubtless urged upon those who professed attachment to Christianity, the seeming absurdity of renouncing their subjection to a dispensation of which *angels* were the mediators, and of acknowledging a subjection to one of which the professed head and mediator appeared *in our nature*. The history of the objections made by the unbelieving Jews, to the claims of Jesus as being the Son of God, John x. 30—39 et alibi, shows how very repulsive it was to their feelings, that one to all appearance like a man, and consisting of flesh and blood in the same manner as themselves, should advance a claim to the exalted honours of a superior and divine nature. The sect of Ebionites, which arose even in the apostolic age from professed Jewish Christians in Palestine, shows how prone the Jewish Christians were to feel doubts and difficulties about the claims of Jesus to a nature higher

than the human, and to which divine honours were due. No wonder, then, that the apostle found it necessary to meet in our epistle, those doubts and difficulties with regard to the superior nature of the Christian dispensation, which were urged upon the minds of Jewish converts by the unbelieving Jews who regarded Christ as a mere man. We shall see, however, that the author disposes of this difficulty, so as to further the great purpose of his general argument.

He concedes the fact entirely, that Jesus had a nature truly and properly human, vs. 6—18. But, instead of granting that this proves the new dispensation to be inferior to that of Moses, he proceeds to adduce evidence from the Old Testament Scriptures, to show that man, or the human nature in the person of the Messiah, should be made Lord of the universe. Consequently, in this nature Jesus the Messiah is superior to the angels. Of course, the possession by Jesus of a nature truly and properly human, does not at all prove either his inferiority, or the inferiority of the dispensation of which he is the head, vs. 6—9; which meets an objection strongly urged upon the Hebrew Christians by the unbelieving brethren.

Nay more; it was becoming that God should exalt Jesus, in consequence of his obedience unto death, a death necessary for the salvation of Jew and Gentile, vs. 9, 10. To suffer this death, he must needs take on him a nature like ours; and, as his object was the salvation of *men*, and not of *angelic beings*, so he participated in the nature of men, in order that by *experience* he might know their sufferings, temptations, and trials, and thus be prepared, in a peculiar manner and in their own nature, to be compassionate, faithful, and ready to succour them, vs. 11—18.

The sum of the whole is, that the possession of a human nature by Jesus, is far from being a reason why the ancient dispensation, of which angels were the *internuntii*, is preferable to the new one; for 1. This very nature is exalted far above the angels. 2. Without participating in this nature, Jesus could not have made expiation for sin by his death. And 3. The possession of such a nature did contribute, in a peculiar and endearing manner, to constitute him such a Saviour as men could approach with the greatest boldness and confidence, in all their wants and all their woes.

Ver. 5. *Γὰρ, however*, Germ. *doch*. The reference is to vr. 2, and the clause contains what is distinguished from the assertion there. *Οὐ γὰρ* is in its own nature adversative, and the relation here to something already mentioned, is indicated by the *γὰρ*. I can think of no word that comes nearer to the force of the particle here, than *however*.

τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, equivalent to *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων*, i. e. *the Christian dispensation*, the world as it will be in future, *ὁ μέλλων*, i. e. the world as under the reign of Christ. The addition of *περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν*, shows that such is the sense of the phrase; for it is *Christianity*, to which he had just been urging the Hebrews to pay the strictest regard.

Ver. 6. *Διμαρτύρατο δὲ πού τις*, *one in a certain place*, i. e. passage of Scripture, *bears this testimony*. The writer speaks to those who were supposed to be familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, and who needed only a reference to them, by quoting some of the words which any passage contained. For a Hebrew to acknowledge the *authority* of his own Scriptures, might be expected as a matter of course. The passage quoted here is Ps. viii. 4—6, exactly according to the version of the Seventy.

τί ἐστιν . . . αὐτοῦ; *what is man that thou shouldst kindly regard him?* The secondary sense of *μνησχω* is, *to remember with affec-*

tion, to regard with kindness. So the Heb. רָאָה; and so μὴ μνησθε, in Heb. xiii. 3.

Ἦ υἱὸς . . . αὐτόν; or the son of man, that thou shouldst regard him? The phrase υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, is here equivalent to ἄνθρωπος; just as in Hebrew, אִנְשׁ בֶּן is equivalent to אִנְשׁ. The subject is evidently the same as in the preceding clause, and υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου is employed merely for the sake of giving variety to the mode of expression. Ἐπισκέπτομαι, to visit, usually means to inspect or look upon favourably, to watch over one for his good, to succour him, to assist him, see Matt. xxv. 36. Luke i. 68. James i. 27. In the New Testament, it is used only in a sense which designates inspecting with an eye of favour. But in the Septuagint, it is also used for visiting in order to punish; as is the Hebrew רָאָה, e. g. Ex. xxxii. 34. xxxiv. 7, et alibi. Our English word regard, taken in a good sense, answers well to ἐπισκέπτομαι. The classical use of the word sometimes, though rarely, accords with the sense in which it is here employed.

Ver. 7. Ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν . . . ἀγγέλους, thou hast made him but little inferior to the angels. Παρά here means in comparison with; as in i. 4, παρ' αὐτούς. Βραχύ τι may signify either a little time, or a little in respect to degree or rank; in which last case, it would be equivalent here to our English word somewhat. In the Septuagint it is employed in both these senses; as is also the Hebrew word מְעַט which is here rendered by βραχύ τι. In Ps. viii. 6, מְעַט seems pretty plainly to refer to inferiority of rank or station, and not to time. But in our text, most recent commentators have maintained that it refers to time; and consequently, that the apostle has merely accommodated the passage in Ps. viii. to an expression of his own views. But such a mode of interpretation is, at least, unnecessary here. The object which the writer of our epistle has in view, is not to prove how little time Christ appeared in our nature; but that, although he did possess a nature truly human, still in this nature he was exalted above the angels. Ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, then, simply designates the condition of man, as being in itself but little inferior to that of the angels. Man is made in the image of God, Gen. i. 26, 27. ix. 6. It is plainly the dignity of man which the Psalmist intends to describe, when he says, וְתַחְסִּרְהוּ מִעֶט מֵאֱלֹהִים. To such a view of his design, the context of this passage in Ps. viii. leads us. The Psalmist looks abroad and surveys the heavens in all their splendour and glory, and then,

with deep sensations of his own comparative insignificance, he exclaims, "What is man that thou shouldst be mindful of him! Or the son of man, that thou shouldst regard him! Yet [] but, yet] *thou hast made him little inferior* (וְתִתַּחְסְרוּ מֵעַל) to the angels, thou hast crowned him," etc. The nature of the case and the nature of poetic parallelism here require such an interpretation of the passage in the original Psalm; and the very same interpretation of it is altogether apposite to the purpose of the writer, in Heb. ii. 7. What is his design? To prove that Christ in his human nature, is exalted above the angels. How does he undertake to prove this? First, by showing that this nature itself is made but little inferior to that of the angels, ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους; and next, that it has been exalted to the empire of the world, "Thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, and set him over the work of thy hands."

But suppose, now, that we should render βραχύ τι, *for a little while*; what object which the writer designs to accomplish, is accomplished by such an assertion? It would not contain any proof of the *dignity* of Christ in his human nature, but merely of *temporary inferiority*, i. e. inferiority during the time of his incarnation. Clearly it is not the present object of the writer to prove this. Much more to the purpose does he appear to reason, when we understand him as using βραχύ τι in the same sense as עַל is used by the Psalmist. The passage thus understood renders the vindication, attempted by many, of the *liberties*, which the writer is alleged to have taken with Ps. viii. 6, quite unnecessary.

Παρ' ἀγγέλους, in the Hebrew עֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים. On the subject of rendering עֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים, ἄγγελοι, see on i. 6. If we insist that the *usual* meaning of the Hebrew word *Elohim* should be retained, the argument would be still stronger to prove the dignity of the Messiah in his human nature. *Thou hast made him but little inferior to Elohim*, would represent him at least as ἰσάγγελος, if not above the angels. See Gen. i. 26, 27, from which the language here and in the sequel appears to be borrowed.

But how could the apostle use παρ' ἀγγέλους, as conveying the sense of עֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים? In answer to this, we may say, 1. It conveys no meaning that is untrue, even if we insist that עֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים in Ps. viii. must be understood as meaning *God*. If man is but little below Elohim, surely he is not much inferior to the angels. 2. As angels are here compared by the writer with man, or rather, the angelic

with the human nature in the person of the Saviour, the passage, as it stands in the Septuagint and as the apostle has quoted it, is apposite to his purpose; although it claims, in fact, *less* for the argument, than would be claimed by insisting that the word **אלהים** should be interpreted *God*. As the writer was addressing those who used the Septuagint version of the Scriptures, nothing could be more natural than to quote that version as it stood, unless it conveyed an idea that was essentially erroneous. This is just what we do, every day, with our English version of the Scriptures, without suspecting that we are violating any rule of propriety.

Like to the Seventy, the Chaldee has rendered **אלהים** by **מלאכי**, i. e. *παρ' ἀγγέλους*. With this rendering Aben Ezra agrees; as do Mendelsohn, Michaelis, Dathe, and others; and Gesenius, in his recent Thesaurus, acknowledges that the word is susceptible of such a meaning. Still the apostle, by using the version of the Seventy (*παρ' ἀγγέλους*), has, as I have already said, assumed less in the argument than the original would have given him, supposing **אלהים** to mean *God*. At the same time he has taken a version, which in its present shape is exactly apposite to his purpose, i. e. to show that if a comparison of Christ with the angels be made, it will be seen, that even during his humiliation he was but little inferior to them; while in a state of exaltation in the human nature, he is far above them.

Δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἱσπεφάνωσας αὐτόν, thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, or with exalted honour. *Δόξη καὶ τιμῇ* are nearly equivalent or synonymous: and two synonymous nouns, thus constructed, are expressive of intensity, agreeably to the well known usage of the Hebrew language from which this idiom is borrowed. In the original, **וְכָבוֹד וְדָרָה תַּעֲטֶהוּ**, which is very literally rendered in the Greek.

But what is the *exalted honour* conferred upon the human nature of Jesus? *Καὶ κατέστησας αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, thou hast set him over the works of thy hands*, i. e. thou hast given him dominion over the creation. "*Ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου* means simply, *the works which thou hast made*, i. e. thy works. The form of expression is borrowed from the mode of human operations, in which *hands* are the most conspicuous instrument. *Καθίστημι, sisto, colloco, statuo*. It should be noted, however, that this clause is omitted in some Codices of good authority; such as B. D. and several others.

Ver. 8. *πάντα . . . ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, thou hast subjected all things to him, i. e. given him universal dominion. The phrase to put under one's feet, denotes, to put in a state of complete or entire subjection. See EXCURSUS IX.*

The writer proceeds to comment on the quotation just made. *Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀντιτάκτον, i. e. the expression is one of universality, it makes no exception but only of God himself; comp. 1. Cor. xv. 27.*

Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποταγμένα, for the present, in deed, we do not see all things yet subjected to him. ὑποταγμένα, subject to his ordering, arrangement, or disposal. In other words, 'This prophecy of the Psalmist is not, as yet, wholly fulfilled; but so much of it has been accomplished, that we may regard it as a pledge, that a fulfilment of the rest will certainly follow.' So the sequel.

Ver. 9. *Τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι . . . γένηται θανάτου, but we see Jesus, who was a little inferior to the angels, on account of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour, after that by the grace of God he had tasted of death for all, i. e. for Jew and Gentile. So, on the whole, I must explain this much controverted and somewhat difficult passage. Two objections against the superiority of Christ over angels, were very naturally urged by the unbelieving Jews upon the believing ones. (1) Christ was a man. (2) He suffered an ignominious death. To these the apostle replies in the quotation which precedes vr. 9, and on which he is now commenting. In doing this he suggests the consideration, that the death of Jesus, so far from proving his condition to be inferior to that of the angels, was immediately connected with his exaltation to glory, and with the salvation of the world.*

That the passage is replete with difficulty (principally on account of the arrangement), is plain upon the constructions put upon it, which have been varied in every possible way, by different commentators. E. g. (1) Beza: 'We see, crowned with glory and honour, Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, that by the grace of God he might taste of death for every man.' (2) Valckenaer: 'We see Jesus a little while made lower than the angels, through the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that by the grace,' etc. (3) Pierce, Michaelis, Dindorf, Wakefield, and others: 'Jesus, who was made lower than the angels in order that he might suffer death, that by the

grace of God he might taste of death for every man, we see crowned with honour and glory.' (4) Carpzoff, Boehme, and Cramer, include in a parenthesis *διὰ τὸ πάθημα . . . ἰσχυρανόμενον* and join *ὅπως χάριτι κ. τ. λ.* to the first part of the verse. (5) Haenlein, Morus, Kuinoel: 'We see Jesus, etc., on account of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that it might be made apparent that his death, through divine benevolence, was destined for the salvation of all.'

If I were to choose either of these, I should prefer the exegesis of Carpzoff, Cramer, etc., as on the whole the most natural and easy. But all of them seem to me to be more or less forced explanations. Plainly it is not the apostle's principal object, to show that Jesus had a nature in which he might suffer death; but to show that his death, so far from degrading him, was a ground of his supreme exaltation and of the salvation of the human race; and so, the fact that he was human, and that he died, would afford no just ground for ranking him, in his present condition, beneath the angels. His humble condition and sufferings are most intimately connected with his supreme elevation. And he who keeps this in mind, will need no other aid in deciding upon Nos. 1—3 above. No 4 is certainly a possible explanation, perhaps not an improbable one; but there is also the like objection to this which has just been made, viz. that it does not appear to be the object of the writer to assert that Jesus took on him the human nature in order that he might suffer. Yet it may also with justice be said in favour of this exegesis, that the idea of taking on him a nature lower than that of the angels, in order that by divine mercy he might die for a perishing world, was worthy of the supreme dignity and excellence of Jesus, and could in no way be construed as rendering him inferior to the angels.

The idea which Kuinoel and others educe from *ὅπως χάριτι κ. τ. λ.*, does not appear to lie in the text; for how was it, that Jesus was crowned with glory and honour, in order that he might suffer death for all? He had already suffered death, before he was crowned. If the writer had said: *In order that he might save, deliver, or redeem all*, then we might adopt this exegesis: for redemption would be subsequent to the glorification of the Saviour. But how Jesus was exalted *in order that he might taste death for all*, I think these interpreters (with whom Bloomfield agrees) have not sufficiently explained.

I must on the whole, adopt a different method of explanation, and one which renders no metathesis of the text necessary, and (as I trust) does no violence to the *usus loquendi*. The first part of the verse has already been explained. The second clause I construe thus: *δόξη καὶ τιμῇ . . . θανάτου, crowned with the highest honour on account of his suffering death*. See the same sentiment in Phil. ii. 8—11. Heb. xii. 2. Comp. John xvii. 4, 5. Heb. vs. 7—9. Eph. i. 20—23. Rev. iii. 21. That I have rightly construed this phrase, moreover, appears from the latter part of vr. 10, *διὰ παθημάτων τειλειῶσαι, to advance to glory through sufferings*. The Accusative with *διά* in vr. 9, shows that the interpretation I have given is grammatical. That it is analogical with other parts of Scripture, the texts referred to will sufficiently evince.

ὣτως is rendered by almost all the critics and lexicographers, *ut, cum, in finem ut, that, so that, in order that, etc.*; just as if the word had, or could have no other meaning. That *ὥτως* generally means *that, so that, in order that, etc.*, particularly that it has this meaning in most instances where it occurs in the New Testament, there can be no reasonable doubt. But *ὥτως* also means, as an adverb, *cum, quando, postquam, when, after, after that*. So it means in Acts iii. 19, although Wahl has overlooked the passage. So also in Aristoph. Nub. 60. Soph. Œdip. Col. 1638. Homer. Il. XII. 208. Odys. III. 373. XXII. 22. Eurip. Phœnis. 1155. 1464. Herod. I. 17. VII. 119; see Passow's Lex. *ὥτως*, A. 2. 6. This sense also Hoogeveen, Zeunius, Ernesti, Schleusner, Schneider, and Donnegan, assign to it. *ὣτως* is construed more usually with the future Ind., or with the Subj. 1st or 2d Aorist, in case these tenses are found in any verb. In the instance before us it is followed by *γινῆσθαι*, in the Subj. first Aorist of the Middle voice. It may then be rendered by the *past* time, as I have translated it; just as in the cases where the formula *ὥτως πληρωθῇ* occurs, it is often rendered, or should be rendered, *so that there was an accomplishment*. See Wahl on *ὥτως*, 2. 6. The only difference in the latter case is, that the voice is Passive; which however does not affect the question about the mode of rendering the *tense*. It will be noted, that the particle *ὥτως* demands the Subj. mood after it, when employed in the sense of *postquam*; see Passow, *ubi supra*. But this does not require a *future* sense of the verb itself, I mean future in respect to the time when the author wrote; but it demands merely a *conditional* sense in regard to the event connected

with it. E. g. in this case, the tasting of death was the *condition*, on which the glory and honour were to be conferred.

The only objection which I can see to the exegesis now proposed is, that there may seem to be a repetition of the same sentiment by the apostle in immediate succession; for first he says, διὰ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου κ. τ. λ., and then ὅπως . . . γένηται θάνατος. To this I answer, that the other modes of construing the verse do not in general avoid the same appearance; and some of them expressly recognize the latter of the two expressions above as epexegetical of the former. Then, moreover, in the mode of explanation which I have adopted, there is merely an *apparent*, not a real repetition. The one expression states that the death of Jesus was one of the grounds of his advancement to glory: the other that he *tasted of death* in order that the whole human race might be brought into a state of salvation. Here then are two distinct reasons why the death of Jesus was not derogatory to him, and therefore could not be appealed to as showing that he was not exalted above the angels. The explanation which I give of the words, represents the sentiment to be the following, viz. ‘When Jesus, by the benevolent purpose of God towards men, had tasted of death for them, he was crowned with glory and honour on account of his high and holy act of obedience.’ By the suggestion of such views respecting the death of Christ, it is plain that the writer removes the objections which he is tacitly labouring to remove; and therefore it seems consonant with the nature of the case to represent him as thus speaking.

If, however, the reader is not satisfied with this explanation of ὅπως κ. τ. λ., I should commend to him that of Cramer, etc., as given under No. 4 above, which puts in a parenthesis the words διὰ τὸ πάθημα . . . ἰστυφανωμένοι, and joins ὅπως κ. τ. λ., to the first part of the verse. I cannot help thinking, that the exegesis of Kuinoel and others is strained and unnatural. The sentiment, indeed, is correct; but how to obtain it from the words in question—I do not know. The interpretation of Cramer, however, viz. that Jesus took on him our nature in order that he might suffer death for all, is not itself an improbable one, and it may be received; although as I have said, I do not think it is the apostle’s main design here to assert this.

Χάριτι Θεοῦ means, *by the goodness, kindness, mercy of God*. Ἰπὲρ πάντας, means, *all men without distinction*, i. e. both Jew and Gentile.

The same view is often given of the death of Christ; see John iii. 14—17. iv. 42. xii. 32. 1 John ii. 2. iv. 14. 1 Tim. ii. 3, 4. Tit. ii. 11. 2 Pet. iii. 7. comp. Rom. iii. 29, 30. x. 11—13. In all these and the like cases, the words *all* and *all men*, evidently mean Jew and Gentile. They are opposed to the Jewish idea, that the Messiah was connected appropriately and exclusively with the Jews, and that the blessings of his kingdom were appropriately if not exclusively theirs. The sacred writers mean to declare by such expressions, that Christ died, really and truly, as well and as much for the Gentiles as for the Jews; that there is no difference at all in regard to the privileges of any one who may belong to his kingdom; and that all men, without exception, have equal and free access to it. But the considerate interpreter, who understands the nature of this idiom, will never think of seeking, in expressions of this kind, proof of the final salvation of *every individual* of the human race. Nor do they, when strictly scanned by the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, decide directly against the views of those who advocate what is called a *particular* redemption. In all these phrases, the subject evidently respects the *offer* of salvation, the opportunity to acquire it through a Redeemer; not the actual application of promises, the fulfilment of which is connected only with repentance and faith. But whether such an offer can be made with sincerity to those who are reprobates, (and who, the Saviour knows, are and will be such,) consistently with the grounds which the advocates for particular redemption maintain, is a question for the theologian rather than the commentator to discuss.

Γεύσθαι θανάτου, *taste of death*, i. e. experience death, suffer it. So the Hebrew writers use the word **נִסָּה** for *experience*; and classic Greek authors, the word *γεύομαι* in the same sense. E. g. Ps. xxxiv. 9. Sibyll. Orac. I. p. 164, Ἀδάμ γευσάμενος θανάτου, Eusebius de Porphyrio; “*Porphyry* praised the spell of purity, καὶ διὰ πίστεως γευσάμενος, *and first tried [tasted] it himself.*” Philo, de vita Mosis, p. 632, ἡ διάνοια τῶν γευσασμένων ὁσιότητος, *the mind of those who have experienced [tasted] holiness.*

Ver. 10. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα, *for it became him, for whom all things [were made], and by whom all things [were made]*; i. e. it became the supreme Lord and Creator of all things. The writer leaves his readers to feel and acknowledge the truth of this assertion, without stopping to offer proof of its correctness. The force of the appeal seems to lie in the tacit ac-

knowledge of all, that reward is properly consequent upon trial and approbation, and is not to be bestowed without them. Now as Christ possessed a nature truly human; and as all men are, by the universal arrangement of a wise and overruling providence, subjected to trial; so it was proper or becoming in God, that Jesus should be subjected to trial in our nature, before he was advanced to glory in it.

Πολλοὺς υἱοὺς ἀγαγόντα κ. τ. λ. This part of the verse contains an involved construction of the words, in respect to their order. The arrangement of the sense is generally taken to be as follows: Ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, ἀγαγόντα πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν. But Kuinoel and some others connect ἀγαγόντα with the preceding αὐτῷ, and apply it therefore to God the Father. The regular laws of grammatical construction would require ἀγαγόντι, Dat. case so as to agree with αὐτῷ; but still this is not an indispensable rule. The *anacolutha* of the participle in particular are well known, see Winer's Gramm. sect. 64. 2, edit. 3, i. e. the participle not unfrequently differs in case from the noun or pronoun to which it belongs; e. g. Eph. iv. 2, ὑμεῖς ἀνεχόμενοι. Col. iii. 16, ὑμῶν διδάσκοντες. 2 Cor. ix. 10, 11, ὑμῶν πλουτιζόμενοι. Acts xv. 22, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις γράψαντες. Comp. also Rom. ii. 8. viii. 3. 2 Cor. xii. 17. Eph. iii. 17. Such *anacolutha* are by no means uncommon in the best Greek authors; e. g. Thucyd. iii. 36, ἵδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπικαλοῦντες iv. 42, τοῖς Συρακούσiais ὀρῶντες i. 93, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καταζάντες vi. 24, τοῖς ἐν ἐλικίᾳ εὐέλπιδες Hom. Iliad. II. 350, Κρονίωνα ἀστράπτων. See Kuinoel on Acts xv. 22, and Winer ut supra. We may then, so Kuinoel asserts, refer ἀγαγόντα to the preceding αὐτῷ, without departing from the *usus loquendi*; and on the whole, with him I should prefer this construction, if the part. ἀγαγόντα were in the nom. case; for such is the fact with all the *anacolutha* produced above, and it seems to be essential to the irregular construction itself, that the participle should be in the nom. case. But Kuinoel has overlooked this nicety, and consequently has adopted what seems to be an erroneous construction.

It became him τελειῶσαι τὸν ἀρχηγόν. The word τέλειος means *full-grown, of mature age*, either literally, or figuratively. In the latter sense it is employed in 1 Cor. ii. 6, *however, we speak the doctrines of wisdom ἐν τοῖς τελείοις*. So Heb. v. 14, comprehending as it were both the above senses, where it is opposed to νήπιος. See also 1 Cor.

xiv. 20. Eph. iv. 3, et alibi. Τέλειος also means *mature* in a moral sense, i. e. *integer, just, free from vices, perfect*. It is also very naturally used in a secondary sense, to denote a *consummation* or *maturity* of our nature and happiness in a better world, e. g. 1 Cor. xiii. 10. Hence the verb τελειόω, formed from the adjective τέλειος, is often used to designate *exaltation to a state of reward or happiness in a future world*. Among the Greeks, this verb was employed to designate the condition of those, who, having run in the stadium and proved to be victorious in the contest, were proclaimed as successful ἀγωνισταί, and had the honours and rewards of victory bestowed upon them. So τέλος is used by the Greeks for *reward*, i. e. *consummation*; see Schleusner on τελειόω. Such persons were τετελειωμένοι. In a sense like this is τελειόω usually employed, with reference to Jesus, throughout the epistle to the Hebrews; e. g. vr. 9, τελειωθεῖς, *being advanced to a state of glory*; vii. 28, τετελειωμένον, id. The same sense the word has in the verse under examination. In vr. 9 the writer had said, that *on account of the suffering of death Jesus was δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον*. Here he says, διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι, *through sufferings to exalt to glory, or to bestow the highest honours*. As the writer evidently says this in commenting on the preceding expression, it is plain that διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι is merely an equivalent for διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον. So Theophylact: “τελείωσις here means δόξαν ἣν ἐδοξάσθη.”

Τὸν ἀρχηγὸν σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, *auctor salutis, the author of salvation*; so it is usually interpreted. So Chrysostom: αἵτιος, ὁ τὴν σωτηρίαν τεικάν. The phrase ἀρχηγὸν σωτηρίας αὐτῶν may mean here the same as ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα in Acts v. 31, i. e. *their Prince and Saviour*. But in Acts iii. 15, ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς is applied to Jesus; and in Heb. xii. 2. we have ἀρχηγὸν τῆς πίστεως; which would rather favour the first interpretation. The sense, however, seems to be substantially expressed if we render thus, viz. *on account of sufferings to exalt to a state of glory their Prince and Saviour*. Thus understood, the passage contains admirable matter of exhortation to the Hebrew Christians, to persevere in their adherence to Christianity amid all their trials and sufferings; for Jesus their Prince and Saviour himself suffered, and was exalted to glory by his sufferings. If Jesus himself, then, exalted as he was, endured suffering, how could they expect to be exempt from it? Yet if they persevered in their adherence to him, like him they would be τετελειωμένοι.

Ver. 11. Ὁ, τὴ γὰρ ἁγιάζων . . . πάντες. I find in the γὰρ here an intimation of a second illustration or confirmation of the sentiment in vr. 5; for here is proof subjoined, that Christ had a *human*, not an angelic nature. Then after this, as in the case above, the writer turns this very *humanity* of Christ to the advantage of his subject and of his general design, instead of leaving the matter in the hands of an objector; see in vs. 14, 15. The word ἁγιάζω seems not to have been well understood here by most commentators, and a particular investigation is required, in order to explain the sense in which it is used in our epistle. ἁγιάζω corresponds to the Hebrew קָדַשׁ, קִדְּשׁ, which often means, *to consecrate to God as an offering*; e. g. Lev. xxii. 2, מִקְדָּשִׁים לִי, Sept. ἁγιάζουσίν μοι, xxii. 3, יִקְדָּשׁוּ, Sept. ἁγιάζωσι; Ex. xiii. 2, קָדַשׁ לִי, Sept. ἁγιάσθην μοι, et alibi. The verb קָדַשׁ also means, by a natural association of ideas, *to expiate, to make atonement for*; e. g. Job i. 5, יִקְדָּשׁוּ, *he made atonement for them*, where however the Sept. has ἐκθαλάριζεν αὐτούς; so Ex. xix. 10, 14, and Josh. vii. 13, according to Gesenius, where the Sept. has ἀγνοσον, ἡγίασον and ἁγίασον; comp. also Ezek. xlv. 19. The verb ἁγιάζω also corresponds in the Septuagint to the Hebrew כִּפֶּר, which is the appropriate word to designate *the making of an atonement, to expiate*; e. g. Ex. xxix. 33, *they shall eat those things with which expiation was made*, Sept. ἐν οἷς ἡγιάσθησαν ἐν αὐτοῖς; Ex. xxix. 36, *and thou shalt purify the altar* בְּכִפְּרֶה עָלָיו, *when thou makest an expiatory sacrifice upon it*, Sept. ἐν τῷ ἁγιάζειν σὶ ἐκ' αὐτῶ. From the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew and the Sept., then, it is plain that ἁγιάζω may mean *to make expiation, to atone*.

Our epistle presents some plain instances of the use of ἁγιάζω in this sense. E. g. x. 10, *according to which will ἡγιασμένοι ἴσμεν, we are atoned for*, i. e. expiation is made for us. How? The writer immediately subjoins, διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱφάπαξ which necessarily refers ἡγιασμένοι to the *propitiatory offering* of Christ; and consequently it has the sense which I have given to it. Comp. also x. 14, 26. So xiii. 11, 12, "For the bodies of those animals, whose blood was carried into the sanctuary by the high priest as a sin offering, were burned without the camp; wherefore Jesus, ἵνα ἁγιάσῃ the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate;" where ἁγιάσῃ plainly means *to make expiation for, to atone for*. Both of these passages compare well with that under consideration; and all three predicate ἁγιασμός of the sufferings and death of Christ; for in our context, in the very next preceding

clause, the writer has spoken of Christ as τετελειωμένον διὰ παθημάτων: and he had just declared, that “Jesus by the grace of God *had tasted of death for all men.*” Comp. also vr. 17. We may then render ὁ, τε ἀγιάζων καὶ οἱ ἀγιαζόμενοι, *both he who makes expiation for sin, and they for whom expiation is made,* אֲשֶׁר כִּפֶּר לָהֶם. The *usus loquendi* of the epistle seems not merely to justify, but to demand, this interpretation. So also Ernesti, Kuinoel, Bloomfield, and others.

Ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες, i. e. all have God for their common Father. So most commentators; and perhaps rightly, for the phrase *many sons* in vr. 10, has reference to God as their Father, and the present verse seems to allude to this fact. Some say, ‘have Adam for their father;’ others, ‘Abraham.’ But ἐξ ἑνὸς may mean that Christ, and those for whom he atoned by his sufferings, were ἐξ ἑνὸς γενοῦς, i. e. possessed in common of the same nature, see vr. 14. The reasoning of the writer, understood in this way, or as was first stated, is altogether apposite. It seems to be this: ‘That Christ had a nature truly human, is no objection to regarding him as a Saviour exalted above the angels, and altogether adapted to the wants and woes of the human race. In the human nature he suffered, and was advanced to glory; in it he made atonement for men; in it he sustains a most endearing relation to those for whom he made expiation, for he sympathizes with them vs. 17, 18, and they are united to him as brethren having one common nature, or being of one common father, ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες, κ. τ. λ, vs. 11—13.

Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν . . . καλεῖν, *on account of which*, i. e. because he possesses the same nature in common with them, *he disdains not to call them his brethren.* Οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται, Chrysostom says, is used with regard to a person of higher rank, who condescends to associate with those of a lower standing. But if Christ were *merely* a man, and nothing more, where, we may ask with Abresch, would be either the great condescension or particular kindness manifested in calling men his brethren? If, however, he possessed a higher nature, if ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, Phil. ii. 7; if ἐταπείνωσε ἑαυτόν, Phil. ii. 8; then was it an act of peculiar kindness and condescension in him, to call men his *brethren*. It is this high privilege to which men have attained, that the apostle is endeavouring to establish and illustrate; and all this affords additional reason not to think diminutively of Jesus, as possessing a human nature.

Having introduced the proposition, that ‘Christ, possessing a nature truly human, regards men as his brethren,’ the writer ap-

peals, as is usual with him, to the Old Testament, in confirmation of this sentiment, and to show the Hebrews that it is no new doctrine respecting the Messiah which he inculcates.

Ver. 12. Λέγων, *saying*, i. e. since he (Christ) says; ἀπαγγεῖλῶ, κ. τ. λ. The passage is quoted from Ps. xxii. 23 [xxi. 22], where, for the Hebrew שִׁבְחִי, the Seventy have διηγέσονται; instead of which our text employs its equivalent or synonyme, ἀπαγγεῖλῶ. Such departures from the Septuagint are very common in the New Testament quotations.

That the 22d Psalm relates to the Messiah, the Jews themselves confess (see Dindorf in loc.); and the history of his death seems, indeed, to be a kind of practical commentary upon it. I can find nothing in the Psalm which forbids the application of it to the Messiah; although I can find enough to satisfy me that it is quite inapplicable to David. The general conversion of the nations to God (vs. 28—32) accords well with the gospel dispensation, but not with the Jewish, which, from its very nature, could not be a *universal* religion; for how could all nations, from the extremities of the earth, ever go up three times in a year to Jerusalem, in order to worship and to offer sacrifice there? And can it be rationally supposed, that David uttered such words as those to which I have just adverted, in reference merely to Judaism? The whole object of the present quotation is merely to show, that Christ is exhibited in the Jewish Scriptures as having recognised men in the quality of brethren, ἀδελφοί.

Ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε, *among the assembly I will praise thee*, q. d. in or among the assembly of my brethren, i. e. of men, will I celebrate thy praise. In the Hebrew, the words שִׁבְחִי and בְּתוֹכָם correspond to each other, and are equivalent to each other. The first part of the apostle's quotation, is most directly to the point which he is labouring to illustrate and confirm; the second part (as in many like cases) appears to be cited principally because of the intimate connexion which exists between it and the preceding parallelism, and because the memory of those whom he addressed would be assisted by a quotation at large of the whole verse. Still, in the second part the *implication* is, that he who 'sings praise in the midst of the assembly,' must be like them and one of their number.

Ver. 13. Καὶ πάλιν, *and again* [he says], ἐγὼ ἵσταιμι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ, *I confide in him, or I will confide in him*. But whence is this quoted? In Ps. xviii. 3, the Hebrew has בְּיָד יְהוָה שִׁבְחִי, which the Seventy render ἐλπὶς αὐτῷ; in Sam. xxii. 3, the same Hebrew words

occur, which they render according to the phraseology of our text, *πεποιθώς ἴσσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. Some critics have defended the opinion, that the quotation of the apostle is from one of these passages. But as it is plain, not only that the Messiah is not described or alluded to in these passages, but also that the Jews have never been accustomed to interpret them as referring to him; so there is surely no need of defending this position, if another passage as apposite as these can be found, which is less exceptionable in regard to its application. Critics are pretty generally agreed, therefore, that Is. viii. 17, is quoted, the Hebrew of which is *לֹא יִקְרָאֵנִי*, the Septuagint version of which is the same as our quotation. This, considered in connexion with the quotation immediately following, (which is taken from Is. viii. 18,) renders it altogether probable that the writer had this place of Scripture in his mind, rather than either of the others, when he made the quotations in question. The Hebrew *לֹא יִקְרָאֵנִי* may be rendered, *I will wait for him*, or *I will trust him*. The latter is adopted by the Septuagint, and by the apostle. The argument in this case appears to be this. 'It is *men*, who exercise trust or confidence in God. This is predicated of them as dependent, and possessing a feeble nature. The same thing is predicated of the Messiah; and consequently he possesses a nature like theirs, and therefore they are his brethren; *ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες*.'

Καὶ πάλιν ἰδοὺ, κ. τ. λ., has been adduced as an argument, that the passage quoted here must be from a different part of Scripture, and not from the same paragraph with that of the quotation immediately preceding. But this does not follow; for in this same epistle, x. 30, a quotation is made from Deut. xxxii. 35, and another from xxxii. 36, with *καὶ πάλιν* between them as here. In such a case *καὶ πάλιν* is to be rendered *and further*, or *and moreover*. In regard to the design of the writer here, in making the citation, one may say that there are two intimations in it of like condition and nature on the part of the speaker and those to whom he alludes.—1. He and they are in like condition; for both are "signs and wonders" to the people of Israel. 2. "The children given to him by God," show that the like relation of *dependence* may be predicated of both; and consequently, that the children in this case are of the like nature with the father. The main point is, that both depend on God; and so both being his children, they stand in such relation that he [the Saviour] can call them brethren. See EXCURSUS X. for further illustration.

Ver. 14. *Κεκοινώνηκε σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος*, *participated in flesh and*

blood, i. e. possessed a nature human, a body made up of flesh and blood. See 1 Cor. xv. 50. Eph. vi. 12; and comp. Matt. xvi. 17. Gal. i. 16. Sirach xiv. 18. *The children* (παιδιά) here mentioned, are the same that are described in the preceding verse, viz. the disciples, the spiritual children of the Messiah.

Καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετίσχε τῶν αὐτῶν. Here μετίσχε is a synonyme of κοινοῖνῃκε, *participated in*. Παραπλησίως is equivalent to ὁμοίως, *in the same manner, as well as*. The Docetæ exchanged παραπλησίως here for ὁμοίως, and then construed ὁμοίως as indicating only an *appearance* similar to flesh and blood; in opposition to whom the Christian fathers maintained, that παραπλησίως signified οὐ δοκητῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς, οὐ φανταστικῶς ἀλλ' ὄντως.

Τῶν αὐτῶν, i. e. σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος. The meaning is, that Christ had a natural body, truly corporeal and mortal. With this he was endowed, in order that he might suffer death in it, and by that death vanquish the spiritual enemy of mankind, the great adversary of souls.

ἵνα διὰ θανάτου . . . τὸν διάβολον, *that by his death he might subdue him who has a deadly power, that is, the devil*. Καταργέω is scarcely used by the Greek writers, and when it is employed, it has the sense of *delaying, rendering inactive, hindering*, i. q. ἐμποδίζειν, which is used to explain it by the Scholiast on Eurip. Phoeniss. 760. In this sense it is often used in the Apocrypha. In the New Testament, the use of the word is not unfrequent; but with some latitude of signification, as may be seen by the lexicons. Here it means *to render inefficacious* or *to subdue*, viz. Satan the spiritual enemy of man, who has *a deadly power*; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 24—26. 2 Tim. i. 10. I understand τὸν τὸ κράτος τοῦ θανάτου ἔχοντα in this plain and simple manner, which renders all the speculations about the power of the devil to inflict the sentence of *natural death* upon men unnecessary; and equally so, all the efforts to show what the Rabbins have taught about Sammael, the angel of death, שְׁמַמְאֵל מְמַת. That a deadly power, i. e. a power of leading men to sin, and consequently bringing them under sentence of spiritual death, is ascribed to Satan in the New Testament, is sufficiently plain: see John xvi. 11. xii. 31. xiv. 30. Eph. ii. 2. vi. 12. Col. ii. 15. 2 Cor. iv. 4. et alibi. In 1 John iii. 8, is a passage altogether of the same tenor as ours. *To render null the deadly power of Satan*, is to prevent the effects of it when it leads men to incur the sentence of spiritual death, i. e. to redeem them from the effects of such a sentence, or to redeem them from the curse of the law, Gal. iii.

13; comp. Rom. v. 9 seq. 1 Thess. i. 10. Even the temporal consequences of death are removed by Christ, 1 Cor. xv. 21. 26, 45, 52 seq. Thus interpreted, we have a plain sense of the passage, and one analogous to that in many other parts of the Scriptures.

Ver. 15. *Καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τοτούς . . . δουλείας, and free those* [from condemnation], *who, during their whole lives, through fear of condemnation, had been exposed to a state of bondage.* Ἀπαλλάξῃ means primarily *to remove, to depel, to depart.* But here (as sometimes in classic authors) it means *to free, to liberate.* So Theophylact, *ἰλευθερῶσαι.* It may be questionable whether it is connected with *θανάτου* understood, or with *δουλείας.* Either way of construing it would make good sense, and be apposite to the design of the writer. I have preferred to connect it with *θάνατος*, because of the sentiment in the preceding verse, which respects the *θάνατον* inflicted by Satan, i. e. the condemning sentence of the law incurred in consequence of sin, committed through the wiles or temptation of Satan.

Φόβῳ *θανάτου*, I understand as referring to the fear of that condemnation or punishment to which sin exposes men, not of the fear of natural death; for this last is an evil from which no precaution can deliver us, and which Christians as well as others must suffer, notwithstanding the death of Christ. But the death of Christ has freed them from suffering that condemnation or punishment, which they feared might be inflicted in a future life. This seems to be the obvious meaning of the writer; although it has been generally overlooked.

Διὰ παντός τοῦ ζῆν, i. q. διὰ πάσης τῆς ζωῆς, the inf. mode being here used (often so in the Greek classics) as a mere noun. But it is not the usage of the older Greek writers, to put the inf. *nominascens* after an *adjective*, as here. We may, therefore, understand *χρόνου* as implied after *παντός.* The later Greek, however, afford examples like ours; e. g. τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ζῆν, τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν, ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ζῆν, Ignat. Ep. ad. Trall.

Ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας, *had been subjected* [obnoxious, exposed] *to servitude*, i. e. subject to a depressed and miserable condition, like that of slaves under a tyrannical master. Ἔνοχος comes from *ἐνίχομαι*, *adstringor*, and so means *adstrictus, alligatus.* It usually governs the dative, as Matt. v. 21, 22 bis; and thus in classic writers.—But it also governs the genitive, as here; e. g. Matt. xxvi: 66. Mark iii. 29. xiv. 64. 1 Cor. xi. 27. James ii. 10. Δουλείας means the servile and depressed condition of those who are exercised with the fear of death, i. e. of future misery; or perhaps ἔνοχοι

δουλείας means *exposed to the bondage* of Satan, whose power had just been mentioned. It is the death of Christ which delivers them from either or both. Comp. John viii. 32—35, where, however, the *δουλεία* referred to is the servitude of sin. The deliverance spoken of is accomplished in part here, Rom. viii. 14—17, but *fully* and *finally* in another world, where the pious are admitted to a state of confirmed happiness. *Διὰ παντός . . . δουλείας* seems to imply that *the whole time of life* had been more or less *exposed* to bondage; which is the case with Christians. From such bondage Christ delivers, and will deliver them, i. e. he will save them from future misery, and from the power of the devil; and this is the simple sentiment of the text.

Ver. 16. *Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, moreover he doth not extend aid, or afford succour, at all to the angels;* another reason why he took on him a nature that was human. He came to the aid of *man*; he became like him, so as the more intimately to sympathize with him and to help him. *Γάρ, moreover* or *for*. It stands as a sign of introducing an additional illustration or argument, which is connected (like vr. 11 seq.) with vr. 5, and is designed to exhibit another reason why Jesus took upon him a nature that was human, and also to be turned to the same account as before. *Δήπου, profecto, omnimodo, certe*, strengthens the affirmation, i. e. gives intensity to it. *Ἐπιλαμβάνεται*, lit. *to grasp*, or *to take hold of with the hand*.—Hence figuratively, (1) *To assert one's right* to a thing; *to lay hold of* it as one's own; and (2) *To aid, help, succour, to take hold of* when falling or in danger. In the Septuagint it answers to the Hebrew *רָחַץ, נָחַץ, שָׁחַץ*. The Christian fathers have applied it to the assumption of an angelic nature, which they suppose the writer here denies. But the *usus loquendi* is against this; and the context also; for the apostle had just asserted above, that Jesus took on him a nature *human*, and it would be a mere repetition of the same sentiment here, if we construe vr. 16 as meaning thus: ‘He did not assume the angelic nature, but that of the seed of Abraham.’ But if the argument be, that ‘Jesus assumed the human nature, because he was to *aid* men and not angels,’ then the 16th verse contains a reason why the Saviour did and should take on him the nature of a man; viz. that it was altogether accordant with the great object of his mission.

Σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, progeny of Abraham. In such a sense, profane as well as sacred writers use *σπέρμα*. Is it the *natural* or *spiritual* seed of Abraham which is here meant? Either will make good

sense, and agree with the object of the writer. *Believers* are the children of Abraham, Gal. iii. 7; and Gentiles as well as Jews, Rom. iv. 12—18. ix. 7, 8. iii. 29, 30. So the assertion that Christ died ὑπὲρ παντός, vr. 9, does agree with the assertion that he helped the seed of Abraham, who are both Jews and Gentiles. So Kuinoel, and others. But although this interpretation may be sufficiently justified to render it worthy of acceptance, I am inclined to believe that it does not give the original sense of the writer. He says, 'Christ had a human nature; this it behoved him to possess, for he came to help the seed of Abraham, i. e. those, who, being descended from Abraham, possessed a nature that was human.' His assertion extends merely to such as he was addressing. But surely this would not imply a denial that he helped any others, who were possessed of the same nature. So far is it from this, that it implies the contrary; for the amount of the assertion is, 'He came to help those, who possessed a nature such as that which he had assumed.' So Valckenaer.

Ver. 17. Ὅθεν, an illative particle, *whence*, i. e. because he was to help the seed of Abraham. Ὄφειλε . . . ὁμοιωθῆναι, *he must needs be made like unto his brethren*, i. e. to men, vs. 10—12. Κατὰ πάντα, i. e. in all things requisite to constitute a nature truly human. The meaning is, that he should be wanting in none of the innocent infirmities, and none of the sympathies, of man's nature. To deduce more than this from the expression now in question, would be to do what the writer plainly never designed should be done.

But why must he be made like to his brethren? ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς, *that he might be a compassionate and faithful high priest*. Ἐλεήμων, *merciful, sympathizing with those who are in distress*. As those are best adapted to this, who have themselves been sufferers; so Jesus took on him our nature, in order that he might suffer in it. Πιστός means either *faithful* or *worthy of trust and confidence*. In the former sense I take it here; Kuinoel, in the latter. Jesus assumed our nature, that he might qualify himself in a peculiar manner to exercise compassion toward us, and that he might discharge with fidelity the duty laid upon him as our high-priest. A priest to offer sacrifice for us, must be homogeneous with us. Such a priest was Jesus, faithful in discharging the duties of his office. What were those duties? They were τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, *things which had respect to God*, i. e. services of a religious nature. So Xen. Rep. Laced. 13. 2. seq. 11, τὰ πρὸς Θεοῦς, in the like sense. The phrase τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, is elliptical.

In full it would be thus; κατὰ τὰ πράγματα τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, *faithful as to things*, etc.

But what things are these? Ἰλάσκεισθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ. The common expression is ἱξιλάσασθαι περὶ τινός, as in Lev. iv. 20, 26, 31, 35; or ἱξιλάσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τινός, Lev. v. 13. iv. 35. But ἱξιλάσασθαι ἁμαρτίας also occurs, Dan. ix. 24. 1 Sam. iii. 14. Sirach xxviii. 5. Ἰλάσκομαι means *to render propitious, to appease*. But this sense it can have directly, only when the *person* appeased is expressed or understood after the verb. Hence ἱλάσκεισθαι ἁμαρτίας must mean the same as לַנֶּפֶשׁ רָפָא, *to make appeasement for sin, to cover sin, to make atonement for it*. The Septuagint sometimes translate רָפָא by ἱλάσκομαι. Christ then, as high priest, was faithful to perform the peculiar duty of that office; which was, on the great day of atonement, to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the people. How he did this, is shown in the sequel of the epistle. Here, only so much is asserted as was requisite to enforce the considerations which the writer had immediately in view.

Ver. 18. Ἐν ᾧ γάρ, *for since*, i. q. ὅτι γάρ, Hebrew וְשֵׁנָה, *because that, inasmuch as*. Πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθείς, *he himself suffered when exercised with trials*. Πειράζω means *to try, to put to the proof* in order to ascertain the disposition, purpose, capacity, etc., of any one. This trial may be, (1) For a good purpose; by subjecting one to any evils or dangers, as God tried (וָפָא) Abraham, Gen. xxii. 1; or by placing him in circumstances either prosperous or adverse that are of a peculiar nature, as God did Israel, Ex. xvi. 4. Judg. ii. 22. Trial may be, (2) For an evil purpose; as the Pharisees ἐπείρασαν Ἰησοῦν, by proposing to him ensnaring and subtile questions, Matt. xix. 3 seq. xxii. 18, 35, et sæpe; or by laying before any one inducements to sin, as Satan does before the minds of men, 1 Cor. vii. 5. 1 Thess. iii. 5; comp. James i. 13, 14. In both of these senses Christ was tried. "It pleased the Lord to bruise him, and to put him to grief." Is. liii. 10; also, "It became him, for whom and by whom are all things, to advance to glory our Prince and Saviour διὰ παθημάτων." Heb. ii. 10. The same Saviour was solicited by Satan to sin, Matt. iv. 1, 3. Mark i. 13. Luke iv. 2. Understood in either way, then, the Saviour was tempted in like manner as we are (κατὰ πάντα, καθ' ὁμοιότητα, Heb. iv. 15), though without sin. That he did not yield to any excitement to sin, was owing to the strength of his virtue and holiness, not the weakness of the temptation in itself considered. *Temptation*, in the second sense, is *that which is presented to the mind as*

an inducement to sin, and does not relate to the actual state of the mind or person to which it is presented. Men tempt God. They tempt Christ; and so did Satan; but there never was any disposition in Christ to yield to it.

There are two or three cases, however, in which the word *πειράζω* seems to imply a yielding to sin, i. e. the *effect* of *πειρασμός* upon any one; e. g. Gal. vi. 1, perhaps James i. 14. comp. *ἀπειραστός*, *not induced to sin*, in James i. 13. But this is an *unusual* sense of the word *πειράζω*, and altogether inapplicable to the Saviour, who was "separate from sinners," Heb. vii. 26. Christ then, *πειρασθείς*, *being proved*, both by sufferings and by solicitations to sin, *δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι*, is fitted in a peculiar manner to succour those who undergo either kind of trial. He is not only possessed of a merciful regard for them, vr. 17. but he has direct and immediate sympathy with them, the result of his own personal feeling and experience.

Wonderful condescension of redeeming love! Here is the great mystery of godliness, God made manifest in the flesh. And while Jesus sits on the throne of the universe, as Lord over all, the Christian is reminded that he does this in his nature, as his *brother*, vr. 11. In the person of Jesus, man is exalted above the angels: yea, he himself is to attain a rank superior to theirs; for while Jesus passed them by, vr. 16, he laid down his life for us, in order to exalt us above them, 1 Cor. vi. 3. Deeper and deeper still becomes the mystery. The debt of gratitude appears boundless, when viewed in this light; and the baseness of ingratitude and disobedience as boundless too. What can we do less than to lie down in the dust, overwhelmed with a sense of our guilt, and exclaim with the prophet, "Who is like unto thee? A God forgiving iniquity, and passing by the offences of thine heritage!"

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Next to the consideration that the "law was *διαταγὴ δι' ἀγγέλων*," the grounds of its pre-eminence in the estimation of the Jews were, the exalted character of Moses, and the dignity and offices of the high priest, who was the instrument of reconciling the people to God, when they had lost his favour by sinning. In respect to both these points, the apostle undertakes to show that the gospel has a preference, because that Jesus is superior. If he be compared with Moses as *ἡγούμενος ἀπέσταλος*, *curator ædis sacre* (*εἶπεν*, vs. 2, 3), he will be found to excel him. If he be compared with the high priest, his superiority in every respect is equally visible. The first comparison is made in iii. 2—6, and the warning against defection from the gospel that immediately follows it, is continued through iii. 7—19 to iv. 13. The writer then proceeds with the comparison of Christ as high priest, and extends it through the remainder of the doctrinal part of the epistle.

CHAP. III.

VER. 1. ὁθεν, *whence*, i. q. διὰ τοῦτο, by which Chrysostom expresses the sense of it. It refers to *place*, in common usage; but it is also an *illative* in argument, particularly in our epistle.

The manner in which the writer makes his transition here from one topic to another, is deserving of notice. He had just been showing how and why Christ was a “merciful and faithful high priest, and able to succour all who are tempted.” He now adds, ‘ὁθεν, i. e. allowing these things to be true, it follows that we are under peculiar obligation to contemplate and well examine the Saviour’s character before we venture to reject him.’ But in making this suggestion, the writer at the same moment introduces new topics for discussion, viz. the comparison of Christ with Moses, and with the high priest under the Jewish dispensation. The transition is almost insensible, as it is actually introduced under the form of a deduction from the preceding discussion.

Ἀδελφοί, as applied by Christians to each other, means *one of the same faith or profession*, with the adjunct idea of *possessing a friendly, brotherly feeling*, Acts ix. 30. xi. 29. 1 Cor. v. 11. al. Ἅγιοι, *consecrated, devoted*, i. e. to Christ, *set apart* as Christians; or *professing to be holy, pure*. *Holy*, in the sense of actually possessing eternal purity, the apostle did not mean to affirm that all were whom he addressed; for surely when the ancient prophets called the whole Jewish nation קְדוֹשִׁים (ἅγιοι), or קְדוֹשׁ עַם (λαὸς ἅγιος), they did not mean to assert that every individual among them was *spiritually* sanctified. But to remind his brethren, (brethren in a double sense here, as they were also the writer’s kindred according to the flesh), that they had been *consecrated* to Christ, and *set apart* as his disciples, and that they *professed to be pure*, was altogether adapted to prepare them for the exhortation to fidelity which ensues. In a like sense the ancient prophets called the whole body of the Jewish nation *holy*, קְדוֹשׁ.

Κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου μέτοχοι, lit. *partakers of the heavenly invitation*. Κλήσις is the invitation given on the part of Christ and God to men, to partake of the blessings proffered by the Christian religion. It does not appear, however, to designate the offers of the gospel generally considered, and in reference to all men without discrimination; for it is applied in the New Testament only to those who by profession are Christians. Κλήσις, then, is the *proffer* of bless-

ings to such; the *invitation* given to all the professed friends of the Christian religion, to accept the favours which the Redeemer is ready to bestow in case of their obedience. The epithet *ἐπουρανίου* may mean, in this case, that the blessings proffered are of a *celestial nature*. So Wahl and others, who compare the phrase with *τῆς ἁνῶ κλήσιως*, Phil. iii. 14. Thus interpreted the implication of the passage would be, that the proffered blessings of the gospel were *ἐπουράνια*, in distinction from those offered under the law, i. e. they are of a higher, more spiritual, more sublime nature. But *ἐπουρανίου* may also mean, that the *κλήσις* was given from heaven, i. e. by one from heaven, viz. Christ; comp. xii. 25 and ii. 3. Understood in either way, it is apposite to the purpose of the writer, and well adapted to urge upon his readers their obligation to adhere to the Christian religion.

Κατανοήσατε, *observe well, consider attentively, perpendite, ad animum revocate*; and this, in order that they might not be tempted to swerve from their fidelity to Christ, out of excessive regard to the Mosaic institutes; for Christ, as the writer proceeds to show, was in all respects superior to Moses.

Τὸν ἀπόστολον . . . ἡμῶν, *the apostle and high priest of our religion*. The appellation *ἀπόστολον*, which is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* as applied to Christ, has given rise to much philological and critical discussion. The word itself may convey two ideas, which are nearly related but not identical. (1) Ἀπόστολος is equivalent to ὁ ἀπισταλμένος; as Thomas Magister explains it, quoting Demosthenes as employing it in this manner. So Origen: *ἕκαστος τῶν πεμπομένων ἀπὸ τινος, ἀπόστολός ἐστι τοῦ πεμψάντος*, in Johan. p. 398. ed. Col. It means, then, *any messenger, any person commissioned or sent to perform duties of any kind for another*, and particularly to make known his will, desire, or command; in which sense it is commonly employed by the New Testament writers. (2) The Jews applied the term *מְשַׁלְּחִין*, from *מְשַׁלְּחַ* *mittere*, to the *minister of the synagogue*, i. e. the person who presided over it and directed all its officers and affairs, the curator of all its concerns, *ædituus, negotii ædis sacræ curator*; see Buxtorf Lex. Chald. verbum *מְשַׁלְּחִין*, and Vitringa de Vet. Synag. Lib. III. P. 2. c. 2. In either of these senses it may be understood, in the passage under consideration. Interpreted agreeably to the first sense of *ἀπόστολος*, the meaning would be, that Christ is the messenger of God to men, in order to communicate his will, and accomplish the business to be done for the establishment of the new dispensation. But the particular reason why he is called

ἀπόστολος here, lies probably in the comparison which the writer is about to make of Jesus, the head of the new dispensation, with Moses the head of the old. When Moses received a divine commission to become the leader and head of the Israelites, God says to him, אֶנְוִיֶנְךָ , *I have sent thee*; which idea is frequently repeated, Ex iii. 10, 12, 14, 15. Moses was then אֶנְוִיֶנְךָ , ἀπόστολος, in respect to this important business. Jesus, in like manner, was sent on an errand of the like kind, but of still greater importance. He was *sent* by the Father for this purpose, John iii. 34. v. 36, 37. vi. 29. x. 36, al. Now, as the writer was just about to make a comparison between Christ and Moses, it was very natural that he should call Christ ἀπόστολον, i. e. *one sent or commissioned of God*, because Moses was thus *sent*; as the passages above cited prove.

We might acquiesce in this explanation, as most interpreters have done, were it not that one still better may be found, in the supposition that ἀπόστολος is here employed in the second or Jewish sense as explained above. The apostle proceeds immediately to speak of Moses and of Christ as presiding over and administering the affairs of the οἶκος committed respectively to them, vs. 2—4; i. e. each was a רִבְזֵי הַבַּיִת , ἄγγελος ἐκκλησίας, *curator ædis sacræ*, ἀπόστολος in the *Jewish* sense. This certainly gives a meaning more apposite to the context, and indeed a sense which, in connexion with it, seems to be a necessary one. The general idea of being *sent* of God, or *divinely commissioned*, is retained; inasmuch as Moses was thus sent and commissioned, and with him the comparison is made. The meaning then is, that if the *curator ædis sacræ et novæ* be compared with the *curator ædis sacræ et antiquæ*, the result will be such as the sequel discloses.

Καὶ ἀρχιερεῖα, *high priest*. Two reasons may be given for this appellation; the one, that in Ps. cx. 4, the Messiah is so named; the other, that the writer means to compare him, in the sequel, as making atonement for men by the propitiatory sacrifice which he offered, with the high priest of the Jews who made expiation for the people. The latter I regard as the principal reason of the appellation here.

Τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν, *of our profession or confession*; i. e. the apostle and high priest whom we have confessed or acknowledged as ours. Thus they had done when they became Christians. Ὁμολογίας is used here as an adjective or participle; and the phrase is equivalent to ἀπόστολον ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιερεῖα ὁμολογούμενον, i. e. the apostle and high priest τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν (as Chrysostom paraphrases it), in whom we

have believed, or whom we have acknowledged as ours. Comp. 2 Cor. ix. 13, τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν, *your professed subjection*; Heb. x. 23. iv. 14.

Others take ὁμολογίας in the sense of *covenant* (ברית), which the word sometimes has in profane writers; see Schleus. Lex. in verbum. This sense of the word would not be inapposite here, inasmuch as it would convey the idea of an *engagement* or *covenant* made with Christ, by those whom the apostle is addressing. But as this use of the word is not found in the New Testament, it would hardly be proper to admit it here.

The writer now proceeds to show the reason why the Hebrews ought attentively to regard Jesus, in respect to the two great points of comparison which he had hinted at, by applying to him the epithets ἀπόστολος and ἀρχιερεύς.

Ver. 2. Πιστόν, *faithful*, i. e. he fully and truly performed the duties of his station. See ii. 17, where, in like manner, he is called πιστός ἀρχιερεύς. Others interpret πιστός, *entrusted with* or *worthy of trust*; a sense, indeed, which the word sometimes has; but it is not so apposite here. Τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν, *to him who constituted or appointed him*, viz. as ἀπόστολον; to him who *sent* him, John x. 36, i. e. to him who made him ἱερεῖς, *curator ædis sacræ*. So ἐποίησε, Mark iii. 14.

Τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, *his house*, i. e. family, meaning the Jewish nation, or his worshipping people. Οἶκος evidently does not mean *temple* here, for that was not built in the time of Moses; nor does it mean *tabernacle*, for over that Aaron presided, and not Moses. It means, then, the *spiritual house* committed to Moses, i. e. the Jewish nation who were to be guided, regulated, and instructed in spiritual things, by the revelations which he gave them. So Chrysostom, who substitutes λαόν as an explanation of οἶκον. So in English we use *house* for *family*, and *church* (οἶκος Θεοῦ) for the *worshippers* in it. Moreover it is only in this way, that a comparison can be made between Moses and Christ; as the latter was not the minister of any *literal* house, but *Curator ædis Dei sacræ et spiritualis*. Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 5, οἶκος πνευματικός. Eph. ii. 20—22. Heb. iii. 6.

The sentiment of vr. 2 is, that with regard to *fidelity* in discharging the duties of his office, as head of the new dispensation, Christ yields not in any respect to Moses, who (as the Scripture testifies, Num. xii. 7), was faithful in respect to all his duties toward the people of God that were committed to his care. In *this* respect there is no inferiority. In *another* respect, however, Christ may

justly claim great superiority over Moses; as the writer now goes on to show.

Ver. 3. Δόξης, *honour, dignity, regard*; governed in the gen. by ἡξίωται. ἡξίωται, *is worthy, deserves, is counted worthy*. Ἀξιώω also means, not unfrequently, *to obtain, to acquire*; e. g. οἱ καταξιωθέντες τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, *those who have obtained the grace of the Spirit*, Chrysostom I. p. 730; τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ ὄντος μὴ καταξιούμενος, *not having obtained a knowledge of what is real*, Basil I. p. 515. In a similar way it is also used in the classics; as τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος, *having obtained the greatest honours*, Lys. Orat. p. 101. ed. Taylor. But still, this is not the usual sense of the word: nor does it so well fit the passage under consideration as the other and usual meaning, although many commentators have preferred it. Δόξης παρὰ Μοῦσῃν, *glory in comparison with Moses*, as in Hebrew נִשְׁבַּח בְּיָדָיו. See on i. 4, 9, where παρὰ is employed in the same way.

Καθ' ὅσον may signify *in proportion as, as much as*, and may have relation here to πλείονος in the first member of the verse. The usual Greek method of expression in such cases is τόσῳ . . . ὅσῳ, etc. But I prefer the rendering *in as much as*, because the nature of the proposition seems to require it. So Schulz, Eng. Version. al.

Πλείονα τιμὴν κ. τ. λ., *he who builds a house, has more honour than the house*; i. e. the difference between the honour due to Moses and that due to Christ, is as great as between the honour due to the founder of a house [family] and that which should be paid to the family which he founds; or between the honour due to the architect that framed a building, and that due to the building itself. It is difficult to say in which of these senses the writer meant that the words should be taken. Either fits his purpose. Either is designed to show that Christ, at the same time that he is the head of the new spiritual house, is also the founder of it; while Moses, who was at the head of the ancient spiritual house, was himself only one of the household. As a steward or overseer of a house, while he is curator of all in the house, is still but a servant; so Moses (as asserted in vr. 5,) was but a servant, while Christ, who was curator, was also *Son*, and, therefore, "heir and lord of all." The point of comparison between Moses and Christ, in which the latter appears to have a decided preference, is not the being at the head of God's house or family, for such an office Moses sustained; but it consists in this, viz. that while Moses was *curator*, he was also θεράπων; but while Christ was *curator*, he was at the same time υἱός, and κατασκευάστης οἴκου.

Kataσκευάζω means *to furnish, to fit up, to make ready*, i. e. for use; also *to construct, prepare, build, condere, extruere*. In some cases it seems to combine the idea of *constructing* and *furnishing*, both of which indeed are included under the general idea of *preparing* or *making ready* for use; e. g. Heb. ix. 2—6. The Seventy sometimes used this word in order to translate *נָפַץ*, e. g. in Prov. xxiii. 5. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5; sometimes they employed it as corresponding to *נָבַד*, as in Is. xl. 28. xliii. 7. So the book of Wisdom, ix. 2, “By thy wisdom *κατεσκεύασας τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, *thou hast created* [formed] *man*.” In our text, *κατασκευάσας αὐτόν*, scil. *οἶκον*, is equivalent to the Latin *condere domum*. But as *οἶκος* here means *family, household*, so *κατασκευάσας* must be taken in a sense that will correspond to this, viz. that of *establishing, instituting, founding*.

Others render the last clause of the verse thus; *inasmuch as he who founded the household hath greater honour from the house*, understanding *τιμὴν οἴκου* to be the honour which the house renders, and thus making *οἴκου* dependent on *τιμὴν* instead of *πλείονα*. Storr translates the whole verse thus: *For Christ hath a preference above Moses, the greater in proportion as this house is more highly estimated by its founder*. But these methods of rendering, (to say nothing of the improbable and forced construction which they give to the language of the verse,) would constrain us to lose sight of the *apodosis*, which the latter part of the verse evidently contains. Christ, says the apostle, has more glory than Moses. How? or how much more? The answer is; ‘As much more as is due to the founder of a family, [or to the architect of a building,] above that which is to be paid to the family itself [or to the edifice which is reared]. In other words, Christ is to be honoured as the *head* and *founder* of the *οἶκος*, which has been erected; Moses, only as the *head*; for he himself was still a part of the *οἶκος* itself, *ὡς θεράπων*, vr. 5. Interpreted in any other way, the whole force of the comparison seems to vanish. In this way it is (to say the least) intelligible, if not quite simple. If the reader wishes to see the endless discrepancies among critics about this and the following verse, he may consult Wolfii Curæ Philol., or Dindorf’s edition of Ernesti in Ep. ad Hebræos.

Ver. 4. This verse has been a kind of *offendiculum criticorum* in past ages, and has never yet, in any commentary which I have seen, been satisfactorily illustrated. The difficulty lies not in the simple sentiment of the verse by itself considered (for there is none in this respect); nor in the words, which in themselves are not obscure; but in discovering and explaining the connexion in which this verse

stands with the context, and how it modifies or affects it. If the verse be entirely omitted, and the third verse be immediately connected with the fifth, there seems to be nothing wanting, nothing omitted that is at all requisite to finish the comparison which the writer is making. Nay, on account of the difficulty which adheres to the fourth verse, the mind is greatly relieved by the omission of it; and little is then presented, which raises doubts or scruples about the object of the writer. There is no evidence, however, that the verse in question is a mere gloss; at least none from manuscripts or versions, which is of any value. We must receive it, then, as a part of the text, the integrity of which (however difficult the passage may be) cannot be made to depend on our ability to explain it.

Πᾶς γὰρ οἶκος ... θεός, we may translate thus: *every house is built by some one; but he who formed all things is God*. But what are the *all things* (τὰ πάντα) which are *formed* or *built*? The universe? Or all οἶκοι, all *dispensations*, viz. both the Jews and Christians? The context seems to demand the latter meaning; the former has common usage in its favour. Is it appropriate to construe it agreeably to this usage? It is directly to the writer's purpose, to show that every dispensation must of necessity have some founder, and that this founder was Christ. But how is this shown? To say that God, simply considered, was *the author of all things*, would not be to show that Christ was the founder of the Jewish and Christian οἶκοι. Indeed, I can see no possible connexion of this proposition, with the object which the writer has in view. Nor can I see how Christ is shown by him to be a *founder* at all, unless I understand him to assert this to be the fact, because Christ is divine or is θεός. The argument would then stand thus: 'God is the author of all things, i. e. of the Jewish and Christian οἶκοι; Christ is God; of course he must be regarded as the original author or founder of these dispensations.' The fact itself that Christ is θεός, it would seem the writer could not hesitate to assert, after what he has said, chap. i. 8—12. John (i. 1) asserts the same thing; and Paul, in Rom. ix. 5, and in other places. I must regard the expression here, as predicated of what the writer had said in chap. i. respecting the Son. The amount then of the reasoning seems to be: 'Consider that Christ, as θεός and the former of all things, must be the *author* too of the Jewish and Christian dispensations; which shows that a glory belongs to him, not only in his mediatorial office and his being at the head of the new dispensation, but also as the founder both of this and the Jewish dispensation in his divine character;

while Moses is to be honoured only as the head of the Jewish dispensation, in the quality of a commissioned superintendent, but not as author and founder.'

All other methods of constructing this passage seem to me to fail of making it contribute to the writer's purpose; and this is, in my view, an insuperable objection against them. Kuinoel says: "God is the founder of both the Jewish and Christian family;" and then he cites with approbation Boehme, who says: "the words *ὁ δὲ . . . ὁ θεός* mean, that the Messiah (whom the writer had tacitly called *παρασκευάσαντα*), is not literally and absolutely to be so named, but only in so far as God, the supreme founder of all things, had constituted him such, i. e. so far as God had constituted the church by Christ." And Bloomfield, in his recent work on the New Testament, adopts the exposition of Newcome, the substance of which is, that vr. 4th affirms, that 'Christ is the visible representative of the supreme God, the ultimate head of all things;' which in substance comes to the same thing as the exegesis of Boehme and Kuinoel. But where, I ask, is such an intimation here? The fact itself I do not call in question at all; but how is it to the *present* purpose of the writer, whose design is to show the superiority of Christ to Moses? Moses, as the *delegate* of God, was the founder of the Jewish institution; and if Christ, as those commentators assert, is merely declared to be only a *delegated founder*, then in what way does the writer make out the superiority of Christ to Moses? Both were delegates of the same God; and both founders of a new and divine dispensation. If Christ, then, is not here asserted to be *founder* in some other character than that of *delegate*, I am unable to perceive any force in the writer's argument.

Still, I admit the difficulty of the passage, and could hardly venture to build principles of theology upon it, until the illustration is clearer and more certain. I must say, however, in accordance with the sentiments of Cramer (whose exposition agrees with that which I have given above), that I cannot help wondering that any interpreters should come with confidence to an exposition such as that of Kuinoel and Boehme. I am aware that the interpretation which I have given, implies that the sentence of the apostle in vr. 4 is an enthymeme; it wants the conclusion, viz. *Christ is God*.—But if Christ is the *founder* of all dispensations, and he who founds all is God, I do not see why this is not sufficiently implied. The expositions which differ from this, are largely canvassed and solidly refuted by Cramer.

Ver. 5. Ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, *in all his house*; not ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, *over his house*, as it is expressed in the following verse, where the writer speaks of Christ. I think the writer means here to make a distinction, by these different modes of expression, between the relation of Moses to the house in which he was θεράπων, and that of Christ to the house over which he was υἱός. The former was ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, *in the house*, i. e. he himself belonged to the family of God, was simply a member of it in the capacity of θεράπων; while the latter was ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον, *over the house*, i. e. lord of the house, founder and proprietor of it.

Αὐτοῦ, HIS, i. e., God's house, both in vr. 2 and here. *God's household* means, those who profess to be his worshippers, to belong to him. In both cases αὐτοῦ might refer to Christ, by writing it thus, αὐτοῦ, were it not that in Num. xii. 7 (from which the passage is quoted), the language is *my house* (מִי בֵּיתִי); and it is God who says this. The sense, however, would not be materially changed by referring αὐτοῦ to Christ. The scope of the sentence does not depend on this; for whether you say οἶκος αὐτοῦ is the family of God, or of Christ, the same persons are designated by the word οἶκος in both cases.

Θεράπων, according to general usage, differs from δοῦλος and οἰκέτης, being a more honourable appellation. E. g. the correlate of δοῦλος and οἰκέτης is δισπότης; but θεράπων is related to πατήρ, κύριος, or βασιλεύς. In English, we should call the former a *servant* or a *slave*; the latter, an *assistant*, an *usher*, a *helper*, etc. The Heb. עֲבָדִים, however, means *servants* of every or any rank. But עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה, *servants of Jehovah*, is always an appellation of honour. In the East, courtiers of the highest rank pride themselves in the appellation of *king's servants*. The word θεράπων is very happily applied by the Seventy, and after them in the present case by our author, to Moses, who was a servant of Jehovah in a highly honourable sense; comp. Josh. i. 1, 2. After all, the θεράπων is inferior to the πατήρ or κύριος of a family. Moses, therefore, was inferior to Christ, who was κύριος οἴκου Θεοῦ.

Εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων, *for the testifying of those things which were to be declared*, i. e. to make disclosures to the Israelites of those things which were to be revealed under the ancient dispensation, or during the Mosaic period. The meaning is, that Moses was a θεράπων of God, for delivering to the people the ancient oracles. Μαρτύριον may signify either *instruction*, or *declaration*, *publication*; just as μαρτυρίω signifies in the New Testament, *docere*, *instituere*, and also *declarare*, *notum facere*; as may be seen in the

lexicons. *Δαληθησομένων* may also mean, either *things to be announced, published, or things to be inculcated, taught*. The sense will not be materially altered by either method of translation. The meaning will still be simply, that Moses was to be the instrument of delivering to the people divine communications, or he was to teach them in matters of religion.

Ver. 6. *Χριστὸς δὲ . . . ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, but Christ as a Son, over his house, whose house we are, i. e. to whose family we belong, we who have made a Christian profession; meaning himself and those whom he addressed. This is as much as to say; 'We now belong not to the house over which Moses was placed, but to that which Christ governs or administers.'* *Αὐτοῦ, his, i. e. God's, our English translators have rendered as if written αὐτοῦ, sc. ἑαυτοῦ, his own; so Beza, Vogel, Erasmus, Heinrichs, Kuinoel, and others. But Stephens, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Knapp, and Titmann read αὐτοῦ, as I have translated.*

The writer adds, however, that we really belong to the house which Christ governs, *ἰάντις τὴν παρρησίαν . . . κατέσχωμεν, provided we hold fast unto the end our confidence and joyful hope.* *Παρρησία* means originally *the liberty of speaking boldly without fear or restraint*; and comes etymologically from *παρὰ* and *ῥῆσις*. The secondary sense is, *boldness, confidence.* *Καύχημα* primarily means, *gloriation, the act of glorying, or that in which we glory or joy*; secondarily, it means *joy, glory, etc.* I take the phrase as a hendiadys. *Ἐλπίδος* is the subject, and *καύχημα* qualifies it; as is often the case with similar constructions, in many parts of the sacred writings, e. g. 1 Tim. vi. 17. Philem. vi. Rom. vi. 4. Col. ii. 5. 2 Cor. iv. 7. Gal. ii. 14. Here the Gen., as in the instance before us, is the *principal* noun, and the other noun joined with it, whatever case it may be in, serves only in the office of an adjective. More usually, indeed, the noun in the *Gen.* serves the office of an adjective, both in Hebrew and in Hebrew-Greek. But the above cases show, that the noun which precedes the Gen. not unfrequently serves the same end; and such too is the case in Hebrew, as may be seen in my Heb. Gramm. Sect. 440.

The confidence and joyful hope here mentioned, is that which the Christian religion inspires. This must be held *βεβαίαν, firm, steadfast.* *Βεβαίαν* here agrees, in respect to grammatical construction, with *παρρησίαν* the remoter noun in the preceding phrase, as is frequently the fact in such cases, but it is related to the *whole phrase* in regard to its meaning. *Εἰς τέλος, to the end, i. e. of life; in other*

words, 'We must persevere to the last, in maintaining our Christian profession; we must never abandon the confident and joyful hope which it inspires, if we mean to be considered as belonging to the family of Christ.'

Ver. 7. Διό, *wherefore*, i. e. because Christ is superior to Moses and has higher claims upon us, hearken, Christian brethren, to the admonition which I give you, in the words by which the Israelites of old were warned.—Καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, i. e. as the divine word, Ps. 95, given by the influence of the Holy Spirit, saith; comp. Acts i. 16. xxviii. 25. This is one of the various ways of appealing to the Scripture, which was usual in the time of the apostles; and which is still practised by our churches. It involves the idea, that the Holy Scriptures are given by divine inspiration, are Διόπτυστοι.

Σήμερον, *to-day, now, at present*, like the Hebrew הַיּוֹם, to which it corresponds. 'Εὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, *when or whilst ye hear his voice*. So, perhaps, ἰάν may be rendered like the Hebrew וְאִם, to which it corresponds; comp. John vi. 62. xii. 32. xiii. 20. xiv. 3. 1 John iii. 2. So Sept. for וְאִם, Prov. iii. 24. Is. xxiv. 13, et alibi. But it is not material to adopt this rendering. *If* will give a good sense, viz. *now if*, i. e. in case, *you are willing to hearken*, etc. Τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ, i. e. his warning voice, his admonition.

Ver. 8. Μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. *To harden the heart*, is to make it insensible. In this case, *to harden the heart* is to remain insensible to divine admonition, to neglect it, to act in a contumacious manner. The form σκληρύνω is of the later Greek. The classic writers used σκληροῦν, and this in a *physical* sense only, not in a *moral* one.

Παραπικρασμῷ corresponds here to the Hebrew מַרְיָבָה, *strife, contention*. It is not a classic word; but it is employed by the Septuagint. The meaning of it is, *exacerbation, provocation, embittering*, from πικραίνω, *to be bitter, to embitter*. It is here applied to designate the conduct of the Israelites, who provoked the displeasure of God; in particular, it signifies their unbelief and murmuring at Massah or Meribah, Ex. xvii. 7, and afterwards at other places.

Κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν . . . ἐρήμῳ, *when they tempted [God] in the desert*. Κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, Hebrew כַּיּוֹם (for כַּבְּיּוֹם), *as in the day that, when*.

Πειρασμοῦ, *of temptation*, i. e. their unbelief and murmuring put the patience of God to a trial, speaking after the manner of men. Πειράζω means, *to solicit to do evil*, but also *to prove, to assay*. When the Scriptures speak of men as *tempting* God, the meaning is, that men do that which puts the divine patience, forbearance, goodness,

etc., to trial, i. e. they make it difficult, as it were, to preserve a strict regard to these. Dindorf is mistaken, when he asserts here that *πειράζω* is never used by the Greek writers in the sense of *enticing to sin*; for *πειράν* (i. q. *πειράζειν*) *γυναῖκα* is a very common phrase, in the best Greek writers.

Ver. 9. οὐ, *when*, adverb, i. q. *δπου*, as Œcumenius remarks. οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, i. e. the ancient Israelites. Ἐπειράσαν με ἰδοκίμασαν με, *tempted me; they tried me*, etc., i. e. they put me to a thorough trial; the repetition of a synonymous word denotes intensity. I put a semicolon, however, after *ἰπειράσαν* here, as Dr Knapp has done in his Greek Testament, and so join *ἰδοκίμασαν* with *τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη*. So Kuinoel.

Καὶ ἰδόν, *although they saw*. So καὶ in Luke xviii. 7. John iii. 32. xiv. 30. xvii. 25. Rev. iii. 1, et al. In the same manner the Hebrew וְ, Gen. xviii. 27. Mal. ii. 14, et al. *Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη*, is joined, in the Hebrew, with the following verse, *forty years was I grieved*, etc. But this depends on the punctuation-system of the Masorites, which the apostle has not followed. In regard to the sense, it matters not with which the verb is joined. If they tempted God forty years, he was grieved by their conduct during the same time; and if he was grieved by them for that time, it was because they tempted him. The clause, *they tried me, although*, etc., is intended to designate the aggravated *παραπειρασμός* of the Hebrews in the wilderness, which lasted during forty years.

Ver. 10. Διό, *wherefore*, i. e. because they tempted me, etc. This word is not in the Hebrew nor Septuagint. The writer has added it to the quotation, in order to render the sense of the passage more impressive or explicit.

Προσώχθίζα, *I was indignant, was offended at*. The word is Hellenistic. The Greeks use *ὀχθίω* and *ὀχθίζω*. According to etymology, it consists of *πρός*, *to, against, upon*, and *ὄχθη*, *bank, shore*. It is applied primarily to a ship infringing upon the shore, or (as we say) running aground. It answers to the Hebrew, *וָקַם, וָקַם, וָקַם*, etc.

Τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ, *the men of that age*, or as we say in English, *the generation then upon the stage*.

Ἀὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ, the corresponding Hebrew is, *וְהָיוּ לְבָבָם*, *a people of erring heart are they*, the word *ἀί* having nothing in the original which corresponds to it. Still, the sense of the Hebrew is tantamount to what the apostle, with the Septuagint, has expressed in the Greek. *To err in heart* may mean, either to err in judgment, or in disposition, intention; for the

Hebrew לֵב, לֵב, and after it the Greek καρδία, means either *animus, judicium, or mens, cogitatio, desiderium*. I understand καρδία here, however, as used according to the Hebrew idiom, (in which it is often pleonastic, at least it seems so to us,) so that the phrase imports simply, *they always err*, i. e. they are continually departing from the right way.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, *and they have not approved my doings*. Γινώσκω, like the Hebrew יָדָע, Ps. i. 6. xxxi. 11, means *to approve, to like, to be pleased with*; comp. Matt. vii. 23. John x. 14, 15, 27. 2 Tim. ii. 19. 'Οδός corresponds to the Hebrew דֶּרֶךְ, which means *counsel, design, purpose, also operation, manner of conducting or acting towards any one*. In this last sense I take the word to be employed here. The meaning is: 'The Israelites had been discontented with the manner in which God had dealt with them in the wilderness; they disapproved his manner of treating them.' See, for an illustration of this, Deut. viii. 2—5. iv. 32—37, and particularly xxix. 2—4.

Ver. 11. 'Ως, *so, so that*, a conjunction; see Wahl on ὡς, II. 2. 'Εν τῇ ὀργῇ μου, *in my indignation*, viz. that which their unbelief and contumacy had excited. Comp. παραπικρασμῶ in vr. 8th, which means, the provocation given by the Israelites.

Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται, *they shall not enter*. Εἰ borrows its *negative* meaning from the Hebrew דֹּנֵי, to which it corresponds. The Hebrews used דֹּנֵי, in the latter clause of an oath, which ran thus; *God do so to me, IF (דֹּנֵי) I do thus*, etc. See the full form in 1 Sam. iii. 17. 2 Sam. iii. 35. 2 K. vi. 31. The former part of this oath was sometimes omitted, and דֹּנֵי had then the force of a strong negative; see 2 Sam. xi. 11. 1 Sam. xiv. 45, alibi; vide Ges. Heb. Lex. דֹּנֵי, C. 1. c. So in Ps. xcv. 11, דֹּנֵי דֹּנֵי contains a strong negative, which the Septuagint, and our author after them, have rendered, *εἰ εἰσελεύσονται*. Comp. Heb. iv. 3, 5. The passage exhibits God as speaking after the manner of men, and as affected like them, with feelings of indignation. The idea conveyed by such expressions plainly is, that God, as a measure of justice to the Israelites on account of their wickedness, gave solemn assurance that they should not enter into his rest.

Εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου, Hebrew מְנוּחָי, *my rest*, means such rest as I enjoy, or such rest as I have prepared or provided. See more on the subject of this *rest*, in the Commentary on Chap. IV.

Ver. 12. Μήποτε ἔσται . . . ἀπιστίας, *lest there be in any of you an evil, unbelieving heart*. 'Απιστίας, *of unbelief*, is here used as an ad-

jective to qualify *καρδία*, according to an idiom very common both in the Old and New Testament.

Ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος, *in apostatizing from the living God*, or rather, *so that he may apostatize*, etc. Ἀποστῆναι is *to revolt, to apostatize, to make defection from, to fall away*. Θεοῦ ζῶντος, *living God*, either in opposition to idols which had no life, as in Acts xiv. 15. 1 Thess. i. 9. 1 Tim. iv. 10; or *living* may mean *immortal, eternal*, as it does in Heb. ix. 14. x. 31. xii. 22. 1 Pet. i. 23, and often in the Old Testament. Thus *perennial* water is called ζῶν, John iv. 11. vii. 38. So the commentators and lexicographers. Possibly, in these cases, ζῶν may mean the *author* or *giver of life*; comp. John vi. 51, 57. vii. 38. But I should think this exegesis not so probable as the other.

The sense of the passage taken together is, 'Beware, brethren, of an evil unbelieving heart, such as the Israelites possessed, lest like them you apostatize from the living God,' lest you apostatize from the religion of Christ, which he has required you to receive and maintain, and thus perish like ancient Israel who revolted from God.

Ver. 13. Ἀλλὰ παρακαλεῖτε ἑαυτούς, *but admonish one another*. Ἐαυτοί, in the New Testament and in the classics, is often used as the equivalent of ἀλλήλοι; and so I understand it here.

Καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, *every day*, i. e. constantly, habitually, כָּל יוֹמָא. Ἀχρις οὗ τὸ σήμερον καλεῖται, either [καιροῦ] οὗ, κ. τ. λ., or οὗ may be an adverb of time, as in vr. 9. Καλεῖται, like the Heb. נִקְרָא, נִקְרָא, is; see Wahl's lexicon, and Gesenius on נִקְרָא. The meaning is, 'Daily, while you have opportunity, admonish one another.' In τὸ σήμερον, the article is joined, as it often is, with an adverb which expresses the sense of a noun; *constructio ad sensum*.

ἵνα μὴ σκληρευθῇ τις . . . ἀμαρτίας, *so that no one may be hardened through sinful delusion*. Ἀπάτη τῆς ἀμαρτίας means, the sinful delusion which false teachers or Judaizing zealots might occasion; or that delusion into which they might be led by their oppressive condition arising from persecution, or by any allurements of a worldly nature; so that they would become insensible to the warnings which they had received, and might abandon their Christian profession. This would be a *delusion* indeed, and be highly sinful. Mutual and daily admonition, the apostle intimates, would tend to prevent this evil.

Ver. 14. Μίτοχοι γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν, *lit. for we are partakers of Christ*. Some understand this as meaning, that we shall become

partakers of the blessings which Christ bestows. I understand by it a spiritual union with Christ, whereby we become partakers of all his blessings; such a union as he describes in John xvii. 21—23, and other like passages, and which is so often designated by the expressions, ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἐν Χριστῷ, etc. So Calvin; and Kuinoel says, 'very truly: 'Arctissima cum Christo conjunctio his formulis declaratur.'

Ἐάνπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰσχῶμεν, *if we hold fast unto the end our first confidence.* Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως, i. q. τὴν πρώτην πίστιν, 1 Tim. v. 12. The sentiment is, 'Continue, even to the end of life, to exercise such confidence in Christ as you had at first, and you shall obtain the reward which he has promised;' see μέχρι τέλους, in vr. 6 above.

Ver. 15. Ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι, *while it is said*, רַחֲמֵי in Ps. xlii. 4; comp. ὅταν εἴπῃ in 1 Cor. xv. 27. The writer means to quote the passage in Ps. xcv. 7, which he had already cited in vr. 7 above. It makes the interpretation much easier to suppose, with Carpzoff, Rosenmueller, Henrichs, Jaspis, Winer, and Kuinoel, that the quotation in this verse embraces merely the words σήμερον . . . ἀκούσητε; the rest of the verse being the exhortation of the writer himself, although expressed in the words of Ps. xcv. 8, as in vr. 8 above. The sense of the whole stands thus: 'While you are warned against the dangers of sin, be not insensible to the warning, as the Jews of old were.' Dr Knapp and others have represented the whole of vr. 15 as a direct quotation; but this embarrasses very much the interpretation of it.

Ver. 16. Τίνες γὰρ ἀκούσαντες παρεπίκραναν; So with Griesbach, Knapp, Titmann, Kuinoel, and others, I prefer to accent and punctuate this clause. The common editions have τινές, accented on the ultimate, meaning *some*, instead of τίνες the interrogative, meaning *who*? They also omit the interrogation point after παρεπίκραναν. According to this last mode of exhibiting the text, it must be rendered, as in our English version, *For some when they had heard did provoke: howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses*; which is altogether inapposite to the design of the apostle. The true rendering I take to be, *Who now were they, that when they heard did provoke* [the Lord?] Or thus: *Who then were they, etc.?* The design of this and the following questions is, to lead the minds of the readers attentively to consider the specific sin, viz, unbelief, which occasioned the ruin of the ancient Israelites, and which would involve their posterity in the like condemnation.

‘Αλλ’ οὐ πάντες Μωϋσίως, *were they not all, indeed, who came out of Egypt by Moses?* ‘Αλλά in a series of questions, and standing at the head of a question, means, *vero, porro*; see Passow. It serves to connect, and to give intensity to the interrogation. So here; *ἀλλά, truly, indeed, certe*. The meaning is: ‘Might I not ask, Did not all who came out of Egypt rebel?’ He means to intimate by this, that the number who embrace error cannot sanction it; and that those who receive great blessings, may be refractory and unfaithful, and even perish. Consequently, though the great body of the Jews rejected the Messiah during the time then present, and urged the Christian converts to do the same, it would be no excuse for apostasy. Πάντες is not to be taken in the strict sense here, any more than in multitudes of other places; e. g. ‘*all* Judea went out to John to be baptized, confessing their sins,’ Matt. iii. 5, 6; ‘*all* men came to Jesus, to be baptized of him,’ John iii. 26; Phil. ii. 21. 2 Cor. iii. 2; and so often. Of the adults, only Caleb and Joshua among the Israelites are excepted, as not having taken part in the murmurings against the Lord, Num. xiv. 30. Of course there could be no scruples in the apostle’s mind about applying the word πάντες in this case, just as it is applied in a multitude of others, viz., to designate *great multitudes* or *the great majority*.

Διὰ Μωϋσίως, *by Moses*, means under his guidance, by his instrumentality. The intimation seems to be this, viz., Were not even those Hebrews contumacious, who were delivered from bondage by Moses himself?

Ver. 17. Τίσι δὲ ἔτη; *and with whom was he indignant for forty years?* Above, in the quotation vr. 10, *forty years* is connected with ἰδοκίμασάν με. But the sense of the whole passage is not materially changed by the manner of expression in vr. 17. It is true that the Israelites put the Lord to trial for forty years; and also true, that he expressed his indignation against them during that time, until the generation who had rebelled were destroyed.

Οὐχὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήσασιν; *was it not with those who had sinned?* Ernesti and Dindorf labour to show that ἀμαρτάνω means the same here as ἀπειθεῖω. Doubtless it includes the sin of *unbelief*; but it is of itself more generic than ἀπειθεῖω, and includes various sins of the Israelites, such as rebellion, murmurings, etc., the consequence of unbelief.

Τὰ μῆλη, lit. *members*, such as arms, legs. It is here put, however, by synecdoche, for the *whole body*, and corresponds to the

Hebrew פְּנֵי־יָם, *corpses*, in Num. xiv. 29, 32; to which passages the apostle here refers. Ἐπεὶ in Greek, and the corresponding Hebrew נָפַל, are both used to designate the *prostrate condition of dead bodies, or falling down dead*. The whole phrase may be thus paraphrased: 'Who perished in the desert.'

Ver. 18. Τίσι δὲ ὤμοσι . . . κατὰπαυσιν αὐτοῦ; *To whom did he swear that they should not enter into his rest, except to those who disbelieved?*

In Num. xiv. 23, 28—30, is an account of an oath on the part of Jehovah, that the rebellious Israelites should not enter into *the land*, which he had sworn to their fathers should be given to them, i. e. in case they were obedient. In Deut. i. 34, 35, there is another mention of a like oath, viz., that they should not enter into *the goodly land* pledged by oath to their fathers. But in neither case is the word *rest* employed. The reasoning of the apostle, however, in the chapter before us, would lead us to suppose, that the manner in which the unbelieving Jews were declared in the above passages to be excluded from the *goodly land*, and the *reasons* stated for that exclusion, necessarily implied exclusion from the heavenly Canaan also, or from *the rest of God*.

Ver. 19. Καὶ βλέπομεν . . . δι' ἀπιστίαν *we see then, or thus we see, or and so we see, that they could not enter in because of unbelief*. Καί, *then, so, and so*, in the apodosis of a sentence, or in a connected series of reasoning. See Wahl on καί, ii. 2, and comp. Gesen. Heb. Lex. on י, No. 5; comp. also καί in Matt. xi. 19, καὶ λέγουσι, *and so they say*; xi. 29, καὶ εὐρήσετε, *and so ye shall find*; also in xv. 6. xxvii. 64, καὶ ἵσται, *and so shall be*; Luke xi. 26, καὶ γίνεται, *and so shall be*; 1 Cor. viii. 11.

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The writer having thus appealed, for the sake of warning, to the example and consequences of unbelief among the Israelites of old in the wilderness, proceeds now further to confirm the application of what he had been saying to those whom he addressed, and to remove objections which might be raised against this application. Two objections, he seems to apprehend, might probably be raised against the use which he had made of the citation from the Old Testament: the one, that the rest there spoken of meant only *a rest in the land of Canaan*, or the quiet possession of the promised earthly inheritance; the other, that the ancient Israelites were excluded from the promised rest on account of murmuring and rebellion, crimes not charged upon those whom the apostle addressed. The writer has deemed it expedient (and surely it was proper), that both of these objections to the use which he had made of the Old Testament Scripture should be removed, before he proceeded further with his main design.

In iv. 1, he brings forward the assertion, that the promise of entering into the rest of God still remains, and is addressed to the Hebrew Christians as it was to the Israelites of old. In vr. 2, he proceeds to repeat the idea, for the sake of deeply impressing it, that blessings are announced to us (to Christians) in like manner as to the ancient Hebrews; and he now adds, that *they* failed to obtain the proffered blessings *through unbelief*. These declarations involve two propositions; the first, that the blessings in question must be of a spiritual nature; the second, that unbelief is the cause of that sin which excludes from the

enjoyment of them. The last of these propositions he does not *formally* labour to establish, as he does the other: because the evidence of it had already been exhibited in the quotation which he had made, chap. ii. 7—11; for it is there affirmed, that after all which the Israelites had seen of the works of God in the desert, they still tempted and provoked him, i. e. they gave no credit to all the testimonies which he had set before them of his fidelity toward his promises, and of his love and pity for them; *nor did they believe* his comminations against the disobedient. Consequently, they were excluded by this *unbelief* from his *rest*.

But what is the *rest* in question? This of course involves the inquiry, whether the blessings in question are of a *spiritual* nature. Is it quiet possession of the land of Canaan? No, says the apostle. Believers *now* enter into the *rest* (vr. 3), i. e. the same kind of rest as was anciently proffered. Moreover, God calls it *παύσις μου*, MY *rest*, i. e., adds he, such rest as God enjoyed after he had completed the creation of the world; consequently *spiritual, heavenly* rest. This is plain (as he goes on to show in vr. 4) from what the Scripture says, Gen. ii. 2, concerning *the rest of God*. Again, it is involved in the very form of expression in Ps. xcv. 11, viz. MY *rest*, vr. 5.

'Now,' continues he, vr. 6, 'as some must enter into the rest in question,' (for surely God would not provide and proffer a rest altogether in vain); 'and since they to whom it was offered, lost it through *unbelief*—[it follows that *believers* only can attain to it].' But this last idea the author has not *expressed* in a positive way. He has left the reader to supply it; as he may do without any difficulty, from what the writer had already said in vs. 2, 3. The illustration and confirmation of this truth, is plainly one of the objects which the writer has in view, as was stated above; and while vs. 3—5 show that the *rest* spoken of is of a *heavenly* nature; the object of vr. 6 is to intimate that *unbelief* was the sin which excluded from it.

But lest there might still be some doubt about the nature of the *rest* to which the ancient Scriptures refer, the writer resumes the topic respecting the nature of it, and adduces other considerations to show that it must be spiritual and heavenly.

'Moreover,' says he, vr. 7, 'David himself [who lived nearly five centuries after the land of promise had been occupied by the Israelites]—David speaks of a definite time then present, in which he warns his cotemporaries against losing the *rest* which God had promised to the believing and obedient; [a rest of the same nature as that from which the Israelites of old had been excluded, as may be seen in Ps. xcv.]' 'Now,' adds he, 'if Joshua, who gave Israel possession of the land of Canaan, had given them the *rest* to which the Scripture refers when it speaks of *God's rest*, then the Psalmist could not have spoken, so many centuries afterwards, of a rest that was still proffered to Israel, and from which the unbelieving would be excluded,' vr. 8.—'Hence,' he concludes, 'it is evident, since the rest which is spoken of is not of a temporal nature, but of a spiritual, enduring nature, that there remains a rest for the people of God,' i. e. believers.

That the main object of the writer, in chap. iv. 1—9, is to prove the spiritual and abiding nature of the proffered rest, is stated so explicitly in vr. 10, that there can be no reasonable doubt left in respect to his intention; "For," says he, "he who enters into his [God's] rest, rests from his own labours, as God did from his." That is, he who attains to the rest proffered to Israel in the time of David, and to the more ancient Israelites in the wilderness, attains to a rest like that of God (described in Gen. ii. 2); i. e. he will rest from the toils, and trials, and sorrows of a probationary state, and enjoy a happiness heavenly and divine in a better world above.

The writer then proceeds, in his usual manner, to close the topic by adding exhortations diligently to seek the rest in question, and awful warnings against incurring, by unbelief, the righteous indignation of that holy and omnipotent Judge, unto whom their account must be rendered, vs. 11—13.

In regard to the views of our author, relative to the subject of the *rest* which is proffered in the Old Testament to all who are believing and obedient, they doubtless differ very much from those of many commentators and critics of the present day, who are distinguished for their literary attainments. But it will not follow from this, that they are erroneous. Certain it is, that all the writers of the New Testament had similar views, respecting the spiritual nature of some of the promises contained in the Jewish Scriptures. I cannot, therefore, with Kuinoel and others, regard the passage which we have just considered, as a mere *accommodation* (a somewhat forced one too) of promises and threatenings addressed to Israel of old, that had respect only to the land of Canaan; nor as a mere *fan-ciful* application of things ancient, to the Hebrews whom our author is addressing. I cannot help believing, at all events, that he regarded the rest spoken of in Ps. xcv. 11, and Gen. ii. 2, as a spiritual and heavenly rest. Consequently an appeal to the examples contained in the Old Testament, is more to the point, and more forcible, when thus understood, than it would be in any other mode of explaining the views and design of the writer.

As to the *mode of reasoning*, in order to establish the positions which the writer has in view, it is quite different, indeed, from that to which we now resort, who have the whole of the New Testament in our hands, in which "life and immortality are brought [so fully] to light." We need to take but very little pains, in order to prove that promises of *rest* in a *future* world, promises respecting a spiritual and heavenly country, are made to Christians. But we must remember, while we are labouring to understand the reasoning of Paul in the chapter before us, that the Hebrews whom he addressed had no New Testament; for some of it was not yet written, and none of it had acquired a general circulation among Christian churches. This is the reason why Paul, in all his epistles, whenever he has occasion to quote Scripture, uniformly quotes the Old Testament only. How could he appeal to the New Testament, which was, when he wrote our epistle, only in a forming state, and was not completed until after his death? Indeed, it was not embodied in its present form, and generally circulated among the Christian churches, until nearly a century after the death of Paul.

This may suffice to show why Paul appeals to the Old Testament, and not to the New, when he designs to establish any thing from the sacred oracles. Every one, moreover, who believes with Paul, that the "gospel has brought life and immortality to light," will of course suppose it to be more difficult, to establish promises of *rest in a future world* from the Old Testament than from the New. Hence he may be less forcibly struck with the argument of Paul, in Heb. iv., to prove a promise of future happiness to believers, than he will with many an argument which his own mind will supply from the New Testament. And with good reason. The New Testament does afford arguments far more explicit and convincing than the Old; and of course more powerful arguments than those which Paul deduces, in our chapter, from the Old. But this is no fault in the writer of our epistle. It is merely a result of the circumstances in which he and those whom he addressed, were placed. He had asserted, in writing to them, that a promise of the same nature was proffered to Christians, as was proffered to the ancient Israelites, iv. 1, 2. The consequence he adduces from this is, that as unbelief with respect to this promise occasioned their ruin, so the like unbelief would now produce the like consequences. Nothing could be better adapted to his purpose, when writing to the Hebrews, than to produce an example of the consequences of unbelief that was taken from their own progenitors, and recorded in their own Scriptures which they acknowledged as the word of God. To the New Testament he could not appeal, for it was not then in their hands. To the Old Testament Scriptures, then, he chooses (and for the best of reasons) to make the appeal, in establishing the assertion he had made, that a promise of entering into the rest of God was still left; that the proffered blessing was announced to Christians in the same manner as to God's ancient people, iv. 1, 2; and that it would be conferred only on those who remained firm in their belief.

The whole argument is, indeed, in some sense, *argumentum ad hominem*; I mean, that it is appropriate to the time and to the circumstances in which the apostle wrote, and to the people whom he addressed. But who can, with any propriety, make it a matter of accusation against the writer, that he consulted the good of those whom he addressed, by arguing with them in a manner that was most appropriate to their condition? Did not the Saviour constantly do the same? And ought we not to follow his example?

It is indeed true, that the views of the apostle, in respect to what is revealed in the Old Testament concerning a future state, were plainly very different from those of many commentators and critics, who represent the Jews, God's chosen people, and favoured too with the light of revelation, as more profoundly ignorant of the doctrine of immortality and of future rewards and punishments, than any of their heathen neighbours; a thing as improbable in itself, as it is contrary to the reasoning of the apostle on which I have been commenting. Nor is it at all necessary to maintain, with most of the recent commentators, that Paul *allegorizes* the rest of Canaan here, in such a way as to accommodate himself to the spirit of the age in which he lived, and the taste of the Jews who were his contemporaries. So far am I from embracing this view of the subject, that I am quite persuaded he has designedly undertaken to show, that the interpretation his contemporaries put upon the passage which respects *exclusion* from the rest of God, was an erroneous one. Plainly he labours to show, that *rest in the land of Canaan* could NOT possibly have been meant by the Psalmist. Where then is the *allegorizing* of the apostle here, of which so much has been said? Who can say confidently against the reasoning and the decision of Paul, that the rest of which David spake, was not *spiritual*? I content myself, whatever others may do, with the exegesis of the apostle; and do fully believe that he is in the right.

If he is correct in his views, then it follows, that the future punishment of the unbelieving Israelites is clearly intimated, by the exclusion from spiritual or heavenly rest which is threatened. This is a necessary inference from the reasoning and conclusions of the apostle.

CHAP. IV.

VER. 1. Φοβηθῶμεν, *let us beware*, lit. *let us be afraid of*. As fear, however, in its *literal* sense, is not applicable in this case, the exact shade of meaning is, *caveamus, let us beware*.

Καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας, *a promise being still left*. Καταλείπω, according to both sacred and classic usage, may mean *to forsake, desert, neglect*; e. g. in Acts vi. 2. 2 Pet. ii. 15, et alibi. In this sense many critics have understood it, in the passage now in question. The sense then would be, 'Let us beware, lest by neglect of the promise made to us,' etc. But I much prefer the other sense of the word, i. e. *to leave behind*, and (passively) *to be left behind, to remain, to be still extant*; e. g. in Acts xxiv. 27. Luke xx. 31. Mark xii. 19, alibi, and especially comp. vr. 9 below. The meaning then is, that the promise, which was implicitly made to believers among the ancient people of God, is still in being, and is made to us, i. e. to Christians. This the next verse so directly asserts, as to render the interpretation just given nearly certain.

Boehme in commenting on vr. 1 of this chapter, says: "The author would fain persuade Christians that the admonition of the Psalm was addressed to them, so that, if they should harden their hearts by deserting the gospel, they could no more attain to *divine rest* than the contumacious Israelites did, who perished in the desert; moreover, that this rest was not an *earthly* one, as it might seem to be, and as in truth it was, which was promised in the Pentateuch, but a *heavenly sabbath* or *rest*, which was the only appropriate rest for Christians. Our author, in order to effect such a persuasion, which was difficult, or rather perverted in the extreme (vel contortissimam, potius)," etc. This I produce as a specimen of the manner in which Boehme frequently comments on our epistle.

Ἐπαγγελίας, *declaration, annunciation, promise*, i. e. annunciation of the reward offered to the believing or faithful.

Μήποτε . . . ὑστερήσκειναι, *lest . . . any one of you may fail of obtaining it*. By sacred and classical usage, δοκέω is frequently joined with other verbs, without making any *essential* addition to the sense of them. It is said, therefore, to be used *pleonastically*; by which, however, can be meant only, that it is incapable of being precisely rendered into our own language, and *apparently* adds nothing essential to the sense of a phrase. But even this is not exactly true of δοκέω. In many cases, it is plainly designed to soften the expres-

sion to which it is attached; e. g. Cor. vii. 40, Paul says, *δοκῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν*, *I seem to myself to possess the Spirit of God*; a modest way of asserting the fact, instead of speaking categorically. In a similar way *δοκέω* is employed, in 1 Cor. xiv. 37. x. 12, *ὁ δοκῶν ἰσθάναι*, *he who seems to himself to stand*; iii. 18. iv. 9. In a few cases, it is difficult to distinguish what addition is made to the phrase, by the use of *δοκέω*; e. g. Luke xxii. 24, *τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων*, i. q. *τίς εἴη*. So Luke viii. 18, *ὁ δοκεῖ ἔχειν*, is expressed in Luke xix. 26 by *ὁ ἔχει*; 1 Cor. xi. 16, *εἰ δὲ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνηκος εἶναι*. There can scarcely be a doubt, however, that in all cases the Greeks designed to give some colouring to a sentence by employing it. It would often seem to be something near to our *may, might, can, could*, etc., when used to soften forms of expression that might have been categorical. So Theophylact understood it, in our phrase.—The words *δοκεῖ τις ὑστερηκέναι* he thus explains: “*Τουτέστι μηπὼς ὑστερήσῃ*, lest he may come short—and fail to enter into the promised rest. The writer uses a mild and gentle address, not saying *μὴ ὑστερήσῃ*, but *μὴ δοκῇ ὑστερηκέναι*,” Theophylact in loc. This, I apprehend, is hitting the exact force of the phrase here; an imperfect view of which is given in the lexicons.

Ἐξ ὑμῶν, in some manuscripts and fathers, *ἡμῶν*; which would better accord with the usual *κοίνωσις* of the writer; e. g. i. 1. ii. 1, 3. iii. 1, 6, 19, al. But it is not an unusual thing for Paul to change or intermingle different persons in the same passage; e. g. Rom. xiv. 13. Heb. x. 24, 25.

Ὑστερέω, lit. means *to come afterwards, to come late*. In the secondary sense it means, *to fail, to come short of*; as he must fail of obtaining a thing who comes too late for it. If the exhortation here be regarded as having a special reference to the *time* (*σήμερον*) when the offers of rest are made, *μήποτε . . . ὑστερηκέναι* may be rendered happily, as in Wahl, *lest . . . ye come too late*, i. e. after *σήμερον*. But I prefer the more simple method; *lest . . . ye fail of obtaining the promised blessing*.

Ver. 2. *Καὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν εὐηγγελισμένοι*, *for to us also the offer of blessings is made, or we are evangelized*, i. e. the promise of blessings is declared or made known to us, *as well as to them*. *Εὐαγγελίζω* is used classically in the same sense, i. e. *to announce joyful tidings, to proclaim proffered good*. The proffered blessing implied in the text, is *the rest* of which the writer had been speaking, and of which he continues to speak.

Ἀλλ' οὐκ ὠφέλησεν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς, *but the promise or declaration*

which they heard, or which was proclaimed, was of no benefit to them. Ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς may be equivalent to ὁ ἀκουσθεὶς λόγος, i. e. the word heard by them; or it may be like the Hebrew דְּבַר שְׁמוּעָה, *word of annunciation or report*, i. e. word announced or reported.—The sense is not materially changed, whichever of these interpretations is adopted.

Συγκεκραμένος . . . ἀκούσασι, *not being joined with faith in them that heard it, or not being united to faith*, i. e. faith not accompanying it or associating with it. Συγκεκραμένος is explained by many commentators, as being tropically employed here; and the metaphor, they allege, is taken from food, which when digested unites with the corporeal system and becomes aliment to it. So here, the *word*, if duly received, would have incorporated itself (so to speak) with the internal, spiritual man; but as it was not received, it did not so incorporate itself. But this is not so simple and easy a mode of explanation, as that given in the above translation.

Many manuscripts and editions read συγκεκραμένους and some συγκεκρασμένους; which some critics and interpreters prefer. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to make any tolerable sense of these readings. The common one is much preferable.

Τοῖς ἀκούσασι—equivalent here to the Gen. τῶν ἀκουσάντων. The meaning is, that the λόγος was not associated with the faith of *those who heard it*. The Hebrews usually designate possession by the dative with ל; e. g. *the Song of songs* שִׁיר שִׁירִים לְדָוִד, which is Solomon's. So frequently in Greek; e. g. οἱ πατὴρ, *his father*, Pind. Olymp. i. 91. *Neither do thy children* [σοὶ τέκνα] *see the light*, Eurip. Phœniss. 1563. *Men are one* κτημάτων τοῖς θεοῖς, *of the possessions of the gods*, Plato, Phæd. See Matt. Gr. Gramm. sect. 392. g. 1. et seq. In all such cases, there is an ellipsis of a pronoun relating to the object possessed, and of the verb of existence which governs the dative when it signifies possession or property; e. g. κτημάτων [αἱ εἰσι] τοῖς θεοῖς.

The sense of the whole verse is simply this; 'A promise of rest is made to Christians now, as well as to God's ancient people. But they received no advantage from it, because of unbelief;' the implication is, φοβηθῶμεν (as he had just said) μή τις δοκῇ, κ. τ. λ., i. e. guard well then against unbelief.

Ver. 3. Εἰσερχόμεθα γὰρ . . . πιστεύσαντες, *for we who believe do enter into the rest*, viz., God's rest. The γὰρ here and in vr. 2, I regard as γὰρ *illustrantis*. By changing the form of the propositions a little, the connexion will be quite apparent. First he says: 'Let

us beware lest we should fail of attaining to the rest which is promised.' Then he proceeds: '[This we may do], *for* (γάρ) we have the like invitation with them, and they failed of the promise through unbelief.' Again; '[This we may do], *for* (γάρ) it is only those who remain believers, that enter into God's rest.' The γάρ at the beginning of vr. 4, has respect to the illustration of vr. 3 by the quotations that follow. If the reader will consult the admirable lexicons of Passow and Bretschneider on the word γάρ, he will there see abundance of proof that γάρ is often employed after something that is to be *mentally* supplied from the tenor and object of the discourse.

Εἰσερχόμεθα, in the *present* tense, appears to have created difficulty in the minds of some critics, who have changed it into εἰσελεύσμεθα (Fut. tense). But how needless this change is, every one conversant with the idiom of the Bible may easily judge; in which the *present* tense is very often used as an *universal* tense, embracing time past, present, and future. In Hebrew, it is very common to use the *present* participle for the same purposes as the Latins use their future in *-rus*.

Καθὼς εἶρηκεν κ. τ. λ., that is, a solemn asseveration that *unbelievers* should *not* enter into his rest, implies of course that *believers should* enter into it. See on iii. 11. So Calvin: "Argumentum est a contrariis. Sola incredulitas arcet; ergo fide patet ingressus."

Καίτοι τῶν ἔργων . . . γνηθίντων, *to wit, or namely, [rest from] the works that were done when the world was founded.* Καίτοι is a particle, the meaning of which has been much controverted here.—There is no doubt that it often has the meaning of *although*, which our English version has here given to it. But I am unable to make any sense of the passage under consideration, if καίτοι here be thus translated. Nor does καίτοι seem originally to mean, *although*. Its principal signification is, *et quidem, et sane*. So Xenophon (Cyrop. III.), καίτοι, εἴτι ἐκείνους μὲν φοβερωτέρους ποιήσομεν, κ. τ. λ., *and truly if we shall make them somewhat more timid, etc.* Thucyd. iv. 60, καίτοι γινῶναι χεῖρ, κ. τ. λ., *and truly we ought to know.* Aristoph. Plut. 1179, καίτοι τότε ὅτε εἶχον οὐδέν, *and indeed then when they possessed nothing.* "Adhibetur," says Hoogeveen, "cum sequitur aliquid nova attentione dignum;" and again, "Quartus usus est, *si dictum exemplo confirmatur,*" (Hoog. Doctrina Part. Græc. ed. Schutz, vocab. καίτοι,) which is the very case in question. For here the writer gives the example of God's rest after the creation, in order to ex-

plain what is the meaning of MY *rest*. I have given the sense by rendering *καίτοι* to *wit*, or *namely*, which is equivalent in many cases to *et quidem, et sane*. So Devarius (de Partic. Ling. Græc.) explains *καίτοι*; and after him Carpzoff (Comm. in loc. nostrum). The latter says, "Devarius evicit eam (*καίτοι*) simpliciter ad exponendam aliquam sententiam poni." So Kypke and Kuinoel, *nempe, et quidem, idque*. The sense will be substantially the same, if *καίτοι* be rendered *and truly, and indeed*; but the other mode of translating is more explicit, and makes the connexion more facile.

Kuinoel solves the difficulty of the last clause in this verse, by supplying *ἔρηκε*. He construes thus: "And this (*καίτοι*) [he said] the works being completed," etc. This comes substantially to the same sense which I have given above. But I think it more simple to supply the ellipsis from the preceding expression and from vs. 4 and 10, viz., *κατάπαυσιν ἀπὸ*; as we shall see in the next paragraph.

τῶν ἔργων, (rest from) *the works*. That *κατάπαυσιν* is here to be understood before *ἔργων*, seems to be clear from vs. 4 and 10, where the same sentiment is repeated. The ellipsis may be either [*κατάπαυσιν*] *τῶν ἔργων*, or (*κατάπαυσιν ἀπὸ*) *τῶν ἔργων*; more probably the latter, for *ἀπὸ* is supplied after the verb *κατέπαυσε*, both in vs. 4 and 10. 'Απὸ, however, is not absolutely *necessary* here, as nothing is more common than for the gen. case, without any preposition, to mean *in respect to, in regard to*; e. g. *ἐγγύτατα αὐτῷ εἰμι γένους*, *I am very nearly allied to him* IN REGARD TO *descent*; *ἄπαις ἀρρένων παίδων*, *childless* IN REGARD TO *males*; see Buttman's Gramm. sect. 132. 6. 1. Matthiae, sect. 315.

'Απὸ *καταβολῆς κόσμου γενηθέντων*, *done*, i. e. completed or performed, *when the world was founded*. 'Απὸ *καταβολῆς*, *at or from the foundation*, i. e. at the beginning; in a sense like *ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς*, *at first*, in Matt. xix. 4; and in Luke xiii. 25, *ἄφ' οὗ* means, *when*. Josephus uses *καταβολή* for *beginning*; e. g. Lib. II. 17, Bell. Jud. he says: "This was *καταβολή πολέμου*, *the beginning of the war*," viz, with the Romans. The sense of the passage requires *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς* to be rendered '*at the time of the beginning*,' i. e. when the beginning was; just as we say in English, *from the first*, i. e. at the very commencement.

Ver. 4. The writer now proceeds to cite a passage of Scripture, in order to show what sort of rest is designated by the phrase *my rest*. In order to do this, he adverts to that Scripture which shows the rest that God enjoyed after the work of creation was finished.

Εἰρηκε γὰρ, for [the Scripture] says, or (the Holy Ghost) says; a frequent mode of appealing to the Old Testament.

Πού, in a certain place or passage. Chapter and verse are nowhere cited in the New Testament; and very rarely is any particular book named, unless indeed it bears the same name as its author. An appeal to Scripture, by merely saying *πού*, shows that the writer must have supposed his readers to be familiar with the contents of the Jewish Scriptures. The passage cited may be found in Gen. ii. 2. So Clement of Rome appeals to Scripture, now saying *λέγει πού*, and then *λέγει πού γραφεῖον*.

Κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεός: The *rest* here spoken of, is of course to be considered as described *ἀνθρωποπαθῶς*, i. e. in accommodation to the capacities of men. It surely does not imply that God was *wearied* by his work of creation; but that he simply ceased from it, and enjoyed a holy and delightful quiet, in the pleasing contemplation of the works which had been accomplished. Comp. Gen. i. 4, 10, 18, 25, 31.

Ver. 5. Such then was the rest of God, of which the Scripture speaks. To such rest, the apostle says, the writer of the xcvith Psalm refers. *Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάλιν, again in this passage also*, viz, in the passage which he had already quoted from Ps. xcv. 11, i. e. the passage which he is now going to mention, the Scripture represents God as saying, MY *rest*, i. e. such rest as I have, or such as I enjoy. In other words, both Gen. ii. 2 and Ps. xcv. 11, speak of a *holy* and *spiritual* rest, since they speak of a rest which God himself enjoys. Comp. *πάλιν* here, as to position, with *πάλιν* in i. 6.

Ver. 6. *Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπολείπεται . . . δι' ἀπίθειαν, since then it remains that some must enter into that (rest), and (since) they to whom the blessings were proffered, did not enter in because of unbelief; (it follows that believers only can enter in), comp. vr. 3; or rather, (it follows that a rest remains for believers), comp. vr. 9.*

This verse seems to be a resumption of the subject in vr. 3, after the explanations of *rest* which vs. 4 and 5 contain. There the writer says, 'Believers enter into the rest of God.' How is this proved? 'Because he has sworn that *unbelievers* shall not enter into it;' which necessarily implies that *believers* shall enter into it. Then, after delaying a moment, in order to show what the nature of the rest in question is, viz, that it is *God's rest*, i. e. such rest as God enjoyed after the work of creation was completed (vs. 3—5), the author resumes the consideration of the proposition advanced in the first part of vr. 3, and avers, that as some must enter into

God's rest, for God could not be supposed to have provided one in vain, and as *unbelievers* cannot enter in, so it is necessarily implied, that *believers*, and they only, will enjoy the rest in question. See the illustration of the reasoning prefixed to the present chapter, in the preceding pages.

Others construe the verse in this manner: 'Since then some must enter into his rest, and unbelievers of former days did not enter in; therefore he defines again (πάλιν) a *particular day*,' etc.; construing vs. 5 and 7 as one connected sentence. But this makes the sentence very much involved; and obscures the design of the writer. His object certainly is, to show that the rest proffered in ancient times, in the xcvith Psalm, still remains for the people of God; see vs. 9, 10. But how can this be proved, by merely showing that David spake of a definite time when he wrote the xcvith Psalm, in which the offer of rest was *then* made? On the other hand, I understand it to be the particular object of the writer in vr. 7, seq., to exhibit further proof that the proffered rest is of a *spiritual* nature, and therefore not to be limited by assigning to it a merely *temporal* sense. See the illustration referred to above. If any one is desirous of seeing what conjecture can make out of this verse, let him read the commentary of Kuinoel upon it.

Ver. 7. Πάλιν τινὰ ὀρίζει ἡμέραν . . . καρδίας ὑμῶν, *again, when speaking by David so long a time afterwards, he designates, or definitely names, a certain day, TO-DAY; as it is said, "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."* See above on chap. iii. 7, 8, particularly iii. 18. The sentiment runs thus: 'In David's time, nearly 500 years *after* unbelievers in the wilderness were threatened with exclusion from the promised inheritance, the psalmist makes use of the commination which has been quoted, in order to deter those whom he addressed from hardening their hearts as the ancient Israelites did, and so losing the rest, as they did, which God had proffered to the obedient and believing. The rest, then, could not be merely *the land of Canaan*, as the Jews of Paul's time understood it to be, for this both believers and unbelievers, living in the time of the psalmist, already enjoyed. Consequently the *rest* spoken of by the psalmist, was of a *spiritual* nature, pertaining only to believers,' All this is plainly implied; and in the next verse it is explicitly declared.

Ver. 8. Εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς . . . ἡμέρας, *now if Joshua had given them rest, i. e. the rest of God, concerning which the Scripture speaks, he [David, or the Spirit of God by him] would not have*

spoken afterwards of another time, viz., another time when rest was to be given or to be obtained. That is, 'If the *rest of God* be only the rest of Israel in Canaan, or the quiet possession of the promised land, then the psalmist could not have spoken of it as still proffered in his time, after it had been in fact given to Israel by Joshua nearly *five centuries before*.' The *other time* (ἄλλης ἡμέρας) here spoken of, is the same which is designated by the word σήμερον in the quotation: which implies a time different from, and subsequent to, that in which the Israelites obtained the rest of Canaan.

That Ἰησοῦς means *Joshua* here, there can be no doubt; for the object of the writer is to prove, that Jesus *does* bestow the rest spoken of, viz., that which the Ἰησοῦς here named did *not* bestow. Κατίπαυσι, *caused to rest*, exactly as the Hiphil conj. in Hebrew is used; e. g. קָנַח (from קָנָה) in Dent. xii. 10, in the same sense as κατίπαυσι here. In the classics this verb has the like sense, viz., Diod. Sic. p. 716. A. Arrian, Exp. Al. III. 9. Herod. I. 27. Hom. Iliad. XV. 105.

Ver. 9. Ἄρα ἀπολείπεται . . . τοῦ Θεοῦ, *consequently there remaineth a rest for the people of God*, i. e. for believers, see vr. 3. Here the object of the preceding argument is plainly developed; so plainly, that we are not left at liberty to doubt concerning it. Here is fully *expressed*, what is plainly *implied* in vr. 6, although in an elliptical manner, as has been already noticed. Such a manner is not unfrequent with Paul. Comp. Rom. v. 12 with v. 18, 19; and see sect. 22. 3. of the Introduction above.

σαλκατισμός, (Heb. מִנוּחַ, מִנוּחַ, *rest, sabbatism*), *holy, religious, spiritual rest*. σαλκατισμός is a mere Hebrew word with a Greek ending; and it is here employed as equivalent to κατάπαυσις, but with special reference to the Heb. expression מִנוּחַ (from מָנוַח) in Gen. ii. 2, which there describes the *rest* of God. The Heb. מִנוּחַ is a kind of intensive noun, formed from מָנוַח, and means *sabbath* by way of eminence. σαλκατισμός, which stands for מִנוּחַ, seems to be a word coined by the writer purposely for the occasion, and is very appropriate to his design.

That believers do enter into the *rest of God*, i. e. a rest like his, is further shown by the next verse.

Ver. 10. Ὁ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν . . . ὁ Θεός, *for he who enters into his [God's] rest, will also cease from his own labours, as God did from his*. As God ceased from his work on the seventh day, and enjoyed holy delight in the contemplation of what he had done (see on verse 4 above), so the believer, in a future world, will cease from all his

toils and sufferings here, and look back with holy delight on the struggles through which he has passed, and the labours which he has performed, for the sake of the Christian cause. In other words, 'As God enjoys a most pure and perfect rest or happiness in heaven, so the believers will enjoy the like happiness there.' And surely there is no more difficulty in calling that rest which is promised to believers, *the rest of God*, than there is in saying that man "was formed in his image," that Christians "are made partakers of the divine nature," or that "we shall be like him when we shall see him as he is." *The rest of God*, is rest like that which God enjoys. And it deserves to be noticed, that the writer in order to illustrate the nature of this rest, has chosen the description of it as following the work of creation, in order to make a comparison between it and that rest which believers will have, when all their toils and sufferings are ended. This was well adapted to take hold of the minds of those to whom he was writing, and who were exposed to many hardships and trials. Having now shown that there is a promise of spiritual rest to believers, implied in what the Jewish Scriptures say, the apostle repeats the caution, which lay so near his heart, against unbelief in the Saviour, and the consequences of it.

Ver. 11. *Σπουδάζωμεν οὖν . . . ἀρυθείας, let us earnestly endeavour, then, to enter into that rest [the rest of God], lest any one should perish in the same manner through unbelief.* 'Εν τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποδείγματι lit. *after the same example, in the same manner, viz., as they (the Israelites) perished.* Πίστην is often used in this way, in an *intransitive* sense. 'Αρυθείας I take to be the gen. of means, instrument, etc., as grammarians say.

The awful nature of the commination, that believers should not enter into the rest of God, the writer now describes, in order to leave a deep impression on the minds of his readers, and to guard them more effectually against unbelief and apostasy.

Ver. 12. *Ζῶν γὰρ . . . ἰσχυρῆς, lit. for the declaration of God is active and of a mighty power, or is enduring and powerful, i. e. has an efficiency that never ceases.* The meaning, according to the latter interpretation, is, that the commination, comp. Is. ix. 8, uttered in ancient days against unbelievers, (and which had been repeated above by the writer,) has abated nothing from its force or efficacy, even at the present time: it still lives, and unbelievers are still subject to its power. In defence of this interpretation, it might be said that ζῶν is applied here to the divine word, i. e. commination, in a manner like that in which it is applied to God in

the phrase אֵל חַי (ἑὶς ζῶν) often used in the Scriptures, which designates him as *eternal, immortal, never dying, endowed with unfailing life*, in opposition to idols destitute of a living principle, and made of perishable materials. It is evident, too, that the sense of *perpetual* or *perennial*, may be considered as appropriate to the passage before us. But others interpret ζῶν as meaning *active*, a sense which is common to this word and to the Hebrew חַי. I understand both terms as conveying the idea of *active and mighty energy*; which is altogether appropriate to the writer's purpose, whose object it is to persuade his hearers, that the commination uttered against the unbelievers of former days, and which is still in force, has a dreadful power at which they ought to shudder.

Καὶ ῥαμνέριος διότρομον, *and sharper than any two-edged sword*, i. e. it has a more efficient power to inflict wounds than a sword with two edges. The efficacy of divine commination is often compared to a sharp sword; e. g. the Son of man is represented by John as having, when he appeared to him in a vision, a sharp two-edged sword issuing from his mouth, i. e. his words cut as it were like a sharp sword, or his reproof, commination, wounded deeply, Rev. i. 16. ii. 12, 16. xix. 15, 21. Comp. also Is. xlix. 2. xi. 4, in which last passage the expression is, *with the rod of his mouth*, and in the parallel σίχος, *with the breath of his lips* [with his words] *shall he slay the wicked*. Language then of reproof, of severe threats or commination, or of condemnation, is by the sacred writers called the *sword* or *rod of the mouth*. So in our verse, the divine commination is represented as terribly efficacious, by resorting to the same species of imagery in order to make a comparison.

Καὶ διήκνυμενος πνύματος. The writer continues the description of the efficacy of the divine threatening, by carrying on still further the description of the effects produced by a sharp sword upon the natural body; *piercing even so as to separate life and spirit*. Ψυχή, when used as here in distinction from πνῦμα, means the *animal* soul, or principle of *animal* life in man; as πνῦμα in such a case means *the rational or intellectual soul, the immaterial principle* within man. See 1 Thess. v. 23, where σῶμα is added in order to designate the merely *physical* or *corporeal* part of the human system. In the phrase under consideration, *piercing so as to divide or separate, life and spirit*, plainly means inflicting a wound so deep as shall prove deadly; for that which separates the soul from the system endowed with animal life, is of course deadly. We may paraphrase both expressions thus: *a sharp sword that inflicts deadly wounds*.

Ἀρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, [piercing so as to divide] *joints and marrow*, i. e. so as to divide the joints or limbs from the body (which was often done in the severer kinds of punishment); and so as to pierce through the very bone to the marrow, or to separate the marrow from the bone, by perforating it; a tremendous image of the sharpness of the sword and the effects it produces. The sense is, that the divine commination is of *most deadly* punitive efficacy. After μυελῶν a colon should be placed.

Καὶ κριτικός . . . καρδίας, *he also judges* [takes cognizance of] *the desires and purposes of the heart*, i. e. Θεὸς κριτικός ἴστι. That κριτικός, *aptus ad judicandum*, here applies to God, and not to λόγος, seems evident. That there is somewhere here a transition to Θεός, is quite certain from vr. 13, where ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ, and πρὸς ὃν, one cannot well doubt, are to be applied to God. The nature of the case seems to show, that the appropriate place for this transition is at καὶ κριτικός. In the preceding part of the verse, λόγος Θεοῦ, *divine commination*, is represented, very forcibly and properly as *punitive*. This idea is consummated by the phrase which ends with μυελῶν; and as Θεός comes in as the subject of discourse in the sequel, at least in vr. 13, I see no place so apposite for its introduction as at καὶ κριτικός. Indeed there can be no other, for unless it comes in here, we must carry λόγος Θεοῦ through the whole paragraph, as the subject; which does not seem to be the design of the writer. In this view of the passage, Dindorf, Kuinoel, and Bloomfield agree.

God is here represented as one who scans the whole of man's internal character, and sits in judgment upon it. Consequently, as the writer intimates, no secret act or purposes of unbelief, or defection from the Christian cause, will remain unnoticed or unpunished. Ἐνθύμησις and ἔγνωα are nearly allied in meaning. They are both employed here, merely for the purpose of designating *universality*, i. e. the whole of man's internal thoughts and purposes.

Ver. 13. Καὶ οὐκ ἴστι . . . αὐτοῦ, *yea nothing is, or nor is there any thing, concealed from the view of him* [i. e. God]. Κτίσις means *any created thing*; literally *act of creation*, but it follows the Hebrew כִּלְיָוָה. Οὐ κτίσις means *nothing* (כֹּל לֹא = οὐδὲν) or כִּלְיָוָה לֹא.

Πάντα . . . τετραχνηλισμένα, *but all things are naked and exposed to the view of him, to whom we are accountable*. Τετραχνηλίζω is best explained here, in the sense which the Greek classic writers attach to it. It means, (1) To lay bare and bend back the neck, so as to expose the throat in order to its being cut open or dis severed. Hence, (2) To expose, to lay open; which is the idea of the word

in the phrase before us, as it is given in the translation above. Ὁφθαλμοῖς, *eyes*, i. e. sight, view, cognizance; for the word is often used in this sense.

Πρὸς ᾧ ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος, lit. *with whom* [i. e. before whom, in whose power, or at whose disposal] is *our account*. The sense of *account* λόγος often has. The common way of rendering λόγος here, is *concern, dealing, business*. This sense the word will bear; but it is less in conformity to the *usus loquendi*, and less apposite to the design of the writer. Chrysostom understands it as I have translated it. And so the preceding clause requires it to be rendered; for this speaks of God, (or λόγος if you please,) as *κρίτης*, i. e. *judicans, aptus ad judicandum*, the clause now under consideration, represents men as actually accountable to him who is the omniscient judge.

CONTENTS OF HEBREWS V.—X. 18.

The writer now proceeds to the consideration of a subject, at which he had merely hinted in chap. iii. 1; where he calls Christ the ἀρχαῖος of the Christian religion. As ἐπίστολος (עֲבֹדָה לְיְהוָה), *praefectus domo Dei*, he had already compared him with Moses, iii. 2—6; and then built upon the result of this comparison, the very solemn and affectionate warning against unbelief which follows, iii. 7—19. For the encouragement of the Hebrew Christians, he had also taken occasion, (after having spoken of *unbelievers* as excluded from the rest of God,) to represent the promises still held out to *believers* of enjoying that rest. Such was the case under the ancient dispensation, and such, he argues, is still the case; “there remains a σαββατισμός for the people of God.” He then, as we have seen, concludes the subject, as usual, with an exhortation; in which he calls on them not to fail of this rest, iv. 11, nor to incur the awful penalty attached to unbelief, iv. 11—13.

Having thus completed the comparison of Christ as ἐπίστολος with Moses, and drawn from the result of it those practical deductions at which our epistle every where aims; the writer now proceeds to compare Christ as ἀρχαῖος, with the Levitical order of priesthood which comparison, with its various subordinate parts, and the occasional warnings and comminations that now and then are intermixed, extends to chap. x. 18; which is the end of what may be called the *doctrinal* part of our epistle.

The mind of the writer plainly appears to have been more intensely engaged with comparing Christ's priesthood to that of Aaron and the Levites, than with any other subject in his epistle. The comparison, for example, of Christ with the angels, in chap. i., is short; the comparison of Moses, in chap. iii., still shorter. But the comparison of the Aaronical priesthood, as to dignity, duties, offices, and utility, with that of Christ, and of their functions with his, makes up, in fact, the body of our epistle. It is natural to inquire, why this should be so; and the obvious answer seems to be, Because the writer regarded this part of the Saviour's office and work, as being in a comparative sense by far the most important. As a *priest*, he made atonement for sin by the sacrifice of himself; in regard to which, no angel, no prophet, no teacher, no Aaronical priest, could bear a comparison with him. The most prominent part of all his character, as a Saviour of sinners, is, that he is “the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.”

The division of chapters made in some cases in our epistle, is quite inappropriate. Chap. iii. most plainly ought to be united with chap. iv. 1—13; thus comprising all that properly belongs to one and the same subject. Chap. iv. ought to begin at iv. 14, and to terminate with the end of chap v., where there is a transition from doctrine to exhortation.

In regard to the course and method of argument pursued through this leading portion of our epistle, viz., from iv. 14 to x. 18, in which a comparison between the Aaronical priesthood and that of Christ is made, and where all that is connected with the office and person and duty of priests is also drawn into the comparison, it seems to me that the course of thought is capable of being intelligibly stated; and I shall now venture upon the experiment.

The apostle introduces the topic, to which he had adverted in iii. 1, by calling Christ the *ἀρχιεὶς τῆς ἁμολογίας ἡμῶν*, by calling Jesus *ἀρχιεὶς μέγας*, and exhorting the Hebrews to hold fast the profession, *ἁμολογίας*, which they had made, iv. 14. He again hints very briefly, an encouragement for them to persevere, although subjected to trials and afflictions, because of the sympathy that the Saviour would feel for them, as having possessed a nature like theirs exposed to trials and suffering, iv. 15, 16. But as he had already dwelt at large on this topic, ii. 6—18, he merely adverts to it here, and passes on to suggest the points of comparison between the Levitical priesthood and that of Christ.

1. Every priest is appointed in behalf of men, in order that he may superintend and direct the concerns which men have with God, and may present their oblations and sacrifices before him, v. 1.

2. Every priest, being himself "compassed with infirmity," is prepared by his own experience to sympathize with others in like condition; and because of his own sins and imperfections, it becomes his duty to offer expiatory sacrifices for himself as well as for them, v. 2, 3.

3. No priest appoints himself to the sacred office; his appointment is by divine direction, v. 4.

In making a comparison of Christ, as high priest, with Aaronical priests, in regard to the points here stated, the apostle inverts the order in which they are brought forward, and shows,

1. That Christ was constituted high priest by divine appointment. This he proves in vs. 5, 6, by quotations from the second Psalm, and from Ps. cx. 4.

2. He then passes to the second topic of comparison, viz., the infirmity of the nature which Christ our great high priest possessed, and which qualified him in a peculiar manner to sympathize with the infirmities of his people. He represents Christ as having, during his incarnate state, uttered vehement supplications on account of his trials, and distresses, and as experiencing like other men, deliverance from them, v. 7. Even though he was clothed with the dignity of the Son of God, he acquired a practical knowledge of what it is to obey in the midst of suffering, v. 8. Thus he was fitted *μετρωσάμενος τοὺς ἀγῶνας* and having thus obeyed and suffered, in consequence thereof he was exalted to glory, (*ἐκλήθευς*), where as *kingly* high priest after the order of Melchizedek, he is an all-sufficient Saviour to those who believe and obey him, v. 9, 10.

As one of the proofs that Christ was exalted to be an all-sufficient Saviour, the writer has again, vr. 10, produced the passage, which asserts him to be a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, i. e. a kingly priest whose office is not of limited extent or temporary duration. But having thus introduced a topic attended with difficulty, and demanding an enlightened knowledge of the Scriptures and of the nature of Christianity in order to be rightly and fully comprehended, the apostle stops short in the prosecution of his subject, in order to admonish those whom he was addressing, with regard to the little progress which they had made in such knowledge as would render them adequate fully to comprehend the discussion concerning the topic in question, in which he was about to engage. His reproof for their comparative ignorance, he pursues through v. 11—14. In vi. 1—8, he warns them against the awful danger which would result from stopping short or turning back in their course, in order that he might thus excite them to more diligence and exertion respecting religious improvement. Notwithstanding the seeming severity of his remarks in regard to this topic, he assures them that he has an affectionate confidence in their good estate, vi. 9; and this, because God will have regard to the benevolent character which they had before exhibited, vi. 10. He then exhorts them to press forward in their Christian course, vi. 11; and assures them, that the promise and oath of God are pledged, that believers who persevere shall attain to salvation, vi. 13—19.

After this digression, if that may be called digression which is so directly concerned with the main object of the writer, he proceeds to descant upon the topic of Christ's priesthood, as instituted by God and compared with that of Melchizedek, which has been brought to view by the text of Scripture cited in v. 6, 10.

In order to do this so as to make a strong impression, he begins by giving an account of the dignity of Melchizedek. He was king of Salem, and priest of the most high God; his superiority was acknowledged by Abraham, when he paid him a tithe of the spoils which he had taken, vii. 1, 2. The same Melchizedek was not descended from priests, and therefore his office did not fall to him by the mere right of succession, but was by the special appointment of God; he has no genealogy assigned to him in the sacred writings, nor any limited terms mentioned in which his priesthood began or expired; like Christ's priesthood, his is unlimited, vii. 3. Abraham himself, exalted as this patriarch was, acknowledged the superiority of Melchizedek; and the Levitical priests descended from him did as it were acknowledge the same, by their progenitor who paid this homage, and to whom they must be counted inferior, vii. 4—7. Besides, the Levitical priests who receive tithes, hold their office only for a limited duration; while Melchizedek is a priest for an unlimited time, vii.

8. Indeed, if one may venture so to express himself, the Levites themselves paid tithes to Melchizedek, through Abraham their progenitor, vii, 9, 10.

Thus much for the superiority of Melchizedek over the Levitical priests. The conclusion in this case is left to be supplied by the reader's mind, after the manner in which Paul often writes. The reasoning is thus: 'Christ is a priest after the order of Melchizedek; Melchizedek is superior to the Aaronical priests; consequently, Christ as a priest is superior to them.'

The writer next proceeds to another topic of great importance, and which very naturally connected itself with the consideration of Christ's priesthood, as compared with that of Melchizedek. If, says he, the Levitical priesthood was adequate for all the purposes of atonement, and for the purification of the consciences of sinners, then what necessity that the appointment of another priest should be made, as is predicted in Ps. cx. 4. vii. 11. Now another order of priesthood necessarily demands a change of former laws respecting the priesthood, vii. 12; and that another order is introduced, follows from the fact that Christ, the priest after the new order, was to spring from the tribe of Judah, vii. 13. Still more evident must it be, that the order would be different, because the new priestly office is to be *perpetual*, vii. 15—17. Consequently, the old order of things gives place to a new and better one, vii. 18. 19.

Besides, the new priest is appointed by the solemnity of an oath, while the Aaronical priests were not, vii. 21; consequently, we must suppose the new order of things to be superior, vii. 22. This superiority appears specially in the fact that the priesthood of Christ is perpetual in his own person; while that of the Levites was constantly changing by succession, vii. 23, 24. Christ, therefore, is an adequate and *never-failing* helper to all who come unto God through him, vii. 25.

It is thus that the apostle illustrates, enlarges, and confirms his views respecting the subject introduced in v. 6, 10, by a quotation from Ps. cx. 4, respecting the priesthood of Christ. The amount of the argument is, that by the oath of God, Christ was appointed to his priesthood, while the Aaronical priests were appointed without such a solemnity; that the priesthood itself being of the order of Melchizedek, i. e. not of descent, not limited, not temporary, and of higher dignity than that of Aaron, Christ must be regarded as altogether superior to the order of Jewish priests. The inference of course is, that the Hebrews ought not to forsake him who was a superior priest, in order to attach themselves to those who were inferior ones.

Having thus completed what he had to say respecting the comparison of Christ and Melchizedek as priests, all of which is employed to the advantage of the cause which he is advocating, the writer resumes the topic which he had begun in v. 7, 8, viz., that of Christ's sympathy with those "who are compassed with infirmity." He had already suggested there, that Christ possessed all the common sympathies and innocent infirmities of our nature, in common with other priests. But not to leave it uncertain whether in *all* respects Jesus was "compassed with such infirmities" as the Jewish priests, he now proceeds to point out one important difference, viz., that the high priest of the new dispensation is altogether superior to the priests of the old, in regard to the moral purity and perfection of his character. He is holy, and altogether sinless, vii. 26; and therefore needs not, like them, to offer any sacrifice on his own account, vii. 27; for he has no such infirmity as renders this at all necessary, since he is priest in a state of perfection and glorious exaltation, vii. 28.

Having thus shown the superiority of Christ over the Levitical priests, in respect to the second particular, viz., *the qualification for sympathizing with erring men*, the writer next proceeds to the most important topic of all, viz., *the office of Christ as a priest, in directing the concerns of men with God, and in presenting a propitiatory sacrifice for them*.

He begins by averring, that the principal thing (κεφάλαιον) in respect to the matters which he is discussing, is the priesthood of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, viii. 1, 2. He then re-introduces the topic which he had before stated in v. 1. Taking for granted the truth of the sentiment there stated, he now draws the inference from it, that Christ, being a priest, must also have an offering to present, viii. 1—3. But if Christ were on earth he could not be a priest: for priests, whose office it is to perform duty in the *earthly* sanctuary, are already constituted by divine appointment, viii. 4; and these perform their office in a temple that is merely a copy or resemblance of the heavenly one, viii. 5. Christ's ministry is as much superior to theirs, as the new covenant is to the old one, viii. 6; and the Scripture itself predicts that the old covenant should be abolished, and the new one introduced in its stead, viii. 7—13. Of course the new covenant must be superior; and Christ who ministers in the heavenly temple, must be superior to those who serve merely in the earthly one.

Next, the writer proceeds to consider the *manner* and *design* of the sacerdotal service, and the *ends* which could be accomplished by it.

The earthly temple consisted of various apartments, and contained a variety of utensils,

ix. 1—5. The priests performed daily service in the outer temple, ix. 6; while the high priest entered the inner one, where God dwelt, only *once* in each year, when he presented the blood of the great atoning sacrifice, ix. 7. A permission to enter only so seldom into the inner sanctuary, showed that free access to God at all times and places was not yet granted, while the first dispensation lasted, ix. 8. Indeed, these rites, with all their appurtenances, were merely a symbol of what was to be effected under the gospel, ix. 9, 10.

Christ on the other hand, the heavenly high priest, entered the eternal sanctuary with his own blood, procuring everlasting redemption for sinners, ix. 11, 12. The blood of bulls and goats, presented by the Jewish high priest, effected nothing more than ceremonial, external purification, ix. 13; while the blood of Christ purifies the conscience and renders the worshipper truly acceptable to God, ix. 14.

Even such is the efficacy of the propitiatory sacrifice made by the death of Christ, that it extends back to the sins of former ages; so that all, who are called of God to partake of the blessings of the gospel, attain, through his *death*, to a heavenly *inheritance*, ix. 15.

The mention of Christ's *death* here, in connexion with the assurance effected by it of a heavenly *inheritance* for believers, affords occasion to the writer to compare the new *διαθήκη* ratified by the death of Christ, with the *διαθήκαι* which are ratified by the death of testators. The Greek word *διαθήκη* not only answers to *ברית*, but also means such an arrangement as is made by a man's *last will* or *testament*, and is employed, not unfrequently, in this latter sense. Hence our author, after asserting, ix. 15, that Christ's *death* made sure an *inheritance* to believers, falls very naturally upon comparing the *διαθήκη* thus ratified by the death of Jesus, with the *διαθήκαι* ratified by the death of testators. Such, says he, is the custom among men in regard to *testaments*, that the death of the testators must supervene, in order to give them full effect and confirmation, ix. 16, 17. Even the first *διαθήκη* (*ברית*), although it could not be so appropriately called a *testament*, was sanctioned in a manner not unlike that in which the new *διαθήκη* is sanctioned; for *blood*, the emblem of death, was applied to almost every thing which pertained to the ancient covenant or *διαθήκη*, in order either to ratify or to consecrate it, ix. 18—22. Now since this was so extensively done in regard to things here which are mere resemblances or types of heavenly things, these heavenly things themselves, being of a nature so much more exalted, must be consecrated by a corresponding sacrifice of a higher nature than any offered in the earthly temple, ix. 23. For it is in the heavenly temple that Christ discharges the functions of his priestly office, ix. 24; yet not, like the Jewish priests, repeating expiatory offerings frequently, but once for all performing this sacred rite, ix. 25, 26. As men die but once, and Christ in his human nature and by dying in it made an expiatory offering, so he could make this but once; therefore, when he shall make his second appearance, it will not be to repeat his sin-offering, but for the deliverance of all who wait for his coming, ix. 27, 28.

Having thus compared various particulars, which have respect to the priesthood of the descendants of Aaron, to those which relate to the priesthood of Jesus; the writer comes, last of all, to treat more fully of the inefficacy of the Jewish sacrifices, and of the perfect and everlasting efficacy of that propitiatory offering, which was made by the high priest of the heavenly sanctuary. He had, indeed, already hinted at this, several times, in the preceding parts of his epistle, e. g. vii. 11, 19. viii. 7, 13. ix. 8—10. ix. 13, 14; but as it was the most important topic of all, and the most difficult to be urged on the minds of Jews, he reserved it until the last, in order that he might give it a more ample discussion.

He begins by declaring, that the rites of the law were designed to be *typical*, and that the yearly sacrifices which were offered under it, never could quiet and purify the consciences of men, x. 1; otherwise, the offerings need not have been continually repeated, x. 2. The remembrance of sin is constantly renewed by them, x. 3. Indeed, it is plainly impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin, i. e. remove the penalty of it, or lessen its power, x. 4. In accordance with this sentiment, the Scripture, Ps. xl., represents the Saviour, when entering upon his work, as saying that sacrifices and offerings are of no value in the sight of God, x. 5, 6. The Messiah represents himself as doing what God requires, viz., what God requires in order that he may exercise his clemency, x. 7. Of course, so our author reasons, sacrifices and offerings are rejected, in respect to making real propitiation, while the "obedience of Christ unto death" is accepted instead of them x. 8, 9. This sacrifice is truly efficacious for moral purposes, x. 10. The Jewish priests repeated continually their sacrifices; but the offering of Christ *once* made, is of everlasting efficacy, x. 11, 12. Having once made this, he may expect the cause on account of which it was made to be victorious, x. 13; for *one* offering *once* made by Jesus, is all-sufficient; its effects are never to cease, x. 14. To such an efficacy of Christ's offering, the Holy Spirit has testified in the Scriptures, by declaring that under the *new* covenant sin should be forgiven, and iniquity no more remembered, x. 15, 16. Consequently offering for sin needs not to be repeated, after pardon is actually obtained, x. 17, 18.

With this consideration, the author closes the comparison of Jesus, as a priest, with the Jewish priests under the Levitical dispensation. This comparison in all its parts, however, occupies the greater portion of his epistle, viz., from iv. 14 to x. 18. He then proceeds to exhortations, warnings, and various arguments drawn from different sources, in order to urge upon his Hebrew brethren the importance of persevering in the Christian faith.

The writer of our epistle has sometimes been charged with being discursive, and with having very little connexion in the series of his reasoning. If the charge of *discursiveness* means, that he often stops short in his course of argument, in order to warn those whom he was addressing against danger and to expostulate with them, this is certainly true in a remarkable degree. But this is the ultimate and highest end which the writer himself had in view. If then he has practised digression, it is digression exceedingly to his purpose, and altogether consonant with the unconstrained nature of epistolary address.

In respect to an alleged want of connexion in the author's reasoning, the analysis already presented is the best answer which I can give to this charge. The method of reasoning seems, indeed, to have been too commonly overlooked, or to have been only partially discerned, in the commentaries to which I have had access; but I cannot help thinking that there is a connexion, which can be clearly and satisfactorily traced throughout the whole. If I have succeeded in attempting to trace it, then the student will be aided in forming his views with respect to the relation that one part of our epistle bears to another, in that portion of it which has now been analysed.

If the question be asked, why the apostle should resort to comparisons of this nature in order to illustrate the office of Christ, or rather, the virtue and efficacy of his mediation and redemption; the answer plainly is, 'A regard to the condition and feelings of those whom he addressed, led him to do so.' The Jews of that day, regarded the office of high priest as the most honourable of all offices then sustained. The authority and dignity of this office were very great, in earlier times under the Jewish kings. But after the captivity, the offices of king and high priest were frequently united in the same person. This, of course, would tend to elevate the esteem in which the Jews held the rank of high priest. When the Romans reduced Judea to a tributary province, the *civil* power was transferred to the Procurator sent there by them; but the supreme *ecclesiastical* power still remained in the hands of the high priest, who was supreme judge of the land and president of the Sanhedrim. The high priest was, moreover, the only person who could enter the most holy place on the great day of national expiation, and make atonement for the people. On all these accounts, the Jews cherished the greatest degree of reverence for this office. They looked upon it as their glory, and expected from the functions of it, pardon for sin and acceptance with God. How difficult it was to wean them from these views, even those of them who had embraced Christianity, the Acts of the Apostles and almost all the apostolic Epistles abundantly testify. But this must necessarily be done, however difficult, if Christianity was to be fully admitted and practised by them.

There can be no doubt that the unbelieving Jews would urge, with all their power, upon the new converts to Christianity, the views and feelings which the latter had once possessed in common with them in regard to this subject. It entered into the very essence of Judaism, that such views and feelings should be cherished; and this was a trait which distinguished the Jews in a peculiar manner from other nations. The Apostle in addressing the Hebrew Christians, had to contend with such arguments as the adversaries of Christianity among the Jews would bring, in order to shake the constancy of the new converts. The splendour and the supposed importance of the Jewish high priesthood, however, was after all a thing which Jewish Christians must be brought to renounce. How could they, educated as they had been, do this? To satisfy their minds on this subject, the apostle presents a comparison of this office in all its various respects, with the office of high priest as sustained by Christ; and he shows that instead of giving up any thing by embracing the new religion, they would only exchange a high priest who was imperfect, who offered sacrifices that effected a purification only external, and of mere temporary efficacy, who officiated in a temple made with hands—all the mere type or symbol of something that was of a spiritual and more exalted nature—all this they would exchange, by embracing and adhering to the Christian religion, for a high priest without sin, whose sacrifice "purged the conscience from dead works," and had an "everlasting efficacy;" which was offered too in a temple not made with hands, of which the Jewish temple, with all its splendour and solemn pomp, was only a mere image. Could any thing now be better adapted to fortify the minds of those to whom he wrote in their Christian profession, and to wean them from their old prejudices? And is it not allowable, that an apostle should reason in a manner best adapted to the condition and feelings of those whom he addresses?

I am aware that much has been said, by recent commentators, on arguing *κατ' ἀνάγκην* or in a way of *accommodation*, in our epistle; and that all the comparisons made in it, between things and persons, under the law and under the gospel, have been ranked with this class of reasoning or argument. For those who do not acknowledge the divine origin of the Jewish religion, nor that any of its rites, sacrifices, or persons were symbolical of any thing belonging to Christianity, such a mode of explanation may be necessary. But for those who believe, with the writer of our epistle, that the Jewish religion was of God, and that the ancient Scriptures have revealed a Messiah, very little, if any arguing merely in the way of accommodation in our epistle, needs to be admitted. Does not the cxth Psalm call Christ a *high priest*? And did not the Jews of Paul's day admit, as well as Paul himself, that this Psalm had respect to the Messiah? Undoubtedly they did. Where then is the *accommodation* of the writer to the mere prejudices of those whom he addressed, when it is evident that both he and they entertained an opinion in common with regard to the exegesis of the cxth Psalm? Of course, both admitted that Christ was to be a high priest. But how? Why, not of the ordinary kind; for he did not descend from Aaron. Not to make expiation which should merely pertain to external purification; but to make an expiation which should purge "the conscience from dead works," and which should procure the pardon of sin with God, and "bring in everlasting redemption for his people."

It is not then, merely to satisfy the Jew that he need relinquish nothing of his regard for the excellence and importance of the office of high priest, by embracing Christianity, and that he has exchanged a less splendid office of priest under Judaism for a more splendid one under Christianity, that Paul dwells so long on the virtues and dignity of Christ's office as high priest. No doubt he had this object in his eye, as I have already stated, when he entered upon the consideration of this topic. But why does he dwell on it so much longer than he does on the comparison of Christ with Moses? Not because the Jews exalted the high priest above Moses; for this surely they did not. It was because Christ, in the office of high priest performed that peculiar duty which of all others made him what he was, the SAVIOUR of sinners, the REDEEMER of lost men; because, as *priest*, he offered an *expiatory sacrifice* which takes away the sins of the world, and makes him the propitiation for their offences. I am entirely unable to explain the copiousness of our epistle on this point, if this be not the reason of it. And if this be admitted, then there is reason enough why the apostle should dwell so long upon it.

I know of no part of the Scriptures which explains the nature and object of the Jewish ritual, in a manner so spiritual, so satisfactory, so clear, so worthily of God, and so profitably to us, as chaps. v.—x. of the epistle to the Hebrews. As a key to the old Testament, these chapters deserve the most attentive and thorough study of all who wish to understand the Bible. As a statement and vindication of the great work of Christ, and the atonement which he made by his blood for sin, they stand in the very first rank of all the Scriptural writings. As adapted to the wants and condition of those whom the apostle addressed, they are a consummate specimen of skilful argument, and of powerful persuasion and remonstrance.

Ver. 14. *Ἐχόντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν, moreover since we have a great high priest.* So the words literally construed seem to mean. But it is doubtful whether this translation conveys the exact shade of meaning which should be attached to the original. In the apostle's day, *ἀρχιερεύς* no longer designated merely one man, the single head of the whole priesthood, but it was applied also to his deputy (*ὑποπρωτοπρεσβύτερος*); to those who had quitted the office of the high priesthood (*exauctorati*); and also to the priest at the head of each of the twenty-four classes of the priesthood. The word *ἀρχιερεύς* of itself, then, without any adjunct, did not, in the time of Paul, designate the *high priest* by way of eminence, who was the only person that could enter the most holy place and make atonement for sin. Hence the apostle says, not simply *ἀρχιερεύς*, but *ἀρχιερεύς μέγας*; which designates a specific individual. This corresponds exactly to the idea

conveyed by the Hebrew לְיָדָיו , which was applied only to him who was actually, *Pontifex Maximus*. ὁὖν is here the sign of resuming the subject introduced in chap. iii. 1, for thus it is often used; or it may be a mere continuative of discourse, and so I have rendered it. In the other sense it is equivalent to, *as was said, in quam, then, etc.*

$\text{Διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς}$, *passed through the heavens*. Wahl and others, *passed into the heavens*; interpreting διεληλυθότα as equivalent to εἰσερχόμενον , *entered into*. But they seem to me plainly to have mistaken the force of the writer's expression here. According to the Hebrew idiom, God dwells *above* the visible firmament, עֲלֵיוֹ , *οὐρανοί*, i. e. in the third heavens; comp. 2 Cor. xii. 2. *Through* this firmament Jesus passed, when he ascended to take his "seat at the right hand of the majesty on high," i. 8. There is a plain allusion, too, to the high priest of the Jews, who once in a year went into the most holy place, *passing through* the veil which screened the residence of divine majesty from the view of men, ix. 7, 8. So our great high priest has passed through the heavens, into the immediate presence of God, into the "holy of holies" in the upper world.—This explanation, which Bengel, Owen, and Kuinoel defend, I must think to be the right one; although Ernesti ventures to call it *stulta animadversio*.

$\text{Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ}$ is added, to show specifically whom he means to designate by ἀρχιερεῖα . $\text{Κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας}$, *let us firmly hold [tenaciously adhere to] the religion which we have professed, viz., Christianity*. Κρατίω takes either the acc. or gen. after it.

To encourage them to follow this advice, the writer sets before them the assistance which they may expect in their efforts so to do.

Ver. 15. $\text{Οὐ γὰρ . . . ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν}$, *for we have not a high priest, who is incapable of sympathizing with, or of being compassionate towards our weaknesses*. The form of the expression is negative; a mode of expression frequently employed by the sacred writers. When the negative form is thus employed, it is of the same meaning as an affirmative assertion would be, i. e. it is the same in this case as if the author had said, "We have a high priest who will sympathize with our weaknesses." So "John confessed, and denied not, but confessed," etc. John i. 20. In most cases, however, there is some speciality of colouring designed to be given, when this negative form of expression is chosen in preference to simple affirmation.

Πεπειρασμένον , see on ii. 18. Δέ , *but*, for so the sense requires here.

Katà párra, in all respects; not to be metaphysically or mathematically taken. The meaning is, that he, like us, was subjected to trial and suffering on account of the truth; he, like us, was solicited to sin, e. g. when Satan tempted him, and often when the Scribes and Pharisees tempted him.

Kat' ómωίρητα, scil. *ήμων*, i. e. *who was tempted like us*; *παραπλησίως ήμων*, says Theophylact; *όμοίως ήμων*, Origen. This surely does not imply, that temptations had in all respects the same influence upon him as upon us; but only that he was exposed to be attacked by them in like manner as we are. He possessed a nature truly human, ii. 14, 17; he was therefore susceptible of being excited by the power of temptations, although he never yielded to them. So the writer;

Χωρίς άμαρτίας, *without sin*; i. e. although assailed by temptations of every kind, he never yielded in any case to their influence. He remained sinless. But why is this asserted here? Principally, I apprehend, to guard against any mistake in respect to what the writer had just said. To show the Hebrews that they might depend on the sympathy and compassion of their high priest (comp. ii. 17, 18), to help them in all the trials and difficulties to which an unshaken adherence to Christianity would subject them, he declares that Jesus was himself subject to the like trials in all respects. But when he had so said, as if fearing they might conclude that in some cases at least he was, like others, overcome by them, the author immediately adds, *χωρίς άμαρτίας*. It may be, that the expression implies an exhortation thus, viz, 'Jesus when tried did not sin; Christian brethren, follow his example.' I prefer, however, the former explanation.

Ver. 16. *Let us therefore, approach the throne of grace μετὰ παρρησίας*, lit. *with freedom of speech*; i. e. since we have such a sympathizing, compassionate high priest, to offer our supplications to God and to help us, let us go to God with confidence that we shall receive the aid that we need. "Ask and ye shall receive." *Τῷ Θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος* has reference to *the mercy seat* in the temple, on which God is represented as sitting enthroned. There he heard the supplications of his people, which were presented by the high priest; there he accepted their oblations; and from thence he dispensed to them the blessings which they needed. Christians may now approach the mercy seat in heaven, by their high priest, and may come *μετὰ παρρησίας*, *with confidence*.

ἵνα λάβωμεν ἔλεον, *that we may obtain mercy*, i. e. that we may obtain compassion in our afflictions and trials. *Καί χάριν εὐρωμεν . . .*

βοήθειαν, and find favour in respect to timely assistance. *Χάριν* does not here differ much from *ἔλεον*, except that it is a word of a more generic nature. The sentiment is, *that we may be helped opportunely*, i. e. that now, when we are persecuted and sorely pressed by trials, we may obtain that aid which such seasons require. This is exactly the idea conveyed by *εὐκαιρον βοήθειαν*, *auxilium opportunum*. Literally the Greek runs thus, *And find grace with respect to opportune assistance*.

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος*, *selected, taken from men*. So *λαβὼν*, in Acts xv. 14. In a similar sense *לָקַח* is often used in Hebrew; and *λαμβάνω*, not unfrequently, in the classics. The meaning is, that priests appointed according to the usages of the Levitical law, in distinction from the great high priest constituted by the special appointment of God, are appointed to have the oversight of the religious concerns of the people, specially to make their oblations and sacrifices.

ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, *is constituted for the benefit of men, in relation to their concerns with God*. *Καθίσταται* is often employed to designate an appointment to office of any kind; e. g. Matt. xxiv. 45. Luke xii. 14, et alibi. So also it is used by heathen writers. *ὑπὲρ*, *for the benefit of; for the sake of, on account of*; a frequent use of the word. *Τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, for *κατὰ τὰ, κ. τ. λ.*, there being an ellipsis of the preposition, which is very common in such cases. The idea is, 'In respect to their religious concerns, in regard to business which they have to transact with God;' particularly, *ἵνα προσφέρει . . . ἁμαρτιῶν*, *that he may offer (to God) both oblations and sacrifices for sin*. *Δῶρα* I take here to mean the various kinds of *thank-offerings*, etc., that were to be presented to God, agreeably to the ritual established by Moses; and *θυσίας*, the various *sin and trespass offerings* that were made with slain beasts. *Θυσίας* refers to the act of *slaying*, as it is derived from *θύω*, *to kill*. In all these and the like concerns, the high priest was to act the part of an *internuntius*, a mediator, between God and men; i. e. he was to aid men in regard to their spiritual or religious concerns. It should be remarked, however, that *δῶρα* sometimes includes the idea of *sacrifices*; e. g. viii. 4, comp. viii. 3. Yet where both *δῶρα* and *θυσία* are employed, they are not to be regarded as synonymes. Both together are employed to designate the *universality* of the idea intended, i. e., in this case, offerings of every kind.

Ver. 2. *Μετριοπαθὴν δυνάμειος, one who can exercise gentleness or moderation.* This classic or philosophic use of the word *μετριοπαθὴν* may be briefly explained. The Stoics maintained that a man should be *ἀπαθής*, i. e. not subject to passions, such as anger, fear, hope, joy, etc. The Platonists, on the other hand, averred that a *wise man* should be *μετριοπαθής*, *moderate in his affections*, and not *ἀπαθής*. The leading sense, then, of the word *μετριοπαθὴν* is, *to be moderate in our feelings or passions*. In our text, the connexion shows us that this moderation or gentleness was to be exercised by the high-priest *τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις*, *toward those who were ignorant and erring*. In other words, he was to be lenient towards offenders, to treat them with gentleness and moderation, with kindness and not with severity. The comparison of Christ as a priest, in respect to this point, is presented in v. 7—9.

Ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις some have construed as a hendiadys, and rendered the phrase thus: *those who ignorantly offend, or who offend through ignorance*. But surely the indulgence of the high-priest on earth, was not limited merely to this class of offenders; much less is the clemency of our great high-priest in the heavens so limited. *Ἀγνοίω* is repeatedly used by the Seventy, as a translation of the Hebrew *חָטָא, גָּזַל, עָוָן*, which signify *to err, to commit sin, to render one's self guilty*. So Sirach v. 18, *in a great or little thing μὴ ἁγιάει, sin not*. So Polyb. V. 11. 5, *πολεμὴν τοῖς ἀγνοήσαι, to make war on those who have been faulty*. But if any should think it preferable, in our verse, to retain the common sense of *ignorance*, then plainly it must be construed of voluntary criminal ignorance; and in such a case, *πλανωμένοις* designates those who commit offences in consequence of such ignorance. But I prefer to understand *ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις* as an accumulation of descriptive words, in order to designate offenders of various kinds; and so, although I have rendered *ἀγνοοῦσι* *the ignorant*, yet I mean this in the sense of being *voluntarily*, and therefore *criminally* ignorant. This mode of explaining the expression comports with the office of the Levitical priest in the earthly sanctuary, and with that of Jesus in the heavenly one.

Ἐπὶ καὶ . . . ἀσθενίαν, *since he himself is compassed with infirmity*, i. e. he is himself an offender, or he is exposed by his weaknesses to commit the like sins with those whose offerings he is called to present to God. *Περίκειται*, in the passive, is construed with an accusative after it. *Ἀσθένεια* here means *moral infirmity or weakness*,

not natural frailty of the *physical* system. The meaning is, that the high-priest 'haud ignarus mali, miseris succurrere discit.'

Ver. 3. Καὶ διὰ ταύτην, . . . ἁμαρτιῶν, *and on this account* (viz. because he himself is a sinner,) *he must present sin-offerings as well for himself as for the people.* Προσφερίν i. e. πρόσφοραν or θυσίαν, Hebrew $\text{הִזְבִּיחַ הִזְבִּיחַ}$. Προσφέρω is the common word employed to denote the presentation of an offering, gift, or sacrifice to God, and corresponds to the Hebrew הִזְבִּיחַ , or rather הִזְבִּיחַ in Hiphil. See the *superiority* of Christ represented, in respect to the point here suggested, as to the duty or obligation of priests in general, in vii. 26—28.

Ver. 4. Καὶ οὐκ ἑαυτῷ . . . Ἀαρὼν, *moreover, no one can assume the honour* (of the high priesthood) *to himself, but he is appointed by God, even as Aaron was.* Καλούμενος, i. e. δεῖ καλούμενος εἶναι.

Ver. 5. Οὕτω καὶ . . . ἀρχιερία, *accordingly, Christ did not claim for himself the honour of being high-priest, or Christ did not exalt himself to the honour of being high-priest.* Δοξάζειν, *to exalt, to claim honour for*, John viii. 54, Rom. xi. 13.

'Ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας . . . γεγέννηκά σε, *but he who said to him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, [ἰδοῦσεν αὐτόν, *exalted him.*] So the ellipsis must be supplied. The meaning is, exalted him to the office of high-priest, i. e. the Father, who hath given to the Son an exalted station, hath bestowed this honour also upon his Son (see on i. 5); or in other words, Christ was *divinely appointed* to office.

Ver. 6. Καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει, *as also he saith, in another* [passage of Scripture.] The declaration is, that the Father constituted the Son a priest; for the writer had affirmed in vr. 4, that a priest must be *divinely* constituted. The quotation is from Ps. cx. 4; a Psalm which, as I have before remarked, not only the apostle and most Christian commentators, but even the Jewish Rabbies in general, agree, has relation to the Messiah.

Σὺ ἱερεὺς Μελχισεδέκ, *thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.* 'Ιερεύς designates here a priest *generically* considered. The Psalmist, and after him the apostle, does not say ἀρχιερεύς, because the sequel shows that the personage referred to must be of the highest order of priests, viz., of the same order with that of Melchizedek.

Κατὰ τὴν τάξιν, Hebrew עַל דְּבָרָתִי i. e. עַל דְּבָרָת , for י is paragogic here. This Hebrew phrase commonly means *on account of, for the sake of*; but such a meaning would be wholly inapposite in Ps. cx. 4. The sense of it, as there employed, plainly is similar to that of דְּבָרָת in Deut. xv. 9. xix. 4. 1 Ki. ix. 15, viz., *manner, order, arrange-*

ment, kind. So in its classic sense *τάξις* means *order, arrangement, place, office, rank.* The simple meaning of the whole phrase, is, 'Thou art a priest of an order or rank like that of Melchizedek.'

When in vr. 10 the writer repeats the quotation here made, he uses *ἀρχιερεύς* instead of *ιερεύς* the word employed here in his first quotation. The object of the quotation in vr. 6 is simply to prove, that the office of high-priest was conferred on Christ by divine appointment; comp. vs. 4 and 6. The particulars of the comparison in respect to the priesthood of Christ and Melchizedek, are not immediately brought into view, but suspended until the writer has introduced other considerations relative to Christ as a priest, v. 7—9, and given vent to his feelings of concern for those whom he was addressing, by suggesting various considerations adapted to reprove, v. 11—14, to warn, vi. 1—9, as well as to excite and animate them, vi. 10—20.

In regard to *κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα*, it is to be taken in a qualified sense here, as often elsewhere, e. g. comp. Luke i. 33 with 1 Cor. xv. 24—28. The priesthood of Christ will doubtless continue no longer than his mediatorial reign; for when his reign as mediator ceases, his whole work both as mediator and as priest will have been accomplished.

In respect to the application of Ps. cx. to the Messiah, see Mat. xxii. 41—45. Certain it is, from this passage, that Jesus considered and treated this Psalm as applying to himself.

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The three following verses I take to be a comment on v. 2, or, to express my meaning more fully, a comparison of Christ as a priest, with the Jewish priests, who, being themselves compassed with infirmity, were taught by experience *μαρτυροῦν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις.* It is, however, only the *innocent infirmities* of one exposed to *suffering*, that are brought to view here. These Christ possessed in full, so that he could, like other priests, sympathize with those who are tempted and tried by suffering. None of his disciples are tried more severely than he was.

The writer, however, does not complete this topic here. He breaks off, in order to pursue the course of thought to which the introduction of Melchizedek's priesthood led him, and for the sake of inserting practical warning, reproof, and exhortation, v. 11—vi. 25; and in vi. 26 he resumes the consideration of the topic thus interrupted, and shows that as to *sinful infirmities*, Christ was not to be compared with the Jewish priests, for he had none of them. Thus while, like other priests, he was fitted to exercise compassion on those who are suffering and are tempted, he was altogether superior to them in the moral perfection of his own character. He needed no sin-offering for himself (comp. v. 4); but was high-priest, in a state where he was *αἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένος*, vii. 26—28.

Ver. 7. *Ὁς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, who, during the time of his incarnation.* *Ἡμέραι*, like the Heb. *יָמִים*, means *time, season.* *Τῆς σαρκὸς* I understand as designating the condition of the LOGOS incarnate, or *ἐν σαρκί*; comp. John i. 1, 14. 1 Tim. iii. 16. The

whole expression designates the period of the Saviour's humiliation when "he was tempted in all points as we are." iv. 15.

Δεήσεις καὶ ἱκετηρίας προσνέγκας, *offered up prayers and supplications*. These two words are often joined by profane writers; e. g. ἱκετηρίας πολλὰς καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦμενοι, Isoc. de Pace. Χωρὶς δὲ ἱκετηρίας καὶ δεήσεως, Philo de Cherub. p. 116. So also Lucian and Plutarch. Some critics have referred δεήσεις to prayers proceeding from a *sense of need*; and ἱκετηρίας to *submissive intercession*. But although in some cases the words may be so employed, they are generally used as synonymous or nearly so. The use of both these synonymes denotes *intensive supplication* or *intercession*; a mode of expressing intensity, which is very frequent in the sacred writings.

Πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σῶζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου, i. e. to the sovereign Lord of life and death, the "God in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways:" a periphrasis in this case which means, 'God who is possessed of *supreme* power, or the sovereign Lord of life and death.

Μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων, *voce altâ et lacrymis, with loud cries and with tears* or *weeping*; see Luke xxii. 41—44. Matt. xxvi. 38, 39. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34—36, and comp. Luke xii. 50. John xii. 27, 28. Κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς denotes the intensity of the voice when raised high by agonizing supplication, Luke xxii. 44. The Evangelists do not mention the weeping of the Saviour; but who can doubt that he did weep, when he prayed in such an agony that he sweat as it were drops of blood? Luke xxi. 44.

Καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, *and was heard in respect to that which he feared, or was delivered from that which he feared*. The classic sense of εὐλάβεια is *fear, dread*; and this is the sense in which it is commonly employed in the Septuagint. But as the Hebrew words יָרָא and יִרְא mean, *reverence* and *to revere*, as well as *fear* and *to fear* or *to dread*, so the Greek εὐλάβεια, εὐλαβής, εὐλαβίω, are sometimes employed to designate the idea of *reverence*, and consequently, like יִרְאָה, of *piety, devotion, religion*. But the usual classic sense of the word is to be preferred in our verse, viz., *fear* or *object of dread*, like the Hebrew יָרָא. Εἰσακούω and ἰσακούω are frequently employed, in the Septuagint, in order to translate the Hebrew verb יָנַח; and יָנַח very often means, *to answer a prayer* or *request*. To answer a request for deliverance, is *to deliver* or *save from*. This sense the verb יָנַח sometimes has; Ps. xxii. 22, *from the horns of the wild bull יָנַחְנִי, deliver me*, (the preceding parallelism has יַצִּילֵנִי *save me*;) Job xxxv. 12, *from the*

pride of the wicked $\eta\gamma\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, *he* [God] *will not deliver*. So Ps. cxviii. 5, et alibi. We may render *εισακουσθείς*, then, *was delivered*, Still this is not absolutely necessary, inasmuch as *he was heard in respect to the object of fear*, gives the same sense, viz. 'from that which he dreaded, Christ was delivered, or his entreaties were listened to in respect to that which he dreaded.' $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$, like the Hebrew π , ν , is sometimes employed in the sense of *quod attinet ad*, so that it accords with the general meaning of $\pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota$; e.g. in Acts xvii. 2. See Schleusner, Lex. $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$, No. 18. Gesen. Heb. Lex. π No. 4. If *εισακουσθείς* be translated (as the Hebrew $\eta\gamma\gamma\alpha$ in some cases should be rendered), *was delivered*, then the usual sense of $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ is perfectly appropriate; and on this account I have thought such a translation to be preferable, and made it accordingly. See EXCURSUS XI.

Ver. 8. $\text{Καίπερ ὡν υἱὸς . . . ὑπακοήν}$, *although a Son, yet did he learn obedience by suffering*, i. e. although he was God's only and well beloved Son, a personage of the most exalted dignity, yet was he put to the trial of obedience in the midst of sufferings; or rather, he was subjected to learn, experimentally, what it is to obey in the midst of sufferings. So I interpret this somewhat difficult and much agitated verse. - I cannot suppose the object of the writer to be, an assertion that Christ did not understand the nature of obedience or recognize the duty of it, before he suffered; but that it pleased God to exalt him to glory, in the way of obedience by suffering as well as by action. Such is the sentiment in ii. 10. Of such an obedience our epistle speaks in x. 7, quoted from Ps. xl. 8. 9; and such is that mentioned in Phil. ii. 8, *obedience unto death, even the death of the cross*, which, in the sequel, is asserted to be the special ground of Christ's exaltation to the throne of the universe. To mention such an obedience here, is altogether apposite to the apostle's design; which was, fully to impress on the Hebrews the sympathizing and compassionate nature of the Saviour, and his fitness to succour those who were under sufferings and trials; comp. ii. 17, 18. iv. 15, 16. The same is implied in v. 1, 2.

Ver. 9. $\text{Καὶ τελειωθείς . . . αἰωνίου}$, *and being exalted to glory, he became the author of eternal salvation* [he procured salvation] *for all those who obey him*. For *τελειωθείς*, see on ii. 10, where is the same sentiment as here, and where Christ, who is here said to be $\alphaἴτιος σωτηρίας$ is called $\tauὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας$, which has the same meaning. As to chap. ii. 10, the whole of the preceding context there is occupied with showing the exaltation or kingly dignity of Christ; and to the like state of exaltation *τελειωθείς* undoubtedly refers here.

There is also conveyed, by vr. 9, an intimation that Christ's very sufferings stand in an intimate and necessary connexion with his exaltation to the kingly office, so that he is a *kingly* priest, as Melchizedek also was. There is evidently no necessity, however, of including the whole of vs. 7—9 in a parenthesis, as many commentators have done; nor of regarding them as an interruption of the apostle's discourse. The fact is, as we have seen in the illustration above, that a new topic or head is introduced by them, which is broken off in v. 11, after the manner of Paul, and resumed in vii. 26.

Ver. 10. Προσαγορευθεὶς Μελχισιδὲκ *being called by God* [as I was saying], *a high priest after the order of Melchizedek*. Προσαγορεύω means *to name, to salute by calling a name, to greet*. The meaning is, that Christ is greeted or saluted by the name or appellation, ἀρχιερεὺς, ἱερεὺς. In the Septuagint, Ps. cix. 4 [cx. 4], and above in vr. 6, it is ἱερεὺς. But the Hebrew יֵרֵךְ means either ἀρχιερεὺς or ἱερεὺς; see Lev. iv. 16, et al.; so that the apostle might render the original in Ps. cx. 4, by either Greek word. Accordingly, he has chosen ἀρχιερεὺς.

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Having thus introduced the subject of Christ's exaltation as priest, the nature of the comparison introduced, viz., the comparison of Christ's priesthood with that of Melchizedek, occasions the writer to stop short in order to comment on this, and also to give utterance to his emotions of concern for those whom he addressed. The difficulty and obscurity of the subject which he is about to discuss, are, in his view, occasioned principally by the low state of religious knowledge in those whom he addresses. This he tells them very plainly, in order to reprove them for the little progress they had made in Christian knowledge, as well as to guard them against objecting to what he is about to advance.

Ver. 11. Περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος λέγειν, *respecting whom we may have much to say*. So Lysias in Panoc., πολὺς ἂν εἴη μοι λόγος διηγέσθαι. Dionys. Halicar. I. 23, περὶ ᾧ πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος.

Καὶ δυσσεμήνυτος, *and difficult of explanation*, from δύς and ἑρμηνεύω. Critics frequently couple the word λέγειν which follows, with δυσσεμήνυτος; but the example above, from Lysias, shows that it should be associated with λόγος. The grammatical construction or arrangement I take to be this; περὶ οὗ λέγειν, πολὺς ἡμῶν [εἴη] ὁ λόγος; the Infinitive λέγειν being used as a noun in the nominative, or as the subject of the sentence, according to a common usage.

Ἐπὶ νωθροὶ γιγνώσκειτε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, *since ye are dull of apprehension, or slow in understanding*. Ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, lit. *in hearing*. But ἀκούω *to hear*, means often *to perceive, to understand*, like the Hebrew שָׁמַע.

The reason why they are so dull in respect to understanding religious subjects, is next suggested by the writer; doubtless with

the design of reproofing those whom he addresses, for their neglect to make a suitable progress in Christian knowledge.

Ver. 12. Καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες χεῖρον, *for when ye ought to be even capable of teaching, as it respects the length of time, viz., length of time since ye made a profession of the Christian religion.* The writer doubtless does not mean to say, that the whole church whom he addressed should actually be teachers; but that they ought to have made advances enough in the knowledge of spiritual subjects to be *able to teach* in them, or in other words, ought to have made very considerable acquisitions in religious knowledge, considering the length of time that had elapsed since they professed to be Christians. Διὰ τὸν χεῖρον may be rendered *after the time*, i. e. after so much time; comp. διὰ in Matt. xxvi. 61. Mark xiv. 58. ii. 1. Acts xxiv. 17. Gal. ii. 1.

Πάλιν χεῖραν ἔχετε τοῦ Θεοῦ, *ye have need that one should again teach you the very rudiments of divine doctrine.* Στοιχεῖα, *elements or rudiments of any science.* Στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς, *the rudiments of the beginning*, is the same as Horace's *elementa prima*, Serm. I. The idea is expressed by the phrase, *very rudiments* or *first elements, elementa prima.* Τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ I should refer particularly to those parts of the Old Testament which have a respect to the Christian religion, and especially to the Messiah, were it not that in chap. vi. 1—3, the writer has shown that he means the rudiments of *Christian doctrine* in its *appropriate* sense. Λογίων Θεοῦ then must mean here, *doctrines or communications of God*, viz., which God has revealed under the gospel, i. e. divine doctrine or doctrines of divine original.

This feeble, imperfect, spiritual condition, the writer now describes, by a very appropriate figure taken from the aliment and condition of young children.

Καὶ γυνάται χεῖραν τροφῆς, *and ye have become [like] those who need milk, and not solid nourishment*, lit. ye have become those who need, etc. But the particle of similitude is, in such cases, very often omitted in the Old Testament and in the New. The meaning is, 'Ye have, in spiritual things, become as children are in regard to food, i. e. unable to bear or digest any thing but the most light and simple nourishment, ye cannot understand or bear the higher and more difficult doctrines, ye cannot properly apprehend them when they are proposed to you.' Τροφή, *nourishment, any kind of food*, not meat only.

Ver. 13. Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων νήπιος γὰρ ἴστι, *now every one who*

partakes of milk, is unskilled in the doctrine of righteousness, for he is a child. Ἀπειρος, *inexpers, ineptus ad aliquam rem*, i. e. one who has not that skill or experience in regard to any thing, which is requisite to a due apprehension and consideration of it. The sentiment is, 'As he who must be fed with milk, is yet a child; so ye, who can bear only the lighter kinds of spiritual nourishment, are yet *νήπιοι* in religion.' Λόγου δικαιοσύνης, *doctrine of salvation*, i. e. the gospel or the Christian religion, according to some; δικαιοσύνης meaning here, as they suppose, *what the Christian religion sanctions or ordains*. See Schleusner on δικαιοσύνην, No. 9. Others render δικαιοσύνην, *grace, favour*, i. e. the gospel which reveals grace, favour, pardon. Others translate it *true doctrine*, because רָצָה and תָּמִיד are sometimes synonymous. Others translate it *perfect doctrine*, as being the antithesis of τὰ στοιχεῖα κ. τ. λ. above. So Abresch, Wahl, Ernesti, Kuinoel, etc. I would translate it simply, *the doctrine of righteousness*, i. e. of true uprightness of life, including piety towards God and integrity towards men. So, or to the like purpose, is δικαιοσύνη employed in Acts x. 35. xiii. 10. xxiv. 25. Matt. v. 20. v. 6. vi. 33. xxi. 32. Luke i. 75. Rom. vi. 16—22, et alibi sæpe.

Ver. 14. Τελείων δὲ ἴσθιν ἡ στείρα τροφή, *but solid food is for those of mature age*. Τελείων, *adult, grown up*, i. e. those who have obtained completion in a physical respect; see on ii. 10. v. 9.

Τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξιν . . . κακοῦ, *who possess organs of sense, exercised by practice for distinguishing between good and evil*. The metaphor here, as in the preceding verse, is of a mixed nature; the latter clause being appropriate to moral εἰδήσεις. The meaning is, that *solid food*, which is an image of the more difficult part of gospel doctrines, is appropriate to *full grown* men, i. e. to Christians who have come to a maturer state, and who, by experience in matters of religion and frequent reflection upon them, have made advances so as to be able to distinguish what is right and what is wrong respecting them. Αἰσθητήρια here means the *internal senses* of Christians, their moral powers or faculties of distinguishing and judging; although the term itself, in its *literal* acception, designates the *external organs of sense*. Διάκρισιν καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ is borrowed from the Heb. עָנָה בֵּין טוֹב וְרָע; see Gen. ii. 17. Deut. i. 39, and comp. Is. vii. 15, 16. Jonah iv. 11. It is applied by the Hebrews to designate a more mature and advanced state of knowledge in respect to any thing, and not simply to the mere perceiving of a difference between the moral nature of good and evil. So in the verse before us, we cannot suppose the writer to mean, that the Hebrews were

not yet τέλει in such a sense as to be able to discern the difference between good and evil, simply considered. He evidently means that they were in such a state, as not readily to discern what was true or false in respect to the more difficult doctrines of the Christian religion; they were not as yet capable of rightly understanding and estimating them. From this state it was their duty speedily to extricate themselves; and this the writer now goes on and exhorts them to do.

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. Διὸ ἀφέντες . . . φερώμεθα, *wherefore, leaving the first rudiments of Christian doctrine, let us proceed to a more advanced state* [of knowledge]. Διὸ I interpret here in the usual sense. I understand the reasoning of the apostle thus: ‘Wherefore, i. e. since τέλει only are capable of σπερὰ τροφή, *solid food*, viz., of receiving, digesting, and duly appropriating the higher and more difficult doctrines of Christianity, and since ye are yet but νήπιοι, although ye ought to be *advanced* in Christian knowledge, if regard be had to the long time that ye have professed the Christian religion, v. 12—14; διὸ, *therefore* it becomes you to quit this state of immaturity, this νηπιότητα, and advance to a maturer state, to a τελειότητα.’ The reasoning is plain, when thus understood, and the connexion palpable. The word ἀφέντες is capable of the signification given to it by this method of interpretation. Ἀφίημι signifies, among other things, *retinquo, abeo, discedo, relinquo post me*, etc., and is frequently applied to quitting a thing for the sake of going to some different place, or of engaging in a different employment; e. g. Matt. iv. 20, 22. v. 24. xviii. 12. xix. 27. John x. 12. The meaning here I take to be this, ‘Quitting the mere initial state of pupilage, advance forward to a maturer state of instruction and knowledge;’ or ‘Make such advances, that it shall be unnecessary to repeat *elementary* instruction in the principles of Christianity.’ vs. 2, 3.

Others, and most commentators, understand ἀφέντες here in the sense of *omitting*, and apply it to the apostle in the following way; ‘Omitting now to insist on the first elements of Christian doctrine, let me proceed to the consideration of the more difficult principles of religion, not discussing at present the subject of repentance, baptism, etc.; which I will do, i. e. I will discuss the higher principles, if God permit;’ or, as some interpret this last clause, ‘Which

[first rudiments] I shall discuss by and by, *Deo volente*; referring *καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν* to the *discussion* of the doctrines just mentioned.

But a difficulty in admitting this interpretation lies in the context which follows. According to the method of interpretation just proposed the reasoning would be thus; ‘Omitting now all discussion respecting the first rudiments of Christian doctrine, I will proceed to disclose the more abstruse principles of the same; *for it is impossible* (*ἀδύνατον γάρ*) that apostates should be again renewed again to repentance.’ Is there any coherence in such reasoning? If there is, it is at least very difficult to see it. But does the other method proposed relieve the difficulty? Let us see. It stands thus; ‘Christian brethren, who ought by this time to be qualified by your knowledge of religion to become teachers of it, quit the state of ignorance in which you are. Let it not be necessary any more to teach you the first rudiments of Christian doctrine. Such progress we *must* make, *Deo volente*. Stationary we cannot remain; we must either advance or recede. But guard well, I beseech you, against receding; *ἀδύνατον γάρ*,’ etc., vs. 4—8.

Two things, at least, must be admitted. The one, that the apostle taxes them with negligence in regard to an enlarged acquaintance with religious doctrine; the other, that he cautions them against the awful consequences of apostasy. Now does it not follow, that he considers the state of comparative ignorance in which they were, as exposing them in a peculiar manner to apostatize; and consequently, that he connects the danger of apostasy with reproof in regard to religious ignorance, so as to rouse them to more effort in order to acquire a better acquaintance with the grounds and principles of Christianity? And is not all this founded in the nature of things as they have always existed? Are not the ignorant most easily led away by impostors and heretical teachers? The men who have prohibited the use of the Scriptures by the people at large, and who labour to suppress the diffusion of general knowledge in order that the mass of the people may be kept in ignorance and so be moulded by them at their will, have well understood the principle to which I have alluded.

The caution of the apostle, then, I consider as amounting to this; ‘Guard well against ignorance of Christian doctrines, for lapse is easy to the ignorant, and recovery exceedingly difficult or impossible.’ I cannot, therefore, follow the usual method of expounding either the verse before us, or the subsequent context.

Φειώμεθα, the middle voice of *φείω*, often signifies *to go, to come*,

to travel, to move in any manner or in any direction. Here *φειρώμεθα* means, *to advance, to go forward*.

Μὴ πάλιν θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενοι μετανόας, *not again laying the foundation with respect to repentance*; not again commencing, as we once have done, with the first elements of Christian doctrine, e. g. the subject of repentance, etc. Μετανόας here means, the subject or doctrine of μετάνοια, see vr. 2. The writer does not here speak of repentance as an act, but as a *doctrine* or subject of consideration; and so of the other subjects mentioned in the sequel. That *repentance* was inculcated as an *initial* doctrine and duty of Christianity, may be seen by consulting the following passages, Matt. iv. 17. Mark i. 15. Acts ii. 38. xvii. 30, and others of the same kind.

Ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων, *from deadly works*; i. e. in respect to works which cause death, misery, or condemnation; comp. ix. 14, and τοῦ θανάτου in ii. 14. Or νεκρός may be interpreted as meaning *sinful, vicious*; as in Eph. v. 14. Rom. vi. 13. xi. 15. Rev. iii. 1. It is not important which of these senses is adopted. The one implies the other.

Καὶ πίστιως ἐπὶ θεῷ, *faith in God or in respect to God*. That this is an elementary principle of Christianity, is evident from the nature of the thing, as well as from Mark xi. 22. John xiv. 1. Heb. xi. 6, and many other passages of the New Testament. Here, however, by *faith in God* is to be understood faith in the declarations which God has made to men respecting his Son, the Saviour of the world; comp. Acts xvi. 31.

Ver. 2. Βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς *the doctrine of baptisms*. Here the word διδαχῆς is supplied by the writer; and I regard it as *implied*, before the preceding μετανόας and πίστιως. Some interpreters, however, point the text thus, βαπτισμῶν, διδαχῆς, i. e. *of baptisms, of* [elementary] *instruction*; which is too improbable to need discussion. The only difficulty lies in the plural word βαπτισμῶν; since we know of only *one* Christian baptism. Hence Schleusner and many other critics refer βαπτισμός only to the ceremonial washings of the Jews, in all the cases where it occurs; and they suppose that βάπτισμα is the only appropriate term, with which the rite of Christian baptism is designated. But what has the apostle to do here with Jewish ceremonial rites, as the first elements of *Christian* doctrine? Plainly nothing; unless it be, that Jewish baptisms, or the baptism of John, are alluded to as being brought into comparison with Christian baptism, and adjudged; which is a possible, perhaps a probable sense; and so Vater, Kuinoel, Burton, and Bloomfield.

Another explanation is, that βαπτισμῶν does not differ in any

important respect from βαπτισμοῦ. So in John i. 13, stands the plural αἱμάτων; in 1 Cor. vii. 2, τὰς πορνείας; in 2 Cor. vii. 3, καρδίαις; all with the same sense as the singular, in each case. See many like cases, in Glass. Philol. Sac. I. p. 62, seq. So the plural number of verbs is often employed, when the *subject is indefinite* and of the *singular* number; e. g. Mark v. 35, comp. Luke viii. 49. Comp. also Heb. ix. 17, ἐπὶ νεκρῶς. Storr supposes βαπτισμῶν to be used here in a kind of distributive sense, as the Hebrew plural often is: so that the sentiment is, ‘the doctrine that every believer must be baptized.’ But however this may be, no great stress can be laid upon the use of the plural, as there are so many examples where it means no more than the singular would do. Accordingly the Syriac Version has the singular here. In regard to the *doctrine of baptism* being an *elementary* doctrine, there can be no difficulty. The rite itself was an *initiator* one, for all who professed to be Christians.

Ἐπιθίσιώς τε χειρῶν, *imposition of hands*. It is a very palpable mistake, into which many Christians fall, who are not well acquainted with the rites of the primitive church, to suppose that *imposition of hands* was practised only in the case of ordaining persons to the holy ministry. It was common for the apostles to bestow extraordinary gifts upon converts to Christianity, immediately after their baptism, by the imposition of hands. See Acts ii. 38, λήψετε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, comp. Acts viii. 14—19. xix. 1—6. Hence ἐπιθίσιως χειρῶν is reckoned as one of the things, the knowledge of which was communicated at an early stage of the Christian profession.

Ἀναστάσιώς τε νεκρῶν, *of the resurrection of the dead*. Storr and others understand this here, only of the resurrection of the pious. But I apprehend the sense is general; as in John v. 28, 29. Comp. Mat. xxii. 31. Acts iv. 2. A *general* resurrection of the *bodies* of men, is a doctrine, which, if not left undecided by the Old Testament, is at least left in obscurity. The Jews of the apostle’s time were divided in their opinion respecting it. Hence it was insisted on with great earnestness by Christian preachers, as belonging to the peculiar and elementary doctrines of Christianity. It was connected, by them, with the account which every man is to render of himself to God; and such an accountability is a *fundamental* doctrine of the Christian religion.

Καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου, *and of a judgment the consequences of which are eternal*. In such a sense is λύτρωσις said to be αἰωνία, in ix. 12; and διαθήκη to be αἰωνία, in xiii. 20. Both the *resurrection* and the

judgment, in this case, pertain to the righteous and to the wicked. It is the *general* doctrine of a resurrection, and of responsibility and reward at the tribunal of God, which the writer means to describe. These doctrines were among those that were first preached, when men were to be instructed in the elements of Christianity; see Acts xvii. 31. x. 42. Rom. ii. 16. Matt. xxv. 31 seq. In regard to the *eternal* consequences of judgment, see Matt. xxv. 46. John v. 29. Dan. xi. 2. 2 Thess. i. 9. Matt. xviii. 8. Mark ix. 45, 48.

Ver. 3. Καὶ τοῦτο . . . ὁ Θεός, *and this will we do, if God permit*; i. e. we will advance in Christian knowledge, go on ἐπὶ τελειότητι, should God be pleased to spare our lives and afford us continued opportunity of so doing. The frequency with which the writer of this epistle uses the first person plural (κοινωνοίς), is worthy of remark. It gives a more delicate cast to his reproofs, his comminations, and his exhortations.

Ver. 4. Ἀδύνατον γάρ, *for it is impossible*, i. e. we will go forward in the attainment of what belongs to Christians, and not recede; *for it is impossible*, viz., that those who recede and apostatize should be recovered from their lapse, as the sequel avers. In this method of interpretation, the meaning of γάρ is sufficiently evident. But does ἀδύνατον here imply *absolute* impossibility, or only *great difficulty*? The latter, Storr and many other critics reply. To vindicate this sentiment, they appeal to Mark x. 25, 27, and to the parallel passages in the other evangelists. But this appeal is not satisfactory. In Matt. xix. 23 seq. Mark x. 23 seq. and Luke xviii. 24 seq. all relating to the same occurrence, Jesus is represented as saying, “ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ” shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of God!” He then adds, “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.” His disciples are astonished at this, and ask, ‘*How is it possible*, that any one [any rich man] can be saved, τίς ἄρα δύναται σωθῆναι;’ Jesus replies, “With men this is ἀδύνατον; but with God all things are δυνατά.” Surely he does not mean merely that this is *very difficult* with men, but that it is absolutely *beyond their power* to accomplish it.

The other examples of the use of this word in the New Testament, are not at all adapted to favour the exegesis of Storr; e. g. Acts xiv. 8. Rom. viii. 3. xv. 1, where the word, however, is figuratively employed. But if the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews is to be compared with himself, then is it quite certain that ἀδύνατον

will not bear the qualified sense which Storr puts upon it. Comp. Heb. vi. 18. x. 4. xi. 6, all clear cases of *absolute impossibility*, not of mere *relative difficulty*. These are all the instances in which the word is found, in the New Testament. Nor will a resort to *classic usage* any better defend the interpretation of Storr.

Besides, if it could be shown that such a qualified sense were agreeable to the *usus loquendi*, in some cases, and therefore *possible*, a comparison with Heb. x. 26—31, would destroy all appearance of *probability* that such a sense is to be admitted here. "If there 'remains no more sacrifice for sin' (Heb. x. 26) for those who have apostatized, then is there no hope of salvation for them; as is clear from Heb. x. 28—31. Moreover, to say merely that it is *very difficult* to recover the lapsed Christians of whom the apostle is going to speak, would be at variance with the imagery employed to describe them and the fate that awaits them, in vs. 7, 8. For all these reasons, such an explanation of ἀδύνατον cannot be admitted.

Τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας, *those who have been once enlightened*, i. e. instructed in the principles of Christianity. So φωρίζω in John i. 9. Eph. iii. 9. Heb. x. 32. In all the other passages of the New Testament where this word occurs, it is employed in the sense of *shining upon, throwing light upon, disclosing*. It does not, in itself considered, imply *saving* illumination, but illumination or instruction simply as to the principles of the Christian religion.

Γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς ἰπουρανίου, *and have tasted of the heavenly gift*. Γευσαμένους, *tasted*, does not mean *extremis labris leviter degustare*, i. e. merely *to sip* or simply *to apply for once to the palate* so as just to perceive the taste of a thing; but it means the *full enjoyment, perception, or experience* of a thing. When the Greek writers wish to communicate the former idea, they add χεῖλσιν ἄκροις to the phrase; e. g. "They are witnesses, οἱ μὴ χεῖλσιν ἄκροις γευσάμενοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλὰ . . . ἰστιάθιντες, *who have not only tasted with the extreme part of the lips [sipped] philosophy, but . . . feasted upon it,*" Philo. Lib. I. de Mon. p. 816. So Chrysostom, ἄκροις τοῖς χεῖλσιν γεύσασθαι, Hom. on Johan. v. 19. But when a *full* experience or perception of any thing is meant, γίνομαι is used simply; e. g. οἱ γευσάμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς, Philo. de Abraham. Oper. I. p. 14. So τοῦ ἀθανάτου γνώσεως γεύσασθαι, Clem. Rom. I. 38. In the New Testament, θάνατον γεύσασθαι means, *to experience death*; e. g. Matt. xvi. 28. Mark ix. 1. Luke ix. 27. John viii. 52. Heb. ii. 9. Comp. also Luke xiv. 24. 1 Pet. ii. 3. So Herod. VI. 5, γέυσθαι ἐλευθερίας, *to experience [to enjoy] freedom*. Pindar, Nem. Od. V. 596, πόνων γέυσθαι, *to undergo toils*.

Soph. Trach. 1108, ἄλλων τε μόχθων μυρίαν ἐγευσάμην, *I have suffered a thousand other evils*. So the Hebrew עָנָו, Prov. xxxi. 18. Ps. xxxiv. 9.

But what is the *heavenly gift* which they have enjoyed, or the benefits of which they have experienced? Some have explained it as being Christ himself, by comparing it with John iv. 10. But it is doubtful whether δωρεάν there means Christ. It is more probable that it means *beneficium*, i. e. the kindness or favour which God bestowed, in vouchsafing an opportunity to the Samaritan woman in converse with the Saviour. Others have represented δωρεάν as being the extraordinary gift of the Holy Spirit to Christians, in the primitive age of Christianity; and they have compared the phrase here with πνεῦμα ἅγιον, in Acts viii. 19, which means the special gifts of the Spirit, and which in viii. 20 is called τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ Θεοῦ. But the objection to this is, that the sequel of our text contains a *repetition* of the same idea, once at least, if not twice.—For these reasons, I prefer the interpretation which makes δωρεὰς ἐπουρανίου the same here as κλήσεις ἐπουρανίου in iii. 1, i. e. the proffered blessings or privileges of the gospel. The sense is then plain and facile. (1) They had been instructed in the elementary doctrines of Christianity, φωτισθέντας. (2) They had enjoyed the privileges or benefits of living under a Christian dispensation, i. e. the means of grace which the gospel afforded; and this is truly δωρεὰ ἐπουράνιος. I much prefer this mode of interpretation to any of the others.

Καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου, *and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit*. I understand this of the extraordinary gifts and influences of the Spirit, which the primitive Christians enjoyed, and which were often bestowed by the imposition of the apostles' hands. See above on ἐπιθέσειός τε χειρῶν, in vr. 2. Γενηθέντας is a more unusual word, in such a connexion as the present, than γενομένους; but still there are sufficient examples to show, that occasional custom sanctions the use of it in such cases as the present.

Ver. 5. Καὶ καλὸν γευσάμενους Θεοῦ ῥῆμα, *and have tasted the good word of God*, i. e. enjoyed the consolations administered, or the hopes excited, by the divine promises which the gospel proffers. Γευσάμενους (as above) *experienced, known by experience*. Above, it is construed with the genitive after it; here with the accusative; both according to Greek usage, although the former method predominates.

Καλὸν . . . Θεοῦ ῥῆμα, *the divine promise*, i. e. of good. So קַבֵּל טוֹב means, in Jer. xxix. 10. xxxiii. 14; also in Joshua xxi. 45. xxiii. 14, 15, in which last verse it is opposed to קַבֵּל רָע, *promise of evil*,

commination. Καλὸν ῥῆμα means *the word which respects good*, i. e. the promise of blessings or favours. So Paul calls the gospel, ἐπαγγελίαν Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ, 2 Cor. i. 20. I prefer this simple method of explanation to all others. The gradation, moreover, of the discourse is more perceptible, than if ῥῆμα be here construed as indicating merely ἐπαγγέλιον which would make the whole clause to signify nearly, if not exactly, the same as ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας, or at least as γευσάμενους δωρεᾶς ἐπουρανίου.

Δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, Kuinoel and Bretschneider render, *bona ævi futuri vel imperii Messiae*; understanding δυνάμεις as meaning *facultates* in the sense of *opes*; which I should think to be a very doubtful sense of the word. Others give it the sense of *miracles*, etc.; for such a sense of δύναμις is frequent in the New Testament; see Matt. vii. 22. xi. 20, 21, 23. xiii. 58. Mark vi. 4. Luke x. 13. Acts ii. 22, alibi. But how will this differ much, if any, from the sense given to μετόχους . . . πνεύματος ἁγίου? It is truly a difficult phrase, and, on the whole, I feel inclined to give it the following sense, viz., *the influences of the world to come*, i. e. of the gospel dispensation; see on ii. 5. There can be no doubt that δύναμις means *influence*, i. e. virtue or power exerted, etc. I take it here in its most general sense, and so as comprehending whatever good or beneficial influence the particulars already named did not comprise.

Thus interpreted, there is a regular gradation in the whole passage. (1) They had been taught the principles or doctrines of Christianity. (2) They had enjoyed the privileges or means of grace, which the new religion afforded. (3) Various gifts and graces had been bestowed on them by the Spirit. (4) They had cherished the hopes which the promises of the gospel inspire. (5) They had experienced those powers or influences by which the gospel was shown to be a religion from God, and adapted to render them happy, comp. ii. 4. Thus they had the *fullest* evidence, *internal* and *external*, of the divine origin and nature of the Christian religion. Consequently if they apostatized from it, there remained no hope of their recovery.

Ver. 6. Καὶ παραπίσόντας, *and have fallen away, have made defection from*, viz., from the gospel, or from all the experience and evidence before mentioned; παραπίπτω governing the genitive. The connexion stands thus; Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας . . . γευσάμενους τε . . . καὶ γεννηθέντας . . . καὶ γευσάμενους . . . καὶ παραπίσόντας. In compound verbs, παρὰ is often taken to denote *deterioration*; e. g.

παραφρωνεῖν, *desipere*; παραλογίζεσθαι, *male ratiocinari*; παραρρυθμίζειν, *deformare*; so παραπίπτειν, *deficere ab*. The *falling away* or *defection* which is here meant, is a renunciation of Christianity and a return to Judaism. This implies, of course, a return to a state of active enmity and hostility to the Christian religion; for such was the Judaism of the times when our epistle was written.

Πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, *again to be renewed by repentance*. Πάλιν should be joined to ἀνακαινίζειν, not only by common usage in respect to the position of an adverb when placed immediately before the verb which it qualifies, but the sense here requires it. Kuinoel says: 'Particula πάλιν redundat.' But where he gets any authority for such a construction, in a case like the present, I know not. The writer does not, indeed, mean to say, 'Those who have a second time fallen away;' but that 'those who fall away cannot be *again* or *a second time* brought to repentance.' Drusius, Cappell, Abresch, and others, take ἀνακαινίζειν here in the passive sense, as equivalent to ἀνακαινίζεσθαι, and construe it in connexion with what precedes in this manner: 'It is impossible for those who have been once instructed, etc., *to be renewed* to repentance.' The simple grammatical construction of ἀνακαινίζειν, as it now stands in the *active* voice, is thus: 'It is impossible again *to renew* by repentance such as have been once instructed,' etc. If the latter method of construing the sentence be adopted, it is natural to ask, Who is the subject of the verb ἀνακαινίζειν? i. e. who is the agent that is to produce this renovation? Is it God, i. e. the Holy Spirit, or Paul, or others?—Bretschneider (Lex.) understands the word in an *active* sense, and supposes that Christian teachers are the agents to whom the writer refers. Storr renders it indefinitely, "Man kann unmöglich wieder bessern," *one cannot possibly produce another amendment*. But instead of saying *one cannot*, in this case, I should prefer understanding ἀνακαινίζειν in an *impersonal* sense, and rendering it in English by our passive verb; since many verbs used impersonally convey a passive sense. See my Heb. Gramm. sect. 500. Note 2.

There is still another construction which may be made of the passage, and which is a very common Greek one; viz., πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας . . . καὶ παραπισόντας, ἀδύνατον, *to renew, or the renewal of, persons once instructed . . . and who have apostatized, is impossible*. In this case the infinitive ἀνακαινίζειν is used as a noun, and makes the *subject* of the proposition. This would afford the same sense as that which was last suggested above.

Εἰς μετάνοιαν, *with respect to repentance*; Chrysostom, Erasmus,

and others, *by repentance*. *Εἰς* with the accusative, sometimes signifies the *manner* or *means*, in which or by which a thing is done; e. g. Mark v. 34. Acts vii. 53. But here it may be translated, *in respect to, with regard to*, a sense which is very common to the word. Construed as it is in the version which I have made, the sense will be, 'To renew them so that they will repent.' See EXCURSUS XII.

'*Ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *since they have crucified for themselves the Son of God*. Chrysostom construes *ἀνασταυροῦντας* as meaning *πάλιν σταυροῦντας*; and so our English translators and many others. But this is not conformable to common Greek usage. 'Ἀνά, in composition, merely augments the intensity of a verb, if, indeed, it produces any effect upon its signification; for sometimes this is hardly perceptible, e. g. *ἀνακρίνειν*, *ἀναθεωρεῖν*, *ἀναπληθεῖν*, etc. That the word in question is to be *figuratively* taken, is plain from the nature of the case. Actual *physical* crucifixion is out of the question. It means, then, *to treat with the greatest ignominy and contempt*.

But what does *ἑαυτοῖς* mean? It is susceptible of two interpretations. (1) As *dativus incommodi*, i. e. *to their own hurt, shame, etc.*; so Storr. See Winer's N. T. Gramm. sect. 31. ed. 3. (2) It may be construed as Hebrew pronouns in the dat. frequently are, viz., as *pleonastic*; e. g. *הָלַךְ לְךָ*, *go for thyself*, i. e. go; *הָלַךְ לוֹ*, *he has fled for himself*, i. e. he has fled; Heb. Gramm. sect. 545. I incline to the latter mode of explanation. Perhaps the shade of idea is, 'Crucifying, so far as they are concerned,' or 'they themselves being concerned in the transaction of crucifying.'

Καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας, *and exposed him to public shame*; comp. Mat. i. 19. By renouncing their adherence to Christianity, they would openly declare their belief that Christ was only an impostor, and of course that he suffered justly as a malefactor. By returning again to Judaism, they would approve of what the Jews had done; and thus they would, as it were, crucify Christ, and expose him to be treated by unbelievers with scorn and contumely. Every one knows, that an apostate from a good cause gives new occasion, by an act of apostasy, for the enemies of that cause to utter all the malignity of their hearts against it. In this sense apostates expose the Saviour to public infamy, when they renounce all regard for him, and join with those who view him as an impostor and a malefactor.

The two participles, *ἀνασταυροῦντας* and *παραδειγματίζοντας*, I regard as grammatically connected with the preceding ones thus:

τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας . . . καὶ παραπεσόντας . . . ἀνασταυροῦντας καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας; the two latter words being in *apposition* with the preceding participles, and added for the sake of giving intensity to the whole description. On this account καὶ is omitted before ἀνασταυροῦντας.

Ver. 7. Γῆ γὰρ . . . ὑμέρον, *for the earth which drinketh in the rain that frequently comes upon it.* Γὰρ *illustrantis*, i. e. here introducing a comparison in order to illustrate and confirm what had been said. Γῆ is used for land *cultivated* or *uncultivated*. Here it designates the former; as is evident from the sequel of the sentence. The image of the earth being *thirsty* and *drinking in* the showers, is common in many languages.

Καὶ τίχτουςα βοράνην, *and produceth fruits.* Τίχτουςα is often applied, by classical writers, to the production of fruits. Βοράνην, like the Hebrew *בִּשְׂמֵן*, here means *any kind of grain, any produce of vegetation*, which is fitted for the service of man. But this use is Hebraistic. By classic usage βοράνη means *herbage* or *vegetation*, not including bread-corn.

Εὖθετον ἐκείνους δι' οὓς γεωργεῖται, *useful to those on account of whom it is cultivated.* Εὖθετον means, in its primary sense, *well situated, well located*; e. g. it is applied to a convenient harbour for ships, etc. *useful, appropriate*, etc. are secondary meanings which the word frequently has. Δι' οὓς, *on account of whom.* That this is the *usual* signification of διὰ with the accusative, all will acknowledge; and as the sense demands no departure here from the usual construction, it is better to retain it than to translate *by whom*.

Μεταλαμβάνει εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *lit. receiveth blessings from God.* But what is the meaning of this? Is it that the earth is, when thus fruitful, contemplated with satisfaction or complacency by its Creator? Or does it mean, 'The earth which thus produces useful fruits, is rendered still more fruitful by divine beneficence?'—The latter seems better to accord with the Hebrew idiom. E. g. when Jacob approaches Isaac, clad in Esau's perfumed garments, Isaac says, *The odour of my son, is like the odour of a field which God hath blessed*, i. e. of a fruitful field with blossoming herbage. So, on the contrary, the *curse* of the earth in Gen. iii. 17, is explained in vr. 18 by adding, "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee." In Mark xi. 14, our Saviour says of the *barren* fig tree, "Let no one ever henceforth eat any fruit of thee;" to which Peter afterwards alluding, says, "Lo! the fig tree which thou didst *curse*." Mark xi. 21. In 2 Cor. ix. 6, Paul says, "He

who soweth ἐπ' εὐλογίαις, *bountifully*, shall reap ἐπ' εὐλογίαις, *bountifully*." Agreeably to this idiom, the phrase in question might be explained, *is rendered still more fertile, or productive, by God*. Most commentators of note have adopted such an interpretation. I have hesitated to receive it, because the metaphor thus explained does not seem altogether adapted to the object for which it is used. The image of the *fruitful* earth, however, is designed to signify, 'Christians who bring forth fruits under divine cultivation.' Supposing then that such Christians are here designated, as plainly is the case, does the writer mean to say, that they will be rendered still more fruitful in good works? Or does he mean, that when they thrive under the cultivation which they enjoy, they will obtain divine approbation and complacency? The latter interpretation would seem better to accord with the words of the apostle, at first view; but the former coincides better with his present design, which is, to urge Christians on to higher attainments.

Ver. 8. Ἐκφύρουσα δὲ [sc. ἡ γῆ] . . . ἐγγύς, *but [the earth] which bringeth forth thorns and briers, is refuse and near to utter rejection, its end will be burning*. Κατάρα, *execratio maledictio, extrema, atque dirissima devotio*. Such barren ground, producing nothing but thorns and briers, is not only useless to the owners, i. e. refuse land, but is given up or devoted by them to be overrun with fire, and to have all its worthless productions consumed. As in the former case, *blessing* consists in rendering more fruitful, so here the curse consists in giving up to utter and entire barrenness, i. e. in relinquishing all efforts at cultivation, such ground as will produce nothing valuable. The blessing and the curse stand opposed, as well cultivating land and rendering it fruitful is opposed to giving it over to utter barrenness.

ἥς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν, *whose end is burning*. Εἰς καῦσιν is Hebraism, corresponding to the use of the infinitive *nomnascens*, with the prefix ל, Heb. Gramm. sect. 521, 522. So Is. xlv. 15, עֲבֹרָה . . . אֶחָד (LXX. ἵνα ἡ . . . εἰς καῦσιν,) *and it shall be burned*. This interpretation represents the *execration* of barren land (κατάρα) as ending in καῦσις, i. e. the curse is carried into effect by burning the land over. On the whole I must refer ἡς to γῆ.

Thus construed the whole passage affords a very striking image of the condition of the Hebrews. 'You,' the writer says, 'are enjoying abundant means of spiritual improvement. If you act in a manner worthy of such privileges, God will approve and bless. But if you disobey the gospel, and become wholly unfruitful in re-

spect to Christian graces, then you are exposed to final rejection and endless punishment. The doom of all apostates is near, and the sequel will be tremendous.'

But lest what he had now said might wear the appearance of too much severity, and seem to imply a great degree of distrust or want of confidence in respect to those whom he addressed, the writer proceeds to show what is the real state of his feelings towards them, and that he has, out of affection for them and solicitude for their highest welfare, so plainly and fully set before them the danger to which they were exposed.

Ver. 9. Πεισίσμεθα δὲ . . . λαλοῦμεν, *but we confidently hope for better things respecting you, beloved, even those connected with salvation, although we thus speak.* Κρίττονα [i. e. πράγματα] I understand as referring to what had just been said, in which the conduct and the doom of apostates had been represented. Πεισίσμεθα κρίττονα then means, 'I confidently hope that you will neither imitate the conduct nor undergo the doom of apostates, whose end is εἰς καὶσιν.'

Ἐχόμενα σωτηρίας, lit. *near to, conjoined with, salvation.* The form of expression appears as if it were designed to correspond with the preceding κατάρτας ἐγγύς, i. e. as apostates are κατάρτας ἐγγύς, so those who persevere in maintaining the true religion, are ἐχόμενοι σωτηρίας: i. e. their salvation is at hand, their time of deliverance from trials and their season of reward are certain, and will not be long protracted. To refer σωτηρίας here merely to the *temporal* safety of believing Hebrews, seems to me very foreign to the object of the writer; although some critics of note have done this.

Ver. 10. Οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεός, *for God is not unkind*, i. e. God is kind. Γὰρ introduces a reason here why the writer hopes and trusts that those whom he addresses will be saved, viz., because God is so kind, and they have exhibited so many fruits of benevolence. The opposite of ἄδικος is δίκαιος, which, among other meanings, not unfrequently bears that of *kind, benevolent, indulgent, merciful*; see Matt. i. 19. John xvii. 25. 1 John i. 9. So in Hebrew, רַחֵם and רַחֲמִים often mean *kind, kindness, merciful, mercy*, etc. Ἀδικος, therefore, may mean *unkind, unmerciful*, etc; and this sense of the word is most appropriate to the passage. Before the inf. ἐπιλάβεσθαι, ὥστε is to be mentally supplied, in order to complete the construction.

Τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης. Many codices and most editions read, τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης. But Mill, Bengel, Griesbach, Knapp, Tittmann, Schott, and others, omit τοῦ κόπου; which, however, is defended and received by many critics of good reputa-

tion. "Εργον and κόπος are not unfrequently joined by the sacred writers; e. g. 1 Thess. i. 3. Rev. ii. 2. xiv. 13. But the weight of authority appears to be against the genuineness of κόπου here.

Instead of putting a comma after ὑμῶν, we may point the phrase thus, τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης regarding τῆς ἀγάπης as sustaining the place of an adjective in respect to ἔργου. Such constructions, i. e. hendiadys, are very common in the sacred writings. The translation would then be, *your benevolent labour*; or, if this be more agreeable, *your labour and the benevolence which you have exhibited*. On the whole, however, I rather prefer making ἔργον refer to the *efforts* which the Hebrew Christians had made, and ἀγάπη to the state of mind toward God which they had cherished. I have translated accordingly.

Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, *toward his name*, i. e. toward him, or toward Christ. So ὄνομα is often used, viz. for person; e. g. Matt. vi. 9. John xvii. 26. Acts x. 43. John xx. 31. Acts iv. 10. So שׁוֹם (*name*) in Hebrew, Ex. xxiii. 21. 1 K. viii. 29. iii. 2. Ps. xx. 1, et al. saepe.

Διακονήσαντες . . . διακονοῦντες, *in having performed kind offices to Christians, and in still performing them*. Διακονέω signifies not merely to supply the wants of others by pecuniary aid and by alms, but also to assist them in any way by offices of humanity and kindness. In this enlarged sense, it seems natural to understand it here. Ἁγίοις, i. e. those who are *consecrated* to God or to Christ, those who profess to be *holy*; comp. iii. 1.

Ver. 11. Τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδείκνυσθαι σπουδὴν . . . τέλους, *may exhibit the same diligence, respecting a full assurance of hope even to the end*, i. e. the end of life, or the end of their probationary state; comp. iii. 6. Σπουδὴν, *strenuous endeavour, diligent exertion, sedulity*. The meaning is 'I wish you to continue your active efforts even to the end of your Christian course, so as to acquire or to preserve the full assurance of Christian hope.' Πληροφορία and πληροφορέω are not employed by the classics. Πληροφορία means *a full burden or lading*. If applied to a fruit tree, it would designate the fulness or large burden of the fruit; applied to the lading of a vessel, it would denote the fulness of the cargo. Phavorinus explains πληροφορέησιν by πλήρωσιν: and in like manner πληροφορίαν here does not appear to differ from πλήρωμα or πλήρωσιν. The meaning of the writer is: 'I desire that your diligence in good works should be persevered in, so that you may continue to cherish a full or confident hope, viz., of salvation, even to the end of life.' In this way they would be most effectually guarded against apostasy; for he who, on true grounds,

cherishes the hope of future glory and reward which the Christian religion encourages, will hardly be tempted to abandon his religion and exchange it for another.

Ver. 12. ἵνα μὴ νωθεῖ γίνεσθαι, *that ye may not be remiss*, viz. in the discharge of your Christian duties. Νωθεῖ, *tardi, segnes*, is applied either to body or mind, to external actions or internal conceptions.

Μιμηταὶ δὲ τῶν διὰ πίστεως . . . ἐπαγγελίας, *but imitators of those, who through faith and patient expectation have entered into the possession of promised blessings*, i. e. who after continued belief (πίστεως) in the existence of those blessings and patient waiting (μακροθυμίας) until the time of trial is finished for the possession of them, have at last realized the object of all their faith and patient expectation. Πίστις means here, belief in the reality of proffered future blessedness, see Heb. xi. 1, 2. seq.; and μακροθυμία the patient waiting for it, amid all the troubles and trials of life. Some make a hendiadys of the words πίστεως and μακροθυμίας, and render them *patient faith*. I prefer the other method of explanation, as communicating a fuller meaning of the apostle's words.

Κληρονομοῦντων τὰς ἐπαγγελίας. Κληρονομέω, *to acquire, to obtain possession of*, see on chap. i. 4. Ἐπαγγελίας in the plural, in order to indicate promises of various kinds both in respect to temporal and spiritual good, i. e. the proffered blessings which the ancient worthies did at last enjoy. How directly it was to the writer's purpose to exhort the Hebrews to persevering faith, and patient waiting for future blessings proffered by the Christian religion, is too evident to need any illustration. Such a course would be directly opposite to that abandonment of faith and discouragement of mind which led to apostasy.

Ver. 13. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ . . . Διός, *when, for example, God had made a promise to Abraham*. Γάρ, introduced in such a connexion, i. e. between the proposal of a doctrine or encouragement, and the relation of a fact which is to illustrate it, may well be explained by the phrase, *for example*; as it contains the same idea in Greek, which these words do in English.

Ἐπὶ κατ' οὐδενός . . . ἑαυτοῦ, *seeing he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself*. Εἵχεν, *could, poterat*; comp. Mark xiv. 8. Luke vii. 42. xii. 4. xiv. 14. John xiv. 30. Lucian, Dial. Mort. 21. 2, "Concerning all these things εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοιμι, *I could speak*." Elian. Var. Hist. I. 25, "I honour thee δπηγε καὶ ὅπως ἔχω, *in whatever way and whenever I can*."

Κατ' οὐδενός. The genitive with κατὰ before it, usually follows

the verb ὅμνυμι, when the object is designated by which a person swears. So Æsop. Fab. 68, ἡ μὲν σὺς ὥμνυε κατὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, *swore by Venus*. The accusative with κατὰ, or the dative with ἐν, may also be used.

Ὡμοσε κατ' ἑαυτοῦ, Hebrew בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, Gen. xxii. 16. The formula of an oath of this kind is found in Num. xiv. 21. אֲנִי הִנְּנִי. So in Num. xiv. 28, הִנְּנִי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי; and in Deut. xxxii. 40, הִנְּנִי לְעֹלָם, *I live forever*.

Ver. 14. Λέγων ἡ μὴν πληθυνῶ σε, *saying, I will greatly bless thee, and exceedingly multiply thee*, i. e. I will give thee a numerous offspring. In Gen. xxii. 17, which is quoted here instead, of simply πληθυνῶ σε, the Hebrew runs thus, וְהֵרַבְתָּ אֶת־רַבְּךָ, *I will greatly multiply thy seed*; but in Gen. xvii. 2, it is בְּמֵאד׃ אֶרְבֶּךָ, *I will multiply thee exceedingly*. The apostle appears to unite both expressions in the quotation before us. The obvious idea of both these passages is, 'I will give thee a very numerous posterity.'

Ἡ μὴν, *certissime, profecto*; both words are particles of affirmation, and being joined they make the affirmation intense. Εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω πληθύνων πληθυνῶ. Such a reduplication is very common in Hebrew, where, for the most part, it denotes *intensity*, Heb. Gramm. § 514. The great frequency of it in the Hellenistic writers, is Hebraism; but still the formula itself is not without frequent examples in Greek writers. E. g. Lucian, Dial. Menel. sub fine, ἰδῶν εἶδον. Xen. Cyrop. V. πείθων ἔπεισε. VIII. ὑπακούων ὑπήκουσα. Polyb. εὐχόμενος ἤρξατο τοῖς θεοῖς. Herod. IV. 23, καταφειύγων καταφειύγη. Diod. Sic. Tom. I. p. 717, καταπέμψας ἔπεμψε. That *intensity* is designed in our text, is clear from consulting the context in Gen. xxii. and xvii. Πληθυνῶ is found in what is usually called the *second* future circumflex. But verbs in λ, μ, ν, ρ, have no other future; see Buttmann's Gramm. § 101. 2; and of course this form is wrongly named *second* future.

Ver. 15. Καὶ οὕτω μακροθυμήσας ἐπαγγελίας, *and so, having patiently waited, he obtained the promised blessing*. Καὶ οὕτω may be construed as equivalent to καὶ τότε, or καὶ ἔπειτα, *and then, and afterwards*. So οὕτω in Acts vii. 8. xx. 11. Rom. xi. 26. Thess. iv. 17. Rev. xi. 5. Schneider (Lex.), οὕτω, *folglich sonach*. Schleusner (Lex.), οὕτω, *sic tandem, tum demum, deinceps etiam*. But I rather prefer the sense of *so* here, which means, *in accordance with the promises just recited*. Ἐπίτυχε τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, the noun being in the gen.; for ἐπιτυχάνω governs either the genitive or accusative; see Matth. Gr. Gramm. § 363. 5.

But what was the promised blessing which he obtained? The same, I reply, which the preceding context designates, viz., the blessing of a posterity which should become numerous. When Abraham was called by God out of Haran, and the promise of a numerous posterity made to him, he was seventy-five years old, Gen. xii. 1—4. Twenty-four years elapsed after this, while he was a sojourner in a strange land without any fixed place of abode, before the manner in which this promise would be fulfilled was revealed to him, Gen. xvii. 1—16. It was only when he was an hundred years old, that the promised blessing of a son, from whom should spring a great nation, was obtained, Gen. xxi. 1—5. The preternatural birth of such a son, was deemed by Abraham a sufficient pledge, on the part of God, that all which he had promised respecting him would be fulfilled, Gen. xxii. 15—18. Heb. xi. 8—12, 17—19. Rom. iv. 17—22. Other blessings besides that of a numerous posterity, were connected with the birth of Isaac and the faith of Abraham, Gen. xxii. latter part of ver. 17 with ver. 18. These blessings Abraham did not obtain, indeed, by *actual* possession; but by *anticipation, confident hope, and unwavering faith* in the promises of God; comp. John viii. 56. In our text, however, the apostle refers to the promised blessing of a son, which, after long waiting, Abraham obtained.

Ver. 16. ἄνθρωποι μὲν γὰρ . . . ὁμνύουσι, *now men swear by one who is superior*, i. e. men appeal to God, when taking an oath, as a witness of their sincerity, and as an avenger of falsehood and perjury.

Καὶ πάσης αὐτοῖς . . . ὁ ὅρκος, *and the oath for confirmation makes an end of all disputes among them*; i. e. an oath that the contesting parties will abide by the terms of amity and concord agreed upon, puts an end to the disputes which had existed, the parties relying upon an engagement of a nature so solemn. An oath, then, is the highest pledge of fidelity which a man can give. Αὐτοῖς is the dative after ἀντιλογίας, viz., ἀντιλογίας [ἥ ἐστὶ] αὐτοῖς.

Such is the custom of men, when ἀντιλογία, *contradiction, question, calling in question, dispute*, is to be quieted. God has condescended to act in a similar way for our encouragement, and to confirm our belief in his promises.

Ver. 17. Ἐν ᾧ περισσότερον . . . τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, *on account of which* (i. e. because an oath removes all dispute or doubt), *God, desirous of showing those to whom the promises are made.* Ἐν ᾧ, *on account of this*, see Wahl on iv No. 5. Περισσότερον, *abundantly, modo eximio*

insigniter. Ἐπιδειξαι, *to demonstrate, to exhibit* so as to prove. Κληρονόμοις, i. e. to Christians; comp. iv. 1, 3, 9.

Τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ, *the immutability of his purpose or of his decree*; for the *will* of God is the decree of God.

Ἐμισθίσουσιν ὀρκῷ, *interposed by an oath*. Μισθίστω means, according to classical usage, *to act the part of a mediator, to be an internuntius, conciliator*, between two parties. But here, this sense is impossible. God is not a mediator between himself and the heirs of the promise. The sense of *interposing*, then becomes a necessary one. So the Vulgate, *interposuit iusjurandum*. He made a μισθίστην, so to speak, by an oath, interposed an oath between himself and the heirs of promise, i. e. he made an oath the means of removing all doubt or question on their part, whether he would faithfully perform what he had promised.

Ver. 18. ἵνα διὰ δύο πραγμάτων Διόν, *so that by two immutable things, in regard to which it is impossible that God should prove faithless*; i. e. since men's doubts are removed by an appeal to an oath, God in condescension to their weakness, has also made confirmation of his promises by an oath, so that there might be no possible ground of doubt. But what are the *two immutable things*? His promise and his oath, answer almost all the commentators and critics. But there is room to doubt the correctness of this interpretation. The apostle in the preceding context has mentioned two oaths of God, which have respect to the salvation of believers. The one is in the context immediately preceding, (vr. 13;) which, in Gen. xxii. 15—18, stands connected with the promise of a blessing to all nations (vr. 18) through the seed of Abraham, i. e. through the Messiah. The other may be the one implied in Heb. iii. 11; where the oath that unbelievers shall be excluded from the rest of God, implies of course an assurance of the same nature, that believers shall be admitted to it; comp. iv. 5, 6. Perhaps, however, it is more probable, that the second oath is that by which the Messiah is constituted a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, Ps. cx. 4, and which had been twice adverted to by the writer in the preceding part of his epistle, v. 6, 10. This would best agree with the sequel, in vi. 20, where the writer recurs to the order of Christ's high-priesthood, and thus shows that it was at that time in his mind. Here then are the two *immutable things*, in which believers may confide; viz., first, the oath that Abraham should have a son (the Messiah), in whom all nations should be blessed, Gen. xxii. 18; secondly, the oath that this Son should be high-

priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek, Ps. cx. 4. These two oaths it is impossible God should disregard; and the salvation of believers, therefore, is adequately and surely provided for. In this opinion I find that Storr for substance agrees.

On the other hand, to represent the promise and the oath to confirm the same, as the *two immutable things* seems to be inapposite; for the writer here states that what is sworn to, even among men, must be regarded as fixed or established. More surely what God has *once* solemnly declared, can never be annulled. The *two things* then which are immutable, are those referred to in the two different oaths, viz., that in Gen. xxii. 15—18, and that in Ps. cx. 4. To these the writer had repeatedly adverted.

Ἰσχυρὰν παράκλησιν . . . ἐλπίδος, *we, who have sought a refuge, might have strong persuasion to hold fast the hope which is set before us.* That is, God has made adequate provision for the salvation of all, who prove faithful to the cause of Christ; and he has secured it by oaths, made at different times, and on diverse occasions. The certainty, then, of obtaining the reward promised to fidelity, constitutes a powerful motive to persevere, for all those who have sought a refuge from the power and penalty of sin in the religion of Jesus. Παράκλησιν, in the sense of *comfort, consolation*, is common in the New Testament; but according to the classical use of the word, it means *excitement, exhortation, persuasion*, etc. This latter use of the word is common also to the New Testament writers; and in this sense I understand it, in the verse before us. *Consolation*, which exegesis Kuinoel and Bloomfield prefer, does not seem to me, on the whole, to be so appropriate to the writer's object here as *excitement, Anregung* (Schneider), *persuasion*. Ἰσχυρὰν means *powerful*, i. e. having great force, proffering strong motives.

Οἱ καταφυγόντες, *we who seek a refuge.* Καταφύγω means to *flee toward, to flee to, to flee under*, viz., a place of refuge, an asylum; which latter is generally designated after the verb. It may be rendered *hasten*, i. e. are eager, to lay hold of, etc. So Kuinoel and Bretschneider. But here, οἱ καταφυγόντες seems to be employed as a periphrasis, in order to designate Christians who are seeking a refuge from sin and sorrow. In like manner σωζομένους is employed, in Acts ii. 47.

Κρατῆσαι, *to holdfast, to take firm hold of, to grasp with tenacity*, Hebrew קָרַח. Ἐλπίδος, *hope*, here means the objects of hope, i. e. the objects of Christian hope, for which Christians hope, or which they expect; just as ἰπαγγιλία above means *the objects promised, the*

things promised; and often so, in respect to many other words of a similar nature. Προκειμένης, *proposed, set forth*, is a word which was employed in respect to the ἄθλον or *prize of victory*, in the Grecian games. This was said προκειῖσθαι, *to be proposed or set before* the competitors. So in our text the *object of hope*, viz., future happiness and glory, deliverance from sin and sorrow, is *set before* all Christians, who are καταφυγόντες, *seeking a refuge* from their guilt and miseries. And the repeated oath of God assures them that such a refuge is to be found, and also affords a powerful excitement to seek it.

Ver. 19. Ἦν ὡς ἄγκυραν . . . βεβαίαν, *which we hold as an anchor of the soul, unfailing and firmly fixed*; i. e. which hope we are in possession of, ἔχομεν, and it will prove to us, in our troubles and distresses, what an anchor of sound materials and firmly fixed will be to a ship in a tempest, i. e. it will keep us from “making shipwreck of the faith.” Many commentators refer ἦν to παράκλησιν; but it seems to me quite contrary to the manifest object of the passage. *Hope* is often represented under the emblem of an anchor, among the heathen writers. Ἀσφαλῆ means, *that which will not fail*, i. e. like an anchor of good materials, which will not give way. Βεβαίαν means *firmly fixed*, i. e. having a tenacious hold, which cannot be slipped.

Καὶ εἰσερχομένην . . . καταπετάσματος, *and which enters into that within the veil*, i. e. which *hope* enters into the inner sanctuary, the *sanctum sanctorum* where God dwells. Others refer εἰσερχομένην to ἄγκυραν. The meaning, as I explain the passage, is, that the *objects of hope* are in heaven where God dwells. The apartment within the veil of the temple at Jerusalem, was that in which the ark of the covenant was placed, and also the Cherubim that shadowed the mercy-seat. There the glory of God appeared. This inner sanctuary was an emblem of heaven; see Heb. ix. 1—11, 23. x. 1. The phrase ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, here designates that which is an image or symbol of heaven.

The sentiment of the writer then is as follows; ‘Hold fast the objects of your Christian hope. These will keep you steady in adherence to your holy religion, and preserve you, like an anchor, from making shipwreck of the faith. Those objects of hope are heavenly in their nature, ἡ ἐλπὶς . . . εἰσερχομένη εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος. Consequently these objects are immutable, and so ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ βέβαιοι, like a good anchor.’

Ὁπου πρόδρομος . . . Ἰησοῦς, *whither Jesus our precursor has gone, on our account*. Πρόδρομος . . . εἰσῆλθεν, I take to mean simply, that

Jesus *first* led the way into the heavenly sanctuary. So Æschylus Her. ad Theb. vr. 217, *πρόδρομος ἦλθε*, i. q. *προῆλθε*. Theodoret makes an appropriate remark on this passage. "The writer designs to increase their confidence by calling Jesus *πρόδρομος*; for if he is their *precursor*, and has gone thither on their account, then ought Christians to follow after him, so as to attain the end of their course," Theod. in loc.

The expression in the latter part of vr. 19, *εἰσερχομένη εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος*, seems to have been purposely chosen as a periphrasis of the heavenly sanctuary, in order to direct the minds of the Hebrews to the *priesthood* of Christ; of which the writer now proceeds to treat, after having suspended the consideration of it from chap. v. 11. to chap. vi. 19, in order to introduce matter of warning and encouragement. It was lawful for the high-priest only to enter, through the veil, into the inner sanctuary. So Jesus, as high-priest of the new dispensation, entered the eternal sanctuary above, making an expiation of perpetual efficacy for sinners, Heb. ix. 11, 12, 22—26.

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Having thus reproved them for the little progress which they had made in Christian knowledge, v. 11—vi. 3; warned them against the dreadful consequences of abandoning the Christian religion, vi. 4—8; and encouraged them to hold fast their faith and hope even unto the end, as they had the example of Abraham, and the oath of God to assure them of an adequate reward, vi. 9—19; the writer now returns to make the comparison of Christ as high-priest with Melchizedek, whose name in connexion with that of Christ had been already more than once introduced, v. 6, 10. This subject he pursues to the end of vii. 25; where he again brings to view the topic broken off at v. 10, and completes what he had to say concerning it in order to prevent its being misunderstood, vii. 26—28.

CHAP. VII.

VER. 1. Οὗτος γὰρ Μελχίζεδεκ, *now this Melchizedek*, i. e. the Melchizedek whom I have already named. Γὰρ is here the sign of resuming a topic which had been suspended.

Βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ. Nearly all the Greek and Latin fathers held this place to be the same as *Jerusalem*; so Ps. lxxvi. 2 [3]. "In *Salem* is his tabernacle." comp. Gen. xiv. 18. The *Σαλείμ* mentioned in John iii. 23, was probably a different place from that which our text names; if indeed *Σαλήμ* is meant, by our author, to designate a *place* at all. Is it not rather an *appellative*? See the writer's own interpretation, vr. 2.

Ἰερὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, Hebrew, כֹּהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן, Gen. xiv. 18.

It was common among the ancients for a king to be priest also, thus uniting the two highest honours among men in his own person. The Jewish kings did not do this as long as the race of David was upon the throne, because the priesthood was confined to the tribe of Levi. But the Maccabees did it; Joseph. Antiq. XIII. 19, comp. Macc. in Apocrypha. Among foreign nations this was very common. In reference to this double honour, Peter calls Christians βασιλῆιον ἱεράτευμα, 1 Pet. ii. 9; and John in Rev. i. 6 says, that Christ has prepared for his followers a βασιλείαν and constituted them ἱερεῖς τῷ Θεῷ.

How highly the Jews of the apostle's day estimated the *honour* of priesthood, may be seen from Philo; who says, "The law of kingly office applies to priests εἰς σιμύνητα καὶ τιμὴν, *in regard to dignity and honour.*" de Legat. ad Caium, p. 832. In the same book, he represents the Jewish people as regarding "the high priesthood to be as much above the kingly office, as God is more exalted than men." All this serves to show that the apostle, by exhibiting and proving the priesthood of Christ, not only pointed out the way in which pardon of sin had been effected, but also designed to contribute much towards causing the Messiah to be honoured in the view of the Hebrews.

In calling Melchizedek *a priest of the most high God*, the Scripture designs to exhibit him as a true priest of the true God, who is maker and lord of heaven and earth, Gen. xiv. 19, 22.

Ὁ συναντήσας εὐλογήσας αὐτόν, *who met Abraham returning from the overthrow of the [confederate] kings, and blessed him*; see Gen. xiv. 17—20.

Ver. 2. Ὡς καὶ δεκάτην Ἀβραάμ, *to whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all, viz., a tenth ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀκροθινίων, of all the spoils*, see vr. 4, which he had taken from the confederate kings whom he had discomfited, Gen. xiv. 14—16, 20. Δεκάτην agrees with μοῖραν understood.

Πρῶτον μὲν ἑρμηνευόμενος, βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης, *by interpretation [his name] means first, RIGHTEOUS KING.* Βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης resembles the formulas, *God of mercy, God of glory*, etc., instead of *merciful God, Glorious God*, etc.; which are common indeed in all languages, but more especially in the Hebrew. But Ernesti, Kuinoel, and others, construe the phrase here as meaning 'a King who renders his subjects righteous or upright.' But I doubt whether a Hebrew would have so understood it; and in fact Josephus says it means βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, Antiq. I. 10. 2.

"Ἐπιτα δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς . . . εἰρήνης, *and then king of Salem, which means, king of peace, i. e. peaceful king, or king who is a peace-maker.*

Ver. 3. Ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, *having neither father nor mother, i. e. recorded in the sacred genealogies; or perhaps, whose father and mother were not of kingly or priestly rank. These words were applied literally by the Greeks, to some of their gods; then figuratively, to those who were orphans, and to those whose parents were obscure and of low origin. Thus Livy, IV. 3. "nullo patre natus," which he says respecting a person of ignoble descent. So Horace, Serm. I. 6, 10, "nullis majoribus natos."* Philo calls Sarah ἀμήτορα, probably because her mother is not mentioned in the sacred records. And in such a sense the apostle appears to call Melchizedek, ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ. The explanation of these terms is to be found (as one may easily believe) in the word ἀγιναιλόγητος, *without any genealogy, viz. of whose genealogy no mention is made in Scripture.*

The Arabians say of a man who has by his own efforts procured an exalted place of honour, and who is descended from ignoble parents, *لَا لَهَ وَلاَ لَآبَءَ لَهُ, he has no father, i. e. he is not named from his father, or derives not his titles and honours from his father. Michaelis prefers the explanation which this idiom would afford, in respect to the passage under examination. But the other seems preferable, on account of the explanation which the writer himself has made, by adding ἀγιναιλόγητος. See Schleusner and Wahl on ἀπάτωρ, and ἀμήτωρ.*

Μήτε ἀρχὴν . . . ἔχων, *having neither beginning of days nor end of life, i. e. whose time of birth or death is not related; or rather, who as high-priest has no limited time assigned for the commencement and expiration of his office, for so the following clause leads us to interpret this expression. The Levitical priests were limited in their service; see Num. iv. 3. xxiii. 35, 43, 47, (comp. Num. viii. 24, 25). Ζωῆς, according to the latter mode of interpretation, refers to the life of Melchizedek as priest, i. e. the time of his priesthood. Ζωή is often equivalent in sense to καιρὸς ζωῆς, the season or time which one lives. The meaning of the writer then is, that Melchizedek's priesthood was limited to no definite time, i. e. he was sacerdos perpetuus, a priest without limitation of office. So the Latins say, Dictator perpetuus, etc.*

Ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ . . . διηκίς, *but like to the Son of God—remaineth a priest perpetually. The sacred writer, in Ps. cx. 4. says of the*

Messiah, that he is כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם, Sept. *ιερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, i. q. *εἰς τὸ διηνεχές*; and then adds, “after the order of Melchizedek.” First, then, Christ is asserted by the Psalmist to be a *perpetual* priest; and next, to confirm or explain this assertion, it is added that he is so according to the order of Melchizedek. The implication is, of course, that Melchizedek is *perpetual* priest; for this is a special point of the comparison. The apostle means to say, in our text, that inasmuch as Melchizedek is understood to have a perpetual priesthood, and since the priesthood of the Son of God is affirmed, in the cx. Psalm, to be like his; so it follows of course, that the priesthood of Christ is understood to be perpetual, or that Melchizedek in regard to his priesthood was like to, or could be compared with, the Son of God.

In respect to the object of this assertion, I apprehend nothing more is intended, than that the priesthood of Christ and of Melchizedek was not, like that of the sons of Aaron, limited to any *definite* period. In the *absolute* sense, *εἰς τὸ διηνεχές* clearly is not to be understood, either of Melchizedek’s priesthood or of Christ’s. Melchizedek’s priesthood terminated with his life; so Christ’s priestly and kingly office as Mediator, will both cease when the work of redemption is fully accomplished, 1 Cor. xv. 24—28. But in neither case is there any statute, which limits the specific time of accession to office and of egress from it. Of course the *order* of Christ’s priesthood, and that of Melchizedek, differed greatly in this respect from that of the sons of Aaron, and was, as the writer goes on to declare, greatly superior to it. *Dictator perpetuus* among the Romans, for example, was surely a higher, or at least a more honourable office, than that of ordinary Dictator.

Our English version of ἀφομοιωμένος, *made like to*, does not seem to give the true sense of the passage. The apostle is not labouring to show that Melchizedek, in respect to his priesthood, was *made like to* Christ; but *vice versa*. He is seeking to illustrate and establish the perspicuity of Christ’s priesthood, by comparing it with the well known priesthood of Melchizedek. Hence, to say that Melchizedek was *made like to the Son of God*, is a ὑστερον πρότερον; for Ps. cx. 4 compares the Son of God, as a priest, to Melchizedek. This too is the order of nature and propriety; for as the priesthood of Melchizedek *preceded* that of Christ, it was something with which the Hebrews were already acquainted, inasmuch as the Scriptures had repeatedly spoken of it. Of course the apostle, in aiming to illustrate and establish the priesthood of Christ,

(a priesthood that was recent and not well understood by the Hebrews), would very naturally pursue the method of comparison offered to his view in Ps. cx. 4. i. e. a comparison of Christ's priesthood to that of Melchizedek. Ἀφωμοιωμένος means, then, not *made like to*, but *like to*, or *likened to*, i. e. being compared to.

The whole passage, from ὁ συναντήσας, in ver. 1, to τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ in ver. 3, is plainly a *parenthetic* explanation, (a very common occurrence in the writings of Paul,) thrown in for the sake of suggesting to the reader's mind some considerations respecting the character and dignity of Melchizedek, which would be very useful in regard to a right understanding of the comparison that was to be made out in the sequel. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μελχισιδέκ, etc., in ver. 1, is the immediate nom. to μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές in ver. 3. The construction of the whole sentence is thus: 'This Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest . . . (who met Abraham . . . and blessed him . . . whose name first means *righteous king*, and then *peaceful king* . . . of a descent nowhere recorded, having a priestly office not limited, and being in respect to his priesthood like to the Son of God), is a perpetual priest.' If it be objected, that the participles ἐρμηνεύμενος, ἔχων, and ἀφωμοιωμένος have not, like συναντήσας, the article before them, and therefore cannot be arranged in such a construction; the answer is, that nouns, participles, and adjectives, put in *apposition*, either take or omit the article, at the pleasure of the writer. E. g. in ver. 1, ὁ Μελχισιδέκ—βασιλεὺς . . . ἱερεὺς, in apposition. Then ὁ συναντήσας . . . εὐλογήσας . . . ἐρμηνεύμενος . . . ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενναλόγητος . . . ἔχων . . . ἀφωμοιωμένος—all in apposition with ὁ συναντήσας; a mode of using adjectives and participles by no means unusual. See Gersdorf, *Beiträge*, etc., Th. V. ueber die Stellung der Adjuncten, etc. In the translation I have endeavoured, in the present edition, exactly to follow the construction of the whole sentence in the original. See EXCURSUS XIII.

Ver. 4. Θεωρεῖτε δὲ . . . πατριάρχης, *consider now how great a personage this must be, to whom the patriarch Abraham gave a tithe of the spoils.* Θεωρεῖτε, *see, perceive, consider*, δὲ, *now*, continuative as this particle often is. Πηλίκος, *of what exalted rank.* Ἀκροθίνιον, in its literal sense, means *summitas acervi frumenti, the top part of a heap of grain.* It was usual to offer the *primitiæ* or *first fruits* to God. But as offerings were made to their gods, by the Greeks, from spoils taken in war, ἀκροθίνια came at last to signify, in the Greek language, *any kind of spoils*, from which an offering to the gods was taken. The Latins called such offerings, *manubiæ*. The

word ἀποθινίων has the *general* sense of *spoils* here, and evidently refers to the spoils which Abraham had taken from the confederate kings, Gen. xiv. 16.

The object of the apostle in mentioning the circumstances here adverted to, plainly is, to exalt the dignity of Melchizedek. The high reverence which the Jews had for Abraham is well known. If now it could be shown to the Hebrews, that Melchizedek was superior to Abraham, then the superiority of Christ, who is like to Melchizedek, is also shown. Moreover, since the patriarch or head of a nation was reckoned, in the East, as excelling in dignity all his descendants; so, if Melchizedek's dignity exceeded that of Abraham, it would follow that it exceeded that of all his descendants—among whom were the Levitical priests. It is for the sake of establishing this last point, that the comparison of Melchizedek with Abraham is introduced in vr. 4; as the sequel plainly shows. This being established, it would follow, that Christ's priesthood, which was like that of Melchizedek, was superior to the Aaronical priesthood; which is the point that the writer designs to illustrate and establish.

Ver. 5. Καὶ οἱ μὲν . . . λαμβάνοντες, *the sons of Levi, indeed, who obtain the office of the priesthood*, i. e. who are constituted priests. *All* the sons of Levi were not properly priests; but only the descendants of Aaron. Hence the writer adds, τὴν ἱερατείαν λαμβάνοντες. It was true, indeed, that the whole tribe of Levi had a right to tithes; Num. xviii. 28—30. Deut. xiv. 22, 27—29. But it is not material to the writer's object here, to mention this. He is concerned merely with the *priests*; who, as descendants of Levi, were of course entitled to tithes. If he could show that the priests, the most honoured part of the Levites, who were legally entitled to receive tithes from the other descendants of Abraham, were still inferior to Melchizedek; then would he show that the priesthood of Christ was of an order superior to theirs. The payment of tithes is an acknowledgment of superiority, in regard to the rank of the person who receives them. If Abraham, then, paid tithes to Melchizedek, he acknowledged him as superior in respect to rank.

Ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν . . . νόμον, *have by the law a commission to tithe the people*. See the passages of the law just referred to. Ἐντολήν, *direction, mandate, a precept* that gives liberty or confers a right to do any thing.

Τούτ' ἐστὶ . . . Ἀδελφάμ, *that is, their own brethren, although descendants from Abraham*. Ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ τῆς ὁσφύος, a Hebraistic mode of

expression; e. g. Gen. xxxv. 11, kings מְלָכֵי יִצְחָק ; Gen. xlv. 26, יִצְחָק יָרְכוּ , Ex. i. 5, et alibi. The Greeks used $\gammaινᾶσθαι ὑπό τινος$ in such cases. The meaning of the passage is, 'The priests of the tribe of Levi, although descended in common with the other tribes from Abraham, have been so elevated to a rank above them by being made priests, that they receive the tribute of *acknowledged elevation* in the tithes which are paid them by the others.

But why should the elevation of the priests above their brethren, be introduced here? I answer, in order to show that the most honoured part of the sons of Levi, the most honoured tribe, were of a rank inferior to Melchizedek; consequently, their priesthood was of an order inferior to that of Christ.

Ver. 6. Ὁ δὲ μὴ γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, *but he whose descent is not reckoned from them*; a periphrasis by which Melchizedek is described; and at the same time additional intimation is given, that he was of an order of priests different from that of the Levites.

Δεικνύων . . . εὐλόγηκε, *tithed [received tithes from] Abraham, and blessed him to whom the promises were made.* Δεικνύων is a Hellenistic word, being found only in the Septuagint and New Testament. The meaning is, that Melchizedek received from Abraham a *tenth* of the spoils; which was the same ratio with the tithes received by the Levitical priesthood. Καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, a periphrasis designating Abraham, to whom God had made promises of great blessings; comp. Heb. vi. 12—15.

Ver. 7. Χωρὶς δὲ πάσης . . . εὐλογεῖται, *and beyond all controversy, the inferior was blessed by the superior.* Ἀντιλογίας, *gainsaying, dispute, doubt*, comp. vi. 16. Ἐλαττον here means merely *inferiority* in point of rank, office, or station; not inferiority in regard to moral or religious character, which it is not the writer's object to bring into view, as it is not to his present purpose. Melchizedek was both king and priest; Abraham was neither; at least he is not called by either appellation. He was, indeed, an *Emir*, i. e. the head of a company of migratory shepherds (nomades), and had a large number of dependents; as may be seen in Gen. xiv. 14.—Abraham is also called נָבִי , *prophet*, Gen. xx. 7; but he is not called מֶלֶךְ , although he repeatedly offered sacrifices; nor do the Scriptures call him מֶלֶךְ , *king*.

Κρείττωνος is the antithesis or correlate of ἔλαττον, and therefore means *superior*. Both adjectives are of the *neuter* gender, as is manifest from ἔλαττον; but this gender in adjectives is employed to denote *abstract quality*, i. e. it is used in the same way as abstract

nouns, which are very frequently employed by the sacred writers instead of concrete ones. E. g. Christ is *the way, the truth, and the life*, i. e. he is the guide, the instructor, and the author of life, to men. So here, the literal rendering would be, *inferiority is blessed by superiority*, i. e. the inferior person is blessed by the superior one.

The apostle takes this as a position which will be granted by the Hebrews, from the simple consideration, that Abraham, by paying tithes to Melchizedek, did himself of course acknowledge his own inferiority of rank.

Ver. 8. Καὶ ὧδε μὲν . . . λαμβάνουσι, *here also men who receive tithes die ; but there, one, of whom it is testified that he lives*. A very difficult verse, about which there has been no small controversy. The *literal* sense of the words would make nothing for the writer's purpose. Of the *natural* life of men he is not speaking ; but of the duration of the priestly office. ὧδε means *in respect to the Levites ; ἐκεῖ, in regard to Melchizedek*. ὧδε and ἐκεῖ may also be literally rendered *in this place* and *in that place* ; which gives the meaning just proposed. But what is ἀποθνήσκοντες ? Is it the *natural* death of the body ? But in this respect the Levites differed not from the king of Salem ; both were mortals. In another world too they live as well as he, i. e. both are immortal. ζῆ, therefore, cannot refer simply to living in another world. Nor is there any ground for supposing the apostle means to assert, that Melchizedek's high priesthood continues in heaven ; as some have imagined. There is no intimation in Scripture of any such thing with regard to any one but Jesus. I must therefore understand ἀποθνήσκοντες as being used figuratively here, in order to denote the *brief* and *mutable* condition of the Levitical priesthood. The figurative use of θνήσκω and ἀποθνήσκω, in the New Testament, is very common ; although no instance occurs, perhaps, where it has the same shade of meaning which it appears to have here. Schleusner, however, gives to θνήσκω in 1 Tim. v. 6 the same sense, viz., *qui officio suo non fungitur*. But in the verse before us, he construes ἀποθνήσκοντες as meaning *mortales*, and ζῆ as applying to *Christ*, not to Melchizedek—plainly against the context that follows.

The word ζῆ seems to me not to mean here either *natural* or *future immortality*, but an enduring, unlimited time of priesthood ; and to designate the same idea as μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεχές in vr. 3. A sense like this, viz., that of *duration, perennitas*, the word ζάω often has. If this be correct, then its correlate ἀποθνήσκοντες must of course have the sense of *short lived* or *deceasing*, viz., as to office or the priesthood.

In this way, and in this only, can I make out any tolerable sense of the passage consistently with the context. Nothing can be plainer, than that the object of the writer is to show the perpetuity of Melchizedek's priesthood, and not that of his *natural* life; and by consequence, he would also make out the perpetuity of Christ's priesthood. To construe ἀποθνήσκοντες, then, as referring to *physical* mortality, and ζῆ as having respect to *physical* or *natural* life, is to quit the subject under the consideration of the writer, and resort to one which is altogether inapposite to his purpose. That ζάω and ζωή, moreover, often denote *perpetuity*, *perennitas*, the reader may readily see by consulting Wahl's Lex. ζάω, No. 2. β, and ζωή, No. 1. γ. The word ἀποθνήσκοντες, then, by the force of *antithesis*, denotes the reverse of this; and *perennity* is not here ascribed to *natural* life, but to the *priesthood*.

Ver. 9. Καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπὺν . . . δεδικάτωται, *moreover*, or *besides*, even *Levi who receives tithes, was, if I may be allowed the expression, himself tithed, through Abraham*; i. e. not only is the office of the Levitical priests temporary or limited in its duration, which was not the case with the office of Melchizedek, who was a type of Christ; but the Levitical priesthood itself, if I may be allowed so to speak, paid tithes, through Abraham, to Melchizedek, thus acknowledging his superiority. Ὡς ἔπος εἰπὺν is very common in the best Greek writers. It is a μείλιγμα, *softening down*, of an expression which a writer supposes his readers may deem to be too strong, or which may have the appearance of excess or severity. It amounts to an indirect apology for employing an unusual or unexpected assertion or phrase. It is very happily introduced here; as the subject itself is one which the writer did not intend to urge as capable of being scanned with literal exactness, but only as bearing a popular mode of explanation. Καὶ Λευί, *even Levi himself*; καὶ intensive.

Ver. 10. Ἐτι γὰρ ἐν τῇ δαφύϊ . . . Μελχισεδέκ, *for he was then in the loins of his father, when Melchizedek met him*. Ἐτι, *etiam nunc, even now, already*, or *etiam tunc, even then, then*. The meaning of the writer is, that at the time then present, viz., when Melchizedek met Abraham, Levi was ἐν τῇ δαφύϊ τοῦ πατρὸς. Our English version, "He was yet in the loins of his father," gives a sense quite different from that of the writer; for the meaning of this must be, 'he was yet to be begotten,' i. e. he was not yet born. But the apostle designs to say, and it is appropriate to his object to say, that even then, when Melchizedek met Abraham, Levi already, in a certain sense, existed, and, through Abraham, paid tithes to the king of

Salem, i. e. acknowledged inferiority compared with him. This is the very point which the writer is labouring to illustrate. See EXCURSUS XIV.

Ver. 11. Εἰ μὲν οὖν τελείωσις . . . *rv*, *if now perfection were* [attainable] *by the Levitical priesthood*. Μὲν οὖν, or μενοῦν, is here used *absolutely*, i. e. without any corresponding δέ following. Οὖν serves only for a mark of transition to another branch of the writer's subject; which plainly is made. Μὲν οὖν signifies *now indeed*; so that we may translate thus: *if now, or, if moreover, perfection was indeed* [attainable] *by the Levitical priesthood*, etc.

Τελείωσις is a word very variously understood and translated. Some render it *accomplishment*, viz., of the design of the priesthood; others, *sanctification*; others, *consummate happiness*; others, *moral rectitude* or *perfection*. It is best explained by a reference to corresponding passages in the sequel. In ix. 9. it is said, that 'the Levitical sacrifices could not τελειῶσαι the person who offered them;' which, if we compare ix. 14, appears plainly to mean, 'to take away the burden of guilt, and to render pure or holy the minds of worshippers.' Again in x. 1. it is affirmed of the sacrifices, that 'they could not τελειῶσαι those who approached the altar,' i. e. those who offered them; and by comparing x. 2—4 with this, it is plain the writer means to say, that 'the sacrifices could not bestow peace of conscience—could not take away the burden of sin from the mind of the worshipper; but they left him filled with apprehensions that the penalty of the divine law might still be executed upon him.' Here then is plainly the τελείωσις which the Levitical priesthood could not effect. It could neither purify the mind or soul of the worshipper, nor free him from the burden of his sins, nor from the apprehension that they might be punished. Christ did both; and this is the τελείωσις here spoken of, which he accomplished, and which the law could not accomplish. Chap. x. 3, 14, is very direct to this purpose. The writer then has explained τελείωσις by the sequel of his epistle; and in a manner altogether accordant with the object of his reasoning here.

Ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ἐκ' αὐτῇ νενομοθέτητο, *for the people received the law in connexion with this*. This circumstance is evidently to be placed in a parenthesis. Νενομοθέτητο, *were subjected to the law, were put under the law*; the prefix ε' of the pluperf. being omitted, as often among the Attics. Such a construction in the passive voice is peculiar; comp. Rom. iii. 4. 'Ἐκ' αὐτῇ, *on this condition, connected with this, or under these circumstances*; comp. Wahl on *ἐπί*, II. 4. b.

The meaning is, that the Levitical priesthood and the Mosaic law are closely and inseparably linked together, so that if one be changed the other must of necessity be; as the writer proceeds to show in the sequel.

Τίς ἔτι χρεία λέγεσθαι, *what further need was there that another priest should arise after the order of Melchizedek, and not be called after the order of Aaron.* That is, 'if the Levitical priesthood, and the law connected with it, accomplished all, in respect to purification from sin and the giving of quiet to the conscience, which was needed, then why should the Psalmist speak of a priest who was of an order different from that of Aaron, and who was yet to arise?' This would be unnecessary, if the priesthood of Aaron were adequate to the great purposes of salvation. "Ἐτι, *any more, any longer, further.* Λέγεσθαι, *named, selected.*

Ver. 12. Μεταριθμμένης γὰρ γίνεται, *but in case the priesthood be transferred, or changed, there must needs be also a change of the law.* Μεταριθμῆμι means *to transfer, to translate*; and this corresponds well with the intention of the writer, whose design it is to show, that the priesthood of the ancient dispensation had been *transferred* to Christ, though on conditions very different from those formerly attached to it; and that Christ not only was a priest in fact, but his priesthood, coming in the place of the other ancient priesthood, superseded it. The sense is substantially the same, if we render it *changed*. Νόμου here means specially the law or statute which had relation to the Levitical priesthood, viz., the statute which determined that the priests must all be of the descendants of Aaron and of the tribe of Levi. This must of necessity be changed, in case a priesthood of a different nature is introduced, i. e. a priest of a different order. And that such a priest is introduced, the writer goes on to prove in the sequel.

This he does, by adducing facts and declarations recorded in the Old Testament. (1) Christ sprang from the tribe of Judah, vs. 13, 14. (2) He was to be a priest of the order of Melchizedek, vs. 15—17. Consequently, the law which had respect only to the Levitical priesthood must also be changed.

With this view of the connexion of thought, we may see that the γὰρ in the beginning of this verse, is a γὰρ *confirmantis*, as grammarians and lexicographers say, and may be rendered, *however, since*. The object of the writer in this verse I take to be, to show that the other priest who was to arise, was to be οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρών. To establish this he says, 'If now there is a transfer of

the priesthood to a person different from any of the Aaronic order of priests, then of course there must be a change of the statutes or laws in respect to the priesthood; and consequently the new priest cannot be *κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρών*. Having illustrated this latter proposition, namely that *the new priesthood is not κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρών*, he next proceeds to illustrate the other part of his affirmation in vr. 11, viz., that *another* priest must arise *κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ*.

Ver 13. Ἐφ' ὃν γάρ *ὁμοιοσθησίῳ*, *he too concerning whom these things are said, belonged to a different tribe, none of whom served at the altar*. The γάρ here is one which belongs to those cases where the proposition preceding it is *mentally* supplied. It would stand thus: '[There is a change of the priesthood] *for he concerning whom*,' etc. Ταῦτα means the things which concern his being an eternal priest, after the order of Melchizedek. Γάρ here connects the illustration or proof, with the proposition.

Προσέσχηκε. Προσέχω means *to give heed, to apply the mind to*, τὸν νοῦν being understood; also *to give one's care to, to serve*.

Ver. 14. Πρόδηλον γάρ *ἐλάλησεν*, *since it is manifest that our Lord sprang from Juda, in respect to which tribe Moses said nothing concerning the priesthood*. The γάρ here stands before a clause which gives the reason or ground of the assertion in the preceding verse. The course of thought stands thus: 'The newly appointed priest did belong to a tribe different from that of Levi, *since* (γάρ) or *inasmuch as* he plainly was a descendant of Judah; and of course he did not belong to the Levitical order of priests.'

Ver. 15. Καὶ περισσότερον ἔτι *ἕτερος*, *and still more evident is it* [viz., that the priesthood must be changed,] *if another priest has arisen like to Melchizedek*. Between δῆλον, πρόδηλον, and κατάδηλον, there is no important difference of signification. The two latter, however, seem naturally to render the word somewhat more intensive. Ἀνίσταται, *is risen up*, viz., the high-priest in question *has already arisen* or made his appearance, *is already extant*.

Καθ' ὁμοιότητα, *according to the likeness, in the similitude of*, i. e. like, resembling; in a sense like that of *κατὰ τάξιν*, in v. 6; 10. vi. 20. vii. 11, Hebrew, *עַל דְּבִרְתִּי*, Ps. cx. 4. Comp. *ἀφωμοιωμένος* in vii. 3.

Ver. 16. Ὃς οὐ κατὰ νόμον *ἀκαταλύτου*, *who was not made* [a priest] *by an ordinance that was temporary, but by an authority which can never expire*; i. e. he was not made a priest, under the Mosaic law, which was to be set aside, vs. 12, 18 seq.; but by the oath of God, which is immutable, comp. vs. 20—24 and 28.

Σαρκικῆς, *fleshly*; hence, secondarily, *frail, infirm, short lived, temporary, quicquid caducum*. So the Hebrew רָצַב , Gen. vi. 3. Ps. lvi. 5. lxxviii. 39. Job x. 4. Is. xxxi. 3; comp. also ἀσθενής and ἀνωφελής in vr. 18. Ἐντολῆς means here, the *precept* or *command* respecting the appointment of priests contained in the νόμος, i. e. the Mosaic law. Ἐντολῆς σαρκικῆς is, then, *preceptum caducum, a temporary command, an ordinance of a temporary, perishable nature*. So vs. 12 and 18 require us to interpret the passage.

Δύναμιν, *authority, authoritative appointment*. So Acts iv. 7. ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει; *by what authority?* see also 1 Cor. v. 4. Ζωῆς, *perennitas, perpetuity*; see on vr. 8 above. Ἀκαταλύτου, *quod destrui nequit, indissoluble*; hence, *immutable, imperishable, perpetual*. As it is here the antithesis of σαρκικῆς, so the meaning of σαρκικῆς must be such as is given above. Ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου means, lit. *a life that cannot end*. That which cannot be dissolved, or cease, or perish, is said to have ζωὴν ἀκατάλυτον. According to this sense I have translated the words.

So, for substance, Carpzoff, Heinrichs, Jaspis, and others. Kuinoel translates κατὰ δύναμιν, κ. τ. λ., by *per vim vitæ perennis*; and he refers to vs. 23, 24 for explanation. His idea is, that Christ was made a high-priest, in such a manner as comported with his endless life as a priest. But what is this except saying, that he was made a perpetual high-priest because he was appointed to a perpetual high priesthood? The other exegesis which I have given, (although he calls it *contorta*,) makes out a direct antithesis between the former and latter part of the verse; which, I must think, is the more significant mode of interpretation.

That this interpretation of the whole verse is well grounded, would seem to follow plainly from the succeeding verse (vr. 17), which is adduced simply to prove the *perpetuity* of Christ's priesthood.

Ver. 17. Μαρτυρεῖ γάρ, viz., ἡ γραφή, or τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; possibly Θεός may here be the nominative. The nominative in such cases would of course be supplied by the readers of the epistle. In the writings of the Mishnical doctors, the usual mode of appeal to the Scriptures is רָצַב , i. e. *quod dicitur*, or λέγεται γάρ, μαρτυρεῖται. The writer makes the appeal to Scripture, in this case, to confirm and enforce what he had just asserted. The force of the proof lies in εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The γάρ here is γάρ *confirmantis*, i. e. it stands before a clause introduced for the sake of confirming what he had just said.

Ver. 18. Ἀθήτησις μὲν γάρ, κ. τ. λ., *for there is indeed a setting aside,*

etc. The γάρ in this case it is somewhat difficult to account for. On the whole I understand the connexion thus: 'Jesus is eternal high-priest, according to a new arrangement, vr. 17; there is such an arrangement, *for* (γάρ) the former dispensation is abrogated,' etc. It is then a case of γάρ *confirmantis*. Ἀθήνησις, *rejection, setting aside, abrogation*; a stronger word than ἀναλλαγή. Προαγούσης, literally *preceding*, i. e. going before the Christian dispensation, i. q. the ancient law respecting the priesthood. Ἀσθενής καὶ ἀνωφελής are words of nearly the same import here. Ἀσθενής is said of that which has not *power* to accomplish any particular end proposed; and ἀνωφελής is said of that which proves to be neither useful nor availing for the purpose to which it has been applied. The meaning here is, that the ancient law, with all its priestly ritual, had proved to be altogether incompetent to effect the τελεσίωσις mentioned in vr. 11th, i. e. to effect the purification of the sinner, and give that peace of conscience which is inspired by the well-grounded hope of pardon for sin; comp. vr. 19, and ix. 9, 14. x. 1—4. The two words ἀσθενής and ἀνωφελής increase the intensity of the affirmation. The epithet σαρκικῆς, applied to ἐντολή in the 16th verse, is of a similar nature.

Ver. 19. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος, *for the law perfected nothing*. The γάρ here introduces an expression, which shows that the law is weak and unavailing. Οὐδὲν, neuter gender, is used here for οὐδὲνα masculine, i. e. *no one*; just as τὸ ἑλαττον in vr. 2 means the *superior person*, i. e. Melchizedek. Τὸ πᾶν and πάντα are repeatedly used by John, for πᾶς and πάντες; and so of other adjectives. Οὐδὲν ἐτελείωσεν means *did not effect a τελεσίωσις, did not purify and pacify the consciences and minds of sinners*. We have no one English word, which corresponds at all with the force of the Greek original; and we must therefore content ourselves, either with a kind of literal rendering of it, or with a periphrasis as I have done, leaving the explanation for notes.

Ἐπεισαγωγή δὲ . . . τῷ Θεῷ, *but [there is] the introduction of a better hope*; i. e. of a hope of pardon, that "purifies the conscience from dead works, so that men may serve the living God," ix. 14. Ἐπεισαγωγή, *superinduction*, is said of one thing which is introduced in the place of another; e. g. in this case, of the new priesthood which was *superinduced* in the place of the old one. Ἐλπὶς κρείττων means *a better source or ground of hope*, viz., the new arrangement was a better ground of hope to the sinner than the old one. Δι' ἧς, *by which, by means of which, through which* ground of hope, i. e. in

the new way disclosed by the gospel, ἐγγίζομεν τῷ Θεῷ, *we draw nigh to God*, or *we have access to God*. Under the ancient law, the high-priest only entered the holy of holies to procure pardon for the people. Under the gospel, the way is opened by Jesus for all penitent sinners to “come boldly to the throne of grace,” iv. 16, in order to obtain the blessings which they need. Ἐγγίζω is frequently construed with the dative, in Hellenistic Greek; see Sept. Gen. xxvii. 21. Ex. xix. 22. The latter part of the verse is marked by δὲ as a kind of antithesis to the first part, or the apodosis of the sentence. It is introduced in order to show that something better comes in the place of that which was abrogated.

Ver. 20. Καὶ καθ’ ὅσον οὐ χωρὶς ὀρκωμοσίας, *inasmuch, also, as not without an oath*; supply ἱερεὺς γέγονεν Ἰησοῦς, from the latter part of the following phrase, which is the antithesis of this. Καθ’ ὅσον in this case, refers to κατὰ τοσοῦτον in vr. 22; and the intervening phrases are added by the writer, only by way of explanation and comparison. It is difficult, if not impossible, to give the exact features of the original here, in any copy. The argument of the writer stands thus: ‘The gospel is a *better* source of hope; for *as much* (καθ’ ὅσον) as the appointment of a priest by an oath, exceeds in solemnity and importance an arrangement to take the office merely by descent, *so much* (κατὰ τοσοῦτον, vr. 22) does the new covenant of which Jesus is the sponsor, exceed the old.’ Ὀρκωμοσία applies rather to the *act* of taking an oath, being derived from ὄρκος and ὀμνυμι.

Ver 21. Οἱ μὲν γεγονότες, *for they*, i. e. the Levites, *became priests without an oath*. Μὲν γάρ often means *indeed, in fact, verily*; but here μὲν is only the sign of *protasis*. The Levites were priests in consequence of being the descendants of Aaron; Jesus became a priest only by special appointment, sanctioned by an oath; so it follows, viz.

Ὁ δὲ μετὰ ὀρκωμοσίας Μελχισεδέκ, *but he* [Jesus, became a priest] *with an oath, by him who said to him, “The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent; thou art a priest forever of the order of Melchizedek,”* Ps. cx. 4. Μεταμεληθήσεται signifies *to regret, to alter one’s mind or purpose through regret*; and simply, *to change or alter one’s purpose*.

Ver. 22. Κατὰ τοσοῦτον Ἰησοῦς, *Jesus is the surety of a covenant so much the better*. On κατὰ τοσοῦτον, see above. Διαθήκη (בְּרִית) means *covenant, promise, dispensation, arrangement, testament*; consequently, when applied to the ancient Jewish law, or to Christianity, it means *dispensation, economy*. Κεῖντρονος means *better, than*

the ancient διαθήκη; i. e. the hope inspired by the new διαθήκη, is as much better than what the ancient διαθήκη could inspire, as the new διαθήκη is superior to the old. Ἐγγυος, *sponsor, pledge, surety*. Many critics have supposed, that this word is chosen here on account of its likeness to ἐγγίζομεν in the 19th verse; so that it constitutes a kind of παρονομασία with it. However this may be, the word is altogether appropriate to the writer's purpose. He had spoken of a *better hope*, in vr. 19. It was natural to ask, What is the ground or security that this hope will be realized? This is answered by the assurance, that Jesus is Ἐγγυος for the dispensation which supports it.

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The writer now proceeds to add one more reason, why the Levitical priesthood must be considered as far inferior to that of Jesus. As men in a frail and dying state are constituted priests under the Levitical law, the consequence is, that the priesthood is liable to continual change, and must necessarily pass from the hands of one to another in a short time. Not so in the case of Christ; who, being exalted above the heavens, and constituted high-priest in the temple not made with hands, hath an immutable priesthood subject to no succession.

Ver. 23. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείονες παραμένειν, *those priests, also, viz., the descendants of Aaron, are many, since by reason of death they cannot be permanent*. Πλείονες refers to numbers constituted by repeated *succession*; not to the number of priests existing at any one time. Θανάτῳ is put in the dative, as signifying the *means*. The writer doubtless intends that the comparison here shall be referred to the high-priest's office in particular; for he is all along considering Jesus as ἀρχιερεύς. The number of priests, in general, is stated by Josephus to have been 1500; contra Apion. I. 22.

Ver. 24. Ὁ δὲ, διὰ τὸ μένειν ἱερωσύνην, *but he, because he continues for ever, has a priesthood without succession*. Formerly I adopted the explanation here which takes μένειν αὐτόν as referring to the perpetuity of Jesus' priesthood. But Kuinoel, Bloomfield, and others are strongly against this interpretation. On the whole I now feel inclined to adopt their views, although with some doubts. These arise from the apparent antithesis demanded between κωλύεσθαι παραμένειν of the preceding clause, (which confessedly means *forbidden to remain permanently in the priests' office*) and μένειν in the present clause. But these critics object that it would be mere tautology to say: 'Because he is a perpetual priest, his priesthood admits of no succession.' And although there are very many expressions in the Bible, which are as near to tautology as this, yet on account of the πάντοτε ζῶν in vr. 25, which is applied to Christ,

I am on the whole led to accede to their exegesis. I construe μένειν, then, as referring to the perpetual and unchangeable condition of Christ, in the world above, where he is priest—and perpetual priest, because his life is never interrupted by death; all of which is an antithesis to the condition and circumstances of the Jewish priests.

Ἀπαράστατον is altogether an appropriate word here, and more significant than αἰώνιον or ἀτέλευτον would be. The writer had just said, 'The Levitical priesthood admits or demands many (πλείονες) priests in succession, because death is continually removing them from office.' On the contrary, Christ being appointed to a perpetual priesthood, his office is here declared to be ἀπαράστατος, i. e. it admits of no transition to another, no successor in his place, inasmuch as he never dies. Παραλαίνω means *to pass over, to pass on*; and when spoken of an office, it signifies *to pass into the hands of another person*. Ἀπαράστατος is, therefore, *incapable of transition*; which is the very shade of meaning that the writer's argument demands. So Theophylact and Oecumenius; ἀπαράστατον, ἀδιάδοχον, *without succession*.

Ver. 25. Ὅθεν καὶ σώζειν Σεῶ, *hence also he is able always to save those, who draw nigh to God through him*, i. e. approach the throne of grace (iv. 16.) in his name, or on his account, trusting in him as their priest and intercessor. Ὅθεν, *whence*, i. e. because he is a perpetual priest. Σώζειν, *to save*, means here, *to deliver from condemnation and punishment*. This the high-priest did, in regard to God's *external* government over the Jews, when he went into the most holy place, and made expiation for the sins of the people. But Christ, as a priest in the *heavenly* world, is able also to do this; and to do it εἰς τὸ παντελές, *unceasingly, always*, so long as there are any who need pardon, and who can obtain it.

Πάντοτε ζῶν, *ever living*, i. e. his life in the heavenly world admits of no interruption or change.

Εἰς τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, *to intercede for them*, or rather *to interpose in their behalf*. The proper meaning of ἐντυγχάνω is, *to go to any one, to approach him, to meet him*, for the sake of accusing, defending, convicting, or delivering any person, or of transacting any business which has respect to him. Here, it is plainly in the sense of *aiding, defending or delivering*; as the preceding σώζειν clearly indicates. It means here, also, to do something, or to interpose in such a way as is appropriate to the priest's office. But *to intercede* in the sense of *making supplication*, was not appro-

priate to any part of the priests' office under the Levitical law ; at least, not to any which the Scriptures have presented to our view. The reader will search in vain for any direction to the priests, under the Jewish economy, to perform such a duty as priests ; and all the testimony we have to show us that the priests did make intercession, is the nature of the case, and what Philo says of their duties, Legat. ad Caium. II. 77. p. 591. (edit. Mangey ;) see on vr. 27. Even the passage in Luke i. 9, 10, seems to indicate nothing that solves the question. We must, therefore, understand *ἐντυγχάνειν* here in a more *general* sense, and refer it to *any aid* which Christ as high-priest extends to those who approach God confiding in him, iv. 16. He is able *σώζειν αὐτούς*, because he is a perpetual priest *ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*, i. e. *to interpose in their behalf, to procure for them such aid* as they may need. So the priests under the Levitical dispensation, were the *internuntii* between God and the people, and procured blessings for them, not only by presenting the offerings which they brought, but by inquiring of the Lord for them, or consulting his holy oracle. I acquiesce, therefore, in the *general* idea of *ἐντυγχάνειν* here, viz., *interposing in our behalf, assisting*; and I do so, because I think this *generic* idea not only better comports with the Greek word *ἐντυγχάνειν*, but it is of course more significant and expressive than merely a specific meaning, which limits the Saviour's aid to one particular thing.

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The writer, having now commented on the priesthood of Christ as compared with that of Melchizedek, and having also made some deductions from the nature of Christ's priestly office as thus exhibited, which are much to his purpose, resumes the subject which he had dropped at v. 10, and which he had first proposed in v. 2, 3. In v. 7—9 he had shown the similarity between Christ and the Jewish priests, in regard to the power of sympathizing with the suffering, inasmuch as both he and they were sufferers themselves. But he did not intend that the *ἀσκήσια* of the Jewish priests should be predicated of Jesus in *all* respects. To guard against this, our author again introduces the topic here, and shows how far superior the priest of the new covenant is, in a *moral* respect, to the priests of the old.

Ver. 26. *Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἡμῶν ἔπρεπεν ἀρχιερεὺς, now such a high-priest was needful for us.* *Γὰρ* makes some difficulty here for interpreters. Kuinoel says: '*γὰρ* affirmat *enimvero, utique.*' In questions and answers, I allow that it is often an intensive particle. But here this has no place. I must therefore make some such connexion of sense as the following: 'Christ always lives, and will always be our helper ; for such a high-priest we needed.' The implication is, that God has provided help adequate to all our need, and therefore provided a perpetual helper. If this be not the connexion, I can-

not see how γάρ is to be fairly explained. Πρίτω ordinarily signifies, *that which is becoming, proper, fit*. But here ἔπειτα seems plainly to be equivalent to τὸ ἀναγκαῖον; as in Matt. iii. 15. So Luther, 'sollten wir haben,' *we must have*. So Ernesti, Calovius.

Ὁσιος, *holy*, not merely ὡς ἔστι here, but רַחֵם, טוֹהַר, דִּמְיוּת; for *moral* internal holiness or purity of nature is intended. Ἄκακος, *harmless, qui malum non fecit*, whose external conduct towards others corresponds with internal οἰότης.

Ἀμίαντος, *undefiled*, has reference to the ceremonial purity which was peculiarly required of the Jewish high-priests. Ἀμίαντος has here, however, a *moral* sense, and expresses summarily and with intensity the ideas conveyed by ὀσιος and ἄκακος. Κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, *separated from sinners*, i. e. removed from all that could contaminate or render impure, diverse from sinners, unlike to them. It is nearly synonymous in its meaning with ἀμίαντος, and is added (as is usual in such cases with the sacred writers) for the sake of intensity.

ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος, *exalted above the heavens*, i. e. seated at the right hand of the majesty on high, i. 3. comp. Phil. ii. 9. Colos. i. 18. Heb. ii. 9. viii. 1. Rev. v. 12. Matt. xxv. 31.

By these assertions the writer designs to show his Hebrew readers, that Christ was in all personal respects exalted above the Jewish high-priests. They were "compassed with infirmities," but he was spotless; if they were ceremonially undefiled, he was morally so; if they were placed in an exalted station, he was infinitely above them, being, like Melchizedek, king as well as priest, inasmuch as he was raised to the throne of God above the heavens, i. 3. To finish the comparison he goes on to say, that, in consequence of his perfect purity, he needed no expiatory offering for himself, as the Jewish high-priest did.

Ver. 27. Ὁς οὐκ ἔχει . . . λαοῦ, *who has not (like the high-priests) any daily necessity of offering sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for those of the people*. Many doubts have been raised by critics, about the meaning of καθ' ἡμέραν here, because they have supposed that the high-priest officiated in person, only on the great day of atonement. See Lev. vi. 19—22. Num. xxviii. 3, 4; which, however, do not render the daily personal service of the high-priest certain. All that is necessary, as I suppose, in order to illustrate the real sense of the apostle's words here, is, the suggestion that he does not assert the daily sacrificial duty of the high-priest *in propria persona*, but that the high-priests on account of their in-

firmities (sins), were under the necessity of having daily sacrifice offered for them; as were all the Jewish nation. See Num. xxviii. 3, 4. In this respect Christ differed entirely from them. Still, Philo, who was contemporary with the apostles, says, ἀρχιεὺς, κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, εὐχὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας τελεῶν καθ' ἰκαστην ἡμέραν, *the high-priest, agreeably to the laws, makes daily supplications and sacrifices*, see on vr. 25. It happens in this case, as in all others of a like nature which occur in our epistle, that the deep and accurate knowledge of the writer, in respect to every thing which concerned the Jewish dispensation, becomes apparent, just in proportion to our knowledge of the usages which really existed under that dispensation.

Τοῦτο γὰρ . . . ἀνενέγκας, *for this he did, once for all, when he offered up himself*; i. e. he offered sacrifice for the sins of the people, once for all (but not for himself as a sinner). Ἀναφέρω is like the Heb. אָנָּח. Προσφέρω is also used in a similar sense. Ἐφάπαξ, lit. *for once, einmal*; but according to usage, it denies a repetition of the act or thing to which it relates, and so means *once for all*.

Ver. 28. Ὁ νόμος γὰρ . . . ἀσθενεῖαν, *for the law constitutes men high-priests who have infirmity*. Γὰρ here refers to the preceding declaration, viz., the necessity of the high-priests that daily sacrifice should be made for them. Why? *Because* (γὰρ) they were men who had infirmities, i. e. they every day committed sin. Ἐχοντας ἀσθενεῖαν here means, those who have infirmity of a moral nature, i. e. who commit sin, who are sinners; so also in verse 2.

Ὁ λόγος δὲ ὀρκωμοσίας . . . τετελειωμένον, *but the word of the oath, which was subsequent to the law, [constitutes as high-priest] the Son who is forever exalted to glory*. Ὁ λόγος τῆς ὀρκωμοσίας is the same as ὄρκος or ὀρκωμοσία in verse 20. The writer refers to Ps. cx. 4. *The word of the oath*, i. q. the oath that was uttered.

Τὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον. As to τελειῶω, see ii. 10 on τελειῶσαι. I regard the expression as designed here to convey, for substance, the idea of a state of the highest perfection and exaltation, which forbids the supposition that Jesus can have such ἀσθενεῖαν as the Jewish priests.

CHAP. VIII.

VER. 1. Κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, *the most important thing, however, in regard to what we are now treating of, is*. That κεφάλαιον has such a meaning as is here assigned to it, is beyond any reasonable doubt. So Suidas, referring to this passage, says:

κεφάλαιον, ἐκεῖ, τὸ μέγιστον. So Theophylact, on this verse; *ἵνα εἶπω τὸ μέγιστον καὶ συνεκτικώτερον, that I may say the greatest thing and the most comprehensive.* So Theodoret understood κεφάλαιον; for he says, *τὴν μέγιστην τιμὴν τελευταίαν κατέλιπε, he reserved the greatest honour until the last.* So Philo: *τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν, the head of the warriors.* So the classic authors also, as may be seen in Schneider, and in any good Greek lexicon; to which may be added many of the most distinguished among late critics on our epistle, such as Zachariae, Michaelis, Heinrichs, Storr, Dindorf, Schulz, Jaspis, and others. In the like sense, also, are the Hebrew *רִאשׁוֹן* and *רִאשׁוֹן* used. The context, moreover, renders it quite plain, that such must be the meaning, and that κεφάλαιον does not here mean *sum* or *summary*, in the sense of *recapitulation* or *contents*; for what follows is no *recapitulation* of what precedes, but a new topic, exhibiting a different attitude or view of Christ's priesthood. In the preceding chapter, the apostle has treated of the superiority of Christ's priesthood in respect to duration and succession. He has shown, also, that Christ was made priest by the solemnity of an oath, while the Levites were not introduced to their office by such a solemnity. The priesthood of the latter was liable to continual interruption and vicissitude, from the frail and dying state of those who were invested with the office of priest; while the perpetuity of Christ's priestly office, was never exposed to interruption from causes of this nature. Finally, the Jewish priests were themselves not only *peccable* but *peccant* men, and needed to offer sacrifices on their own account, as well as for the sake of others; while Christ was holy, and perfectly free from all sin, and exalted to a glorious state in which he was placed for ever beyond the reach of it, so that his sacrifice would inure solely to the benefit of sinful men.

Thus much the writer has already said respecting the nature of the office conferred on Christ, and his qualifications to discharge the duties of it. He now comes, in chaps. viii—x., to the consideration of the duties themselves, viz., the nature of the sacrifice which Jesus offers; the place where it is offered; the efficacy which it has to atone for sin; and the difference, in regard to all these points, between the sacrifice offered by Christ and that which was presented by the Jewish priests. This topic, then, differs from those which were discussed in chap. vii. Κεφάλαιον, therefore, does not mean *recapitulation* here; although there can be no doubt that

the word itself is capable of conveying such a sense, if the nature of the case demanded it.

Moreover, from the circumstances just presented it is evident, that what follows is the κεφάλαιον, *principal thing*, which belongs to the topic of the writer. The dignity of an office, and the particular qualifications of the person who is to be invested with it, are things which in their own nature are subordinate to the great end which is to be accomplished by the office itself. They are only subordinate *means* of bringing about the end of the office; while this end or design itself must, from its own nature, be regarded as the *principal thing*, κεφάλαιον.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, *in respect to*, etc. That ἐπὶ often has this sense, may be seen in the lexicons. Λεγομένοις, pres. part. passive, means *the subjects now spoken of or discussed*. Τοιοῦτον ἀρχιερέα, *such a priest*, viz., such as had been described in the preceding chapter; see vii. 26.

Ὁς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ, κ. τ. λ., see on i. 3. It is quite possible that the writer in using ἐκάθισεν here, may intend tacitly to introduce a comparison between Christ as a priest performing the duties of his office and being *seated* on a throne of majesty, and the high-priest of the Jews who in the discharge of all the duties of his function *stood* before the Lord. But I do not think the point clear enough to be insisted on. Thus much is clear, viz., that the writer means to show the very great difference between Christ and the Jewish high-priest, by adverting to the fact, that the one is seated on the throne of God in the heavens, while the other only ministers on earth, in a temple reared by the hands of men. This last idea he now proceeds more fully to develop.

Ver. 2. Τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργός, *a minister of the sanctuary*, i. e. of the adytum, sanctum sanctorum, Ὡ̇ר̇ב̇; in other words, the high-priest of the temple above, having access to Ὡ̇ר̇ב̇, *the holy*, or *most holy place*. Ἁγίων may also mean *of holy things*, i. e. ἁγίων ἀληθινῶν, of the truly sacred or holy things in heaven. But I prefer the former sense; as the comparison thus becomes more direct with the Jewish high-priest. Λειτουργός means *a public minister, qui publicis officiis præest, qui munera publica præstat*. Says Ulpian, the Scholiast upon Demos. contra Septin., λεῖτον ἐκάλου οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ δημοσιον, *what was public the ancients called λεῖτον*. The ending -ουργός comes from the verb ἔργειν, *opero, officio fungor*.

Καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, *the true tabernacle*, means that which is

spiritual, immutable, and eternal in the heavens; and which therefore is called *true* or *real*, in distinction from the earthly tabernacle that was made by the hands of men, and was of materials earthly and perishable. The tabernacle in heaven is the *substance*; that on earth, the image or type. Hence the former is, by way of distinction, properly named ἀληθινῆς, i. e. real, or that which truly and permanently exists.

What is intimated by this appellation, is now more fully expressed. "Ἦν ἱερωξεν ὁ κύριος, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, *which the Lord constructed or reared, and not man*; i. e. the true or heavenly tabernacle is not material, was not formed by human architects, but reared by the immediate power of God. Whether the writer means here to speak of an *actual* heavenly structure, having *physical* form and location, is a question which will be brought up by ver. 5 below.

Ver. 3. Πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . καθίσταται, *for every high-priest is appointed to present both oblations and sacrifices*; i. e. it enters into the very nature of such an office, that duties of this kind must be performed by him who sustains it; see the original proposition of this subject, in vr. 1. The γὰρ here makes not a little difficulty. On the whole I imagine the connexion of thought in the writer's mind to be as follows: 'Christ is the minister of the upper sanctuary; *for* (γὰρ) every high-priest must have sacerdotal duties to perform,' etc. Some critics render γὰρ, *igitur*; others, *autem*; but this is taking great liberties with it. Δῶρα, *oblations* or *gifts* that were without blood, such as the first-fruits of grain, vegetables, etc. Θυσίας, *animals slain for sacrifice*. Both were presented to God by the priest, who acted as the *internuntius* between Jehovah and the offerer.

"Ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον . . . προσέτιγχε, *whence it is necessary that this* [high-priest] *also have some* [offering] *to present*; i. e. if Christ be high-priest, and if such an office is necessarily connected with the duty of presenting some offering, then Christ of course must present one. What the oblation made by Christ is, he tells us more fully in chap. ix. 11—14, 25, 26.

Ver. 4. The apostle proceeds to show the reason, why Christ is a priest in the tabernacle above, and not in that on the earth. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν . . . δῶρα, *for if he were on earth, then he could not be a priest, because there are priests appointed by law who present oblations according to law*. The γὰρ here I take to be as introducing a second reason, why Christ is a minister in the upper sanctuary. The μὲν here is in the protasis; the δὲ of the apodosis is in vr. 6. The

argument of the passage stands thus: 'The Scripture calls Christ *ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*; but this he could not be while on earth, inasmuch as there are already *ἱερεῖς* there by divine appointment; consequently he is *ἱερεὺς* in the temple above, and must present his offering there.' *Δῶρα* means here *oblations of every kind*, comprehending the same things as *δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας* in vr. 3.

Ver. 5. *Οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι . . . ἐπουρανίων*, *the same who perform service in [that tabernacle which is] a mere copy of the heavenly [sanctuary;]* comp. vr. 2 and ix. 24. *ὑπόδειγμα* means *image, effigy, copy, resemblance, imitation*; all designating the idea, that the earthly temple stands related to the heavenly one, only as a painting or picture of any thing, stands related to the object itself. The heavenly *σκηνή* is *ἀληθινός*, the earthly one *σκιὰ*.

Σκιά, *shadow, light and imperfect image, sketch*; distinct from *εἰκών*, *a picture completed, an accurate resemblance*. It is also the correlate antithesis of *σῶμα*, *body*; see Col. ii. 17. *Σκιά* I have construed as qualifying *ὑποδείγματι*, and rendered both words *mere copy*, i. e. construed them as a hendiadys. The meaning is, that it is *only a resemblance*; i. e. the earthly tabernacle is but a *shadow, a mere imperfect effigy*, of the heavenly one. Consequently the office of priest in the latter, is far more elevated than the like office in the former.

Τῶν ἐπουρανίων, i. e. *ἀγίων*, *sanctuary*. So in vr. 2, *ἀγίων λειτουργός*, i. e. *ἀγίων [τόπων] λειτουργός*, *a minister of the holy of holies, or of the most holy place*.

Καθὼς χρημάτισται . . . ὅρει, *for Moses when about to build the tabernacle, was divinely admonished; "See now," said he, "that thou make all things according to the pattern showed thee in the mount."*

Χρηματίζω means *to give oracular responses, or to make communications to men in any supernatural way*. It is spoken *actively* of God and not of men. So Phavorinus, *χρηματίζειν, λέγεται ἐπὶ θεῶν τὸ δὲ διαλέγεσθαι, ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων*. In the passive voice, as here, it means, *to receive divine responses or communications of any kind*.

Ἐπιτελεῖν, *to complete, finish, perform, do, make*. *Φησί*, viz., God saith, in Ex. xxv. 40. comp. Ex. xxv. 9. xxvi. 30. xxvii. 8. Num. viii. 4. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 19. Acts vii. 44. The Hebrew word, to which *τύπον* here corresponds, is *תבנית*, *model, sketch, delineation, form*. *Τύπος* means *model or form* here; as it often does. *Ὅπου* refers to mount Sinai; for it was during the *theophany* there, that communications were made to Moses on the subject of building the tabernacle; see Ex. xxiv. 18, comp. xxv. 9, 40. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 1. See EXCURSUS XV.

Ver. 6. *Nυνὶ δὲ διαφορωτέρας τίττυχε λειτουργίας, but now has he obtained a service of a more excellent nature; i. e. since he is not a priest in the earthly temple but in the heavenly one, he has an office [πῶς] διαφορωτέρα, [so much] the more exalted, viz., than that of the Levitical priests.*

Ὅσῳ καὶ μισίτης, as much more as the covenant, of which he is the mediator, is superior [to the ancient one] being sanctioned by better promises. Πῶς must be understood in the clause preceding this, viz., πῶς διαφορωτέρας, in order to make out the comparison which its correlate ὅσῳ implies in the latter. *Νενομοθέτηται is sanctioned, i. e. is promulgated and established with all the solemnity and stability of a law.* The *better promises* follow, viz., in vs. 8—13. The imperfection of the first covenant, and the perfection of the second, is further disclosed in ix. 9—14. x. 1—22. xiii. 9—14. From these passages it appears, that the first covenant promised only external purification, together with the civil or ecclesiastical pardon of an offender who complied with the rites which it enjoined; but under the new covenant, *real pardon of sin* by God is to be obtained, with purification and peace of conscience, the hope of eternal life, and union at last with the assembly of the redeemed in a better world.

The sentiment of the apostle, then, in our verse, stands thus: ‘The office with which Christ is invested as a priest, or his priestly function, is as much superior to that of the Levitical priests, as the covenant under which he holds his office, excels, in the blessings which it promises, the covenant introduced by Moses.’

Ver. 7. *Εἰ γὰρ ἡ πρώτη τέπος, moreover if that first [covenant] had been faultless, then no place for the second would have been sought.*

‘*Ἡ πρώτη, sc. διαθήκη, means here, the Jewish dispensation or economy.*

Ἄμειπτος, without fault, free from defect. The meaning is not that the Mosaic economy had *positive* faults, viz., such things as were palpably wrong or erroneous; but that it did not contain in itself all the provision necessary for pardon of sin, and the rendering of the conscience peaceful and pure; which the gospel does effect.—See on vii. 19 and comp. ix. 9—14, 23, 24. x. 1—3, 10—14. The law then was not τέλειος, i. e. ἄμειπτος; nor was it designed to be any thing more, than a dispensation, *preparatory* to the gospel.

‘*Ἐζητήτο τέπος, no room had been sought, or no provision would be made, for a second, i. e. for a new covenant or the gospel dispensation.*

Ver. 8. *Μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοῖς λέγει, but finding fault [with the first*

covenant], *he says to them*, i. e. the Jews. The passage is capable of another construction, viz., *finding fault with them*, i. e. the Jews; in which way a majority of the commentators, with Chrysostom, have understood it. *Μέμφομαι* can undoubtedly govern *αὐτοῖς* in the dative; but still I prefer the other construction. The apostle says, "The former covenant was not *ἄμειπτος*." He goes on to prove this; but how? By quoting a passage from Jer. xxxi. 31—34. But what does this passage contain? *Μέμφεται*, says the apostle, i. q. *μεμφόμενος ἔστι*, i. e. it affirms that the law is not *ἄμειπτος*; for these two words are plainly connected as *antitheses* by the writer. If so, then *μεμφόμενος* governs *διαθήκη* implied, and not *αὐτοῖς*; and so I understand it. If the ellipsis be supplied it will read, *μεμφόμενος αὐτῇ*, sc. *διαθήκῃ*. In such a case *αὐτοῖς* is governed by *λέγει*.

In addition to the argument thus drawn from the writer's purpose, I would also suggest, that the whole of Jer. xxxi., which precedes the passage quoted, is made up of consolation and promise, instead of reproof or finding fault. The *imputation of defect*, then, must be such an imputation, in this case, as is implied in the passage quoted. But in this, the declaration that a new covenant should supersede the old one, implies of course that the old one had failed to accomplish all the objects to be desired, i. e. it was defective. The apostle evidently understands the passage quoted, as originally having respect to the gospel dispensation; nor can I perceive any good reason why it should not be so understood. There is the same objection, that any prophecy whatever should be understood as having regard to this dispensation, as there would be to this being so understood; consequently there is sufficient reason why this should be understood as the apostle has explained it, unless we reject altogether the idea, that any truly prophetic declarations of such a nature can and do exist.

Ἴδού ἡμέραι . . . καινὴν, *behold the days are coming, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah*. *Ἴδού* corresponds to the Hebrew *הִנֵּנִי*, and is used to excite the particular attention of persons who are addressed, to any thing or subject. It is Hebraism, and not of classic usage; at least not in any measure so frequently employed in the classics, as by the writers of the New Testament. *Ἴδού* is accented on the ultimate in order to mark it as an *adverb*, and to distinguish it from *ἴδου* 2 aor. imp. of the verb *ἵδω*.

Ἡμέραι ἔρχονται is equivalent to the Hebrew *יָמִים בָּאִים*, which is used indefinitely for any future period whether near or remote.—

The simple meaning of the expression is, 'At some future period, I will make,' etc.

'Επὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα, i. q. Hebrew בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִהוּדָה, i. e. *house, family, tribe, or nation of Judah and Israel*. The meaning is, 'with all the twelve tribes,' i. e. the whole of the Hebrew nation. 'Επὶ τὸν οἶκον, i. q. ἐπὶ τῷ οἴκῳ, see Wahl's Lexicon on ἐπί, No 8. a. In the Septuagint the passage reads thus: καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινὴν.

Διαθήκην is commonly employed by the Seventy in order to translate בְּרִית. The general idea of διαθήκη is, *disposition or arrangement* of any kind, or in regard to any matter; and it is a derivate of the verb διατίθημι, *to dispose of, to arrange*. Hence it is sometimes employed by classic writers in the sense of *fædus, compact, or covenant* between two parties; but not so in the New Testament. Like the Hebrew בְּרִית, to which according to the usus loquendi of the New Testament it generally corresponds, it often means *law, precept*; even particular precept, as in Acts vii. 8, the precept of circumcision; in Rom. ix. 4, αἱ διαθήκαι, *the tables of the law*, i. e. the ten commandments, comp. Deut. iv. 13, where בְּרִית is explained by עֲשֶׂת הַדְּבָרִים, *the ten commandments*; comp. also Deut. ix. 9, 11. So Heb. ix. 4, κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης, *the ark* which contained the διαθήκην, i. e. the two tables of the ten commandments. i. q. תְּנִיחַ בְּרִית יְהוָה, Num. x. 33; and afterward, in the same verse αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, *the (stone) tablets containing the ten commandments*. The general idea of *law, precept, statute*, is very commonly annexed to בְּרִית in Hebrew, where the Septuagint render it by διαθήκη; e. g. Ex. xix. 5, et alibi, sæpe. Both in classic authors and in the New Testament, it has also the meaning of *last will, testament*; e. g. Gal. iii. 15. Heb. ix. 16, 17.

Most frequently of all are בְּרִית in the Old Testament, and διαθήκη in the New, employed to designate a *promise, compact, or agreement* on the part of God with his people, that on condition of doing so and so, blessings of such and such a nature shall be bestowed upon them. It comes in this way very commonly to designate *the whole Jewish economy*, as we call it, with its conditions and promises; and by the writers of the New Testament it is employed in a similar way, in order to designate the *new economy or dispensation* of Christ, with all its conditions and promised blessings. Thus ἡ παλαιά or πρώτη διαθήκη means, *the Jewish dispensation*; and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη means, *the Christian dispensation*. The idea often annexed by

readers to the word *covenant*, viz., *mutual compact*, and a *quid pro quo* in respect to each of the parties, is not the Scriptural one. The meaning altogether predominant is *an arrangement* on the part of God in respect to men, in consequence of which certain blessings are secured to them by his promise, on condition that they comply with the demands which he makes, i. e. obey his precepts. Διαθήκη, then, embraces both *precept* and *promise*; and may be used for either, or for both at the same time, *pro re nata*; and it often is so used, both in the Old Testament and in the New. In our text διαθήκην καινήν means, *a new arrangement or disposition* made by Christ, i. e. one which has, in some respects, new conditions and new promises.

Ver. 9. Οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, κ. τ. λ. This clause is explanatory of the word καινήν in the preceding verse. The meaning is, 'The covenant which I will make at a future period with the Jewish nation, i. e. the dispensation under which I will place them, shall be different from that which I made when I brought them out of Egypt.'

Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν, Hebrew בְּיוֹם הַחֲזִיקִי בַיָּדָם. Χειρὸς, in the gen., is governed by the force of ἐπί in composition with λαβομένου; so ἐπιλαμβάνειν τῆς χειρὸς, *to take by the hand, to lead*, etc. Ἐξαγαγεῖν, *to bring or lead out*, εἰς τό being understood before the inf. here. Both words together mean *assisted or helped to come out*. This clause is added by the writer, in order to show plainly that he means the διαθήκην, which was made when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, through the wilderness, toward Canaan.

Ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, *because they did not keep my covenant*. The Hebrew is, אֲשֶׁר הִפְסָה הַפְּרוֹ אֶת־בְּרִיתִי, *because they violated my covenant*, i. e. failed to perform the conditions on which I promised to bestow blessings upon them. The Greek οὐκ ἐνέμειναν, is a version *ad sensum* but not *ad litteram*. Μένω or ἐμμένω means, among other things, *to persevere, to be constant, to continue firm or steadfast* in any thing. The Greek expression οὐκ ἐνέμειναν is softer than הִפְּרוּ; and as οὐκ ἐνέμειναν conveys for *substance* the same idea as הִפְּרוּ, we may well suppose it was preferred to a stronger expression by the writer of our epistle, while he was addressing himself to his Jewish brethren. Ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν assigns a reason why a new covenant was to be made, viz., 'Because the old one is broken, and because it has not been kept on the part of the Jews, and will not be kept, therefore a new one, on different conditions and with better promises, shall be made.'

Καὶ γὰρ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, Hebrew **וְאֲנִי בְעַלְתִּי בָם**, English version, *although I was an husband to them*; Gesenius, *although I was their Lord*, in the earlier editions of his Hebrew lexicon; but in his last, *egoque eos rejicerem*; and so in Jer. iii. 14. That the Septuagint have given a correct version here, and that the apostle adopted it in our text is very probable. The Arabic **بَعَلَ** (بَعَلَ) means *to loathe, to reject with loathing*; see Castell Lex. on **بَعَلَ**. In this sense, it is probable, **בְּעַלְתִּי** is used in Jer. xxxi. 32, and, as some think, in Jer. iii. 14. So Abul Walid, Joseph Kimchi, and Rabbi Tanchum understood the word in xxxi. 32; and in like manner many modern critics. The Greek ἡμέλησα means *to neglect, to disregard, to treat with neglect*, and is, like οὐκ ἐνέμειναν, a softer expression than the corresponding Hebrew one, while it conveys for substance the same idea. The Septuagint, in their rendering of **בְּעַלְתִּי** appear to have preserved an ancient meaning of the word **בְּעַלְ**, for the correctness of which the Arabic is a pledge at the present time.

The *disregarding* or *treating with neglect* (ἡμέλησα) here spoken of, has reference to the various punishments inflicted upon Israel for their wickedness, instead of the blessings which they would have received had they been obedient.

Ver. 10. Ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ διαθήκη . . . κύριος, *but this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord.*

Ὅτι, *but*, so the Hebrew **וְ**, Ps. xliv. 23. cxxx. 4. Job xiv. 16, alibi; or, if this liberty of rendering **ὅτι** be not allowed, it may be translated *for*. The reasoning of the passage would then stand thus: ‘Not according to the old covenant, for this, etc., i. e. this new one is of another tenor.’ **Οἶκῳ Ἰσραὴλ**, *house of Israel*, in this verse, means the Jews in general, the Israelitish nation; for so the whole nation is often named, in the Old Testament and in the New.

Διδούς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, *I will put my laws into their mind*, Hebrew **בְּקִרְבִּי**. For **διδούς** the Septuagint has **διδούς δώσω**, meaning, I suppose, *I will deeply infix*. This sense of **δίδωμι** comes from the Hebrew **קָרַב**; see Wahl on **δίδωμι** No. 8. **Διδούς**, like the present participle in Hebrew, is used for the future **δώσω**. To *put laws into their minds*, of course means to inscribe or engrave them as it were, i. e. deeply to infix them. **Καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς**, *and I will engrave them upon their hearts*, or *inscribe them upon their hearts*; an expression parallel to the preceding, and of

the same import. The meaning of both is, I will give them a lasting spirit of obedience to my laws, so that they will no more violate them as they have done; i. e. the new covenant shall be distinguished from the old, by a higher and more permanent spirit of obedience in those who live under it.

Καὶ ἴσομαι αὐτοῖς . . . λαόν, and I will be their God and they shall be my people; i. e. I will grant them peculiar protection and blessings, and they shall be peculiarly obedient and devoted to me; comp. Rev. xxi. 3, 4, 7. Zech. viii. 8. For the meaning of the Hebrew-Greek idiom, εἰς Θεόν and εἰς λαόν, see on Heb. i. 5.

Ver. 11. *Καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξουσιν . . . κύνιον, no one shall teach his own fellow-citizen, nor any one his brother, saying, Know the Lord.* For τὸν πολίτην, various manuscripts and editions have τὸν πλησίον. The original Hebrew is, וְיִתְּנָה שְׂנֵאִן וְיִתְּנָה שְׂנֵאִן וְיִתְּנָה שְׂנֵאִן which, interpreted agreeably to a well known Hebrew idiom, means simply, *one shall not teach another*; for שְׂנֵאִן and וְיִתְּנָה, as well as שְׂנֵאִן and וְיִתְּנָה simply denote *each other* or *one another*, when thus coupled together. Τὸν πολίτην, in our text, corresponds to the Hebrew וְיִתְּנָה; and this word the Septuagint almost always render by πλησίον. This is the ground, probably, why the reading πλησίον has been preferred by Bengel, Carpzoff, and some other critics. But πολίτην is in the best manuscripts; and Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthiae, Rosenmueller, Knapp, Heinrichs, Tittmann, and others prefer it. The Septuagint, moreover, render וְיִתְּנָה, by πολίτης, in Prov. xi. 9. xxiv. 28. Whether, however, πλησίον or πολίτης be adopted, the sense is not changed. The meaning of the whole phrase is simply what the Hebrew idiom allows it to signify, viz, 'One shall have no need to teach another.' The repetition of the sentiment, by τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ, and τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, belongs merely to the poetic parallelism of the original Hebrew, which expresses the same thought in two different ways; as is constantly done by the synonymous parallelisms of the Old Testament.

Ὅτι πάντες . . . μεγάλου αὐτῶν, for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest, i. e. all of whatever rank or condition, high or low, rich or poor—all classes of people, shall have a knowledge of God. Μικροῦ and μεγάλου here refer to *condition*, rather than *age*.

The writer does not mean that religious instruction will be altogether *superseded*, when the happy period arrives of which he speaks; but that, inasmuch as the laws of God will be *infix'd upon* the hearts of his people and engraven upon their minds, none will be ignorant, as in former times, of his true character and the re-

quirements of his law. The words are not to be urged to a literal explanation. The meaning of the whole plainly is, that the knowledge of true religion or of God should become universal under the *new covenant*, so that no one might be found who could properly be addressed as knowing nothing of the true God. Moreover the implication contained in this, is, that under the *old covenant* many had been thus ignorant; a fact highly credible, considering the frequent lapses of the Jews into a state of idolatry.

Ver. 12. Ὅτι ἰλεως ἴσομαι . . . ἔτι, *for I will be merciful in respect to their iniquities, and their sins and their transgressions will I remember no more.* Ἰλεως, *propitious, mild, clement*, governs the dative ταῖς ἀδικίαις, and (like Πῶς to which it corresponds) designates the idea of *readiness to pardon*, or *to deal mildly with*, offenders.

Τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν is not in the Hebrew, nor in the common Septuagint, nor Vulgate, Syr. Copt. Ethiop. The Hebrew was only אָמַן עָלֵינוּ, to which τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν answers in our text. It is difficult, or rather impossible, now to determine whether τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν was originally inserted by the writer of our epistle, or crept in afterwards from some edition of the Septuagint which contained it. But whether it be admitted or excluded, it makes no difference in the *sentiment* of the passage; the first clause of which is the first member of a poetic parallelism, to which the second clause corresponds, echoing the same sentiment. Ἰλεως εἶναι ταῖς ἀδικίαις means *to be forgiving, ready to pardon*; and οὐ μνησθῆναι τῶν ἀνομιῶν means *to pass sins by unpunished, to treat offenders as though their sins were forgotten.* The expression, when applied to God, is altogether *anthropopathic*; but so are most other expressions which speak of him as acting in relation to such subjects.

Thus far the quotation from Jeremiah, in order to prove that a *new covenant*, better than the Mosaic one, was to be made with the people of God. The writer now adds, as a comment on what he had quoted,

Ver. 13. Ἐν τῷ λέγειν . . . πρώτην, *in saying a new [covenant], he represents the first [covenant] as old.* Of course, if the new one is to take the place of the former one, the former is considered as obsolete. Παλαιῶκε, like the Hebrew Piel and Hiphil, means *to represent a thing as old* or as *superannuated*; for in no other sense did the words just quoted make the former covenant old.

Now follows the deduction of the apostle from this. Τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον . . . ἀφαισμοῦ, *now that which has become old, and is advancing in age, is near to dissolution.* Παλαιόω is more usually applied

to *things*, and *γηράσκω* to *persons*. The use of two synonymous words here, serves merely to strengthen the representation, and is equivalent to saying, 'that which is very old.'

'Αφανισμοῦ, lit. *disappearing, vanishing*. Applied to a law or dispensation, it means *abolition* or *abrogation*. The argument of the writer is thus: 'What is very old, is near dissolution;' but the prophet Jeremiah has represented the former covenant as *παραλαινόμενον*; therefore it is near dissolution, or it is about to be dissolved or abrogated. Hence the necessity of a new covenant in its place.

CHAP. IX.

FOR an illustration of the course of thought and reasoning in this chapter, see p. 357 seq. above.

Ver. 1. ἔχει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ πρώτη . . . κοσμικόν, *moreover, the first [covenant] had both ordinances of service and a sanctuary of a worldly nature*. Μὲν οὖν, like μὲν δὲ, is often used in transition to a new subject, or to a new part of one; see Passow on μὲν οὖν. So here we may render μὲν οὖν *now* or *moreover*; see in Acts i. 18. ix. 31. xv. 30. xvii. 30. xxiii. 22. In the same manner we may render οὖν (which is a very common continuative) provided we take μὲν here as the sign of protasis, of which vr. 11 seq. is the apodosis. And this the nature of the discourse seems to require. Καί, as it now stands, seems to belong to ἡ πρώτη; and if so, it must be construed only in its *intensive* sense, (*intendit sive auget*, Bretsch.) But what can be the object of *intensity* here, it is difficult to see. I have, on the whole, thought it more consonant with the *object* of the writer, to construe it as having relation to the εἰς which follows (although the natural order would be εἰς . . . καί). Accordingly I have rendered it *both*. That καί and εἰς sometimes stand in the order here presented, and that they are separated by intervening words as here, see Passow's Lex. εἰς, 3. c.

Ἡ πρώτη, i. e. διαθήκη, comp. viii. 6, 7, 13; not ἡ πρώτη σκηνή, as some critics have maintained.

Δικαιώματα λατρείας means *a service arranged, conducted by rules or ordinances*. Λατρεία designates the public services of the temple or tabernacle; and δικαιώματα *the rules or precepts* which regulated it. Ἅγιον usually means *sanctuary* or *holy place*, in a *general* sense; and so it may be taken here, viz., for the whole temple. But it may also be understood as referring to that spacious apartment of the temple, in which the various articles of sacred furniture were

placed that are immediately mentioned; which, however, is called by the writer *ἅγια*, in vr. 2. If it be the same as *ἅγια*, it is distinguished from *ἅγια ἁγίων* in the third verse; which means the apartment behind the veil, where the ark, etc., were deposited. *Κοσμικόν* (from *κόσμος*) means *pertaining to this world, of a terrestrial nature*, i. e. material, the opposite of *οὐ χειροποίητον* in ix. 11. 24, and i. q. *χειροποίητον*; the opposite also of *Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἰπουράνιος*, xii. 22, comp. Rev. xxi. 2. Some critics have explained *κοσμικόν* by *formosum, illustre*, because *κόσμος* sometimes signifies, *ornatus, elegantia*. But the adjective which designates the meaning correspondent with these significations, is *κόσμιος*, and not *κοσμικός*. The common laws of Greek classical usage would demand the article before *κοσμικόν*, Winer's N. Test. Gramm. sect. 19. 1 seq. ed. 3.

Ver. 2. *Σκηνὴ γὰρ . . . πρώτη, for an outer tabernacle was constructed.* *Σκηνή* evidently designates here only one apartment of the *ἱερον* or sacred building; comp. vr. 3, where another *σκηνή* is described. *Ἡ πρώτη* means *that which first presents itself*, viz., to the worshipper as he enters the outer court of the building, i. e. *the outer σκηνή* or apartment, the most holy place being the *inner* one. We might expect, according to the rules laid down by grammarians concerning the Greek article, that either *σκηνή* would have the article, or *πρώτη* would admit it. Constructions, however, of the like kind as *σκηνή ἡ πρώτη*, are not without example in the New Testament; e. g. Rom. ii. 9, *ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐργαζομένου*; ii. 14, *ἔθνη τὰ . . . μὴ ἔχοντα*; v. 5, *πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος*. See Rom. viii. 33, 34. 1 Cor. ii. 7. Gal. iii. 21. 1 Thess. i. 10. 1 Tim. vi. 13. 2 Tim. i. 8, 9, 14. Heb. vi. 7, etc., although all of these cases will not compare very exactly. See Gersdorf's *Beitrage*, p. 355 seq. It happens in this case, (as in regard to most of the *definite* rules laid down about the use of the Greek article,) that investigation shows the principle assumed to be by no means uniform, and that the Greek writers were less regular in regard to this matter than the grammarians would fain have us believe. Bloomfield puts a colon after *κατισκευάσθη*, and throws *ἡ πρώτη* into another clause; which is well. Comp. Winer, sect. 19. 4.

Ἐν ᾗ ἡ τε λυχνία . . . ἄρτων, in which [apartment] was the candlestick, and the table, and the show-bread. For a description of the candlestick, see Ex. xxv. 31—39. xxxvii. 17—24. The Hebrew word answering to *λυχνία*, is *מְנֹרָה*. The *τράπεζα* is described in Ex. xxv. 23—29. The design of the table was, that the bread which was consecrated to the Lord might be placed upon it. *Πρό-*

θησις τῶν ἄρτων, *the exhibition of the bread*, viz., before Jehovah, is described in Ex. xxv. 30 and Lev. xxiv. 5—9. The earlier Hebrew name was לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, *presence-bread*. It is also called עֶרְךָ לֶחֶם and לֶחֶם הַמְעֻרְכָּת, *the arrangement of bread or the bread arranged*, in reference to the manner in which it was exhibited upon the table; see Lev. xxiv. 5, 6.

The altar of incense is omitted in this catalogue of sacred utensils; as it is omitted in the draft for building the tabernacle by Moses, in Ex. xxv. But it is mentioned in Ex. xxx. 1, and xxxvii. 25—28. xxxv. 15. So also the altar of burnt-offering is omitted in Ex. xxv., although it is mentioned in Ex. xxxv. 16. xxxviii. 1; and many other utensils of the tabernacle also are omitted in Ex. xxv., which are mentioned in Ex. xxxv. Our author expressly says (vr. 5) that he shall not attempt to mention all the particulars of sacred apparatus for the temple service.

Ἡτις λέγεται ἁγία, *which is called ἁγία*, i. e. מִקְדָּשׁ, *the holy place, the sanctuary*; a different apartment, in the ἱερόν or sacred enclosure, from the ἁγία ἁγίων mentioned in vr. 3. ἁγία in our text, is plural; for the singular feminine is written ἁγία (with the accent on the penult), not ἁγία. The writer means to say that ἡ πρώτη σκηνή, *the outer apartment* of the temple, was called ἁγία. The plural is used here in order to designate one apartment in the temple, just as it is in ἁγία ἁγίων (not ἁγία ἁγίων), vr. 3; and both are conformed to a usage that is common in Hebrew, which not unfrequently employs the plural to designate the *sanctuary*. E. g. Ps. lxxiii. 17, מִקְדָּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, i. e. ἁγία θεοῦ. Ps. lxviii. 36, מִקְדָּשׁ, ἁγία σου. Lev. xxi. 23, מִקְדָּשׁ, ἁγία μου, etc.

Ver. 3. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα, *and behind the second veil*. A description of this veil is given in Ex. xxvi. 31—33. xxxvi. 35, 36. As the inner veil is here called δεύτερον, the necessary implication is, that there was a πρῶτον also; and accordingly we find it described in Ex. xxvi. 36, 37, and Ex. xxxvi. 37, 38. The Hebrew name of the *inner* veil, (which separated the most holy place from the ἁγία or common sanctuary), is פָּרֹכֶת, as given in Ex. xxvi. 31—33, and in the corresponding Ex. xxxvi. 35, 36, also Lev. xvi. 2. The Hebrew name of the *outer* veil, which served as a *door* for the tabernacle, i. e. which covered the entrance-passage to the first ἅγιον, is מִסְכָּה. The former is called καταπέτασμα by the Septuagint, as the apostle calls it in our text, in Ex. xxvi. 31, 33. Lev. xvi. 2. Ex. xxxvi. 35, and also by the Evangelists, Matt. xxvii. 58.

Mark xv. 38; the latter, both *καταπίτασμα* and *πίσιπαστρον*, in the passages connected with those just cited. There was a third *external* covering or curtain for the tabernacle (called *יִרְעוֹת*, *יִרְעָה*, in Ex. xxvi. 1, 2 seq.), which Dindorf says was a *third veil*; but which, manifestly, Paul does not reckon to be such; nor Moses, in the passage above cited.

Σκηὴ ἡ λεγομένη ἁγία ἁγίων, *the apartment which is called the holy of holies*, i. e. the most holy place, i. q. *קֹדֶשׁ הַקְּדוֹשִׁים*, a common form of expression in the Hebrew, in order to denote *intensity*. In regard to *ἡ λεγομένη* after *σκηνή* without the article, see Winer, sect. 19. 4 seq. *Κατεσκευάσθη* is understood after *σκηνή*; see vr. 2, where it is expressed. The inner sanctuary was called *most holy*, because there was the ark of the covenant, the mercy-seat, etc.; and there the presence of Jehovah, which the Jews in later times called *שְׁכִינָה*, was peculiarly manifested, so that this was regarded as his particular dwelling-place, *מְעוֹנָה*.

Ver. 4. *Χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον*, *containing the golden censer*. See EXCURSUS XVI.

Καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν . . . χρυσίῳ, *and the ark of the covenant, covered on every part with gold*. *Κιβωτός* was a *coffer* or *chest*, made of wood, and covered with laminae of gold; a description of which is given in Ex. xxv. 10—16. xxxvii. 1—5. It is called the *ark of the covenant*, because in it were deposited the two *tables of the covenant*, (*בְּרִית*, see on *διαθήκην* in viii. 8, and comp. Deut. iv. 13. ix. 9, 11;) which tables are also called *the two tables of testimony*, i. e. of statutes, *שְׁנֵי לִדְהַת הָעֵדוּת*, Ex. xxxi. 18. Both the terms *בְּרִית* and *עֵדוּת* plainly mean *laws*, *statutes*, or *precepts*, in this case, and both refer principally to the ten commandments; see 1 K. viii. 9, and Deut. x. 1—5. 2 Chron. v. 10. vi. 11.

Ἐν ᾗ σάμνος χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα τὸ μάννα, *in which [ark] was a golden pot containing the manna*. The fact to which this alludes, is described in Ex. xvi. 32—34; where the *σάμνος* is called simply *צִנְצָנָה*, i. e. *pot*, *urn*, *vessel for safe keeping*. Nothing is said, indeed, of its being *golden* in the Hebrew; but the Septuagint render *צִנְצָנָה* by *σάμνον χρυσοῦν*. Of the fact that it was so, no one will be disposed to doubt, who reads a description of the furniture of the most holy place, and finds that almost every thing within it was either pure gold, or was overlaid with gold; e. g. the ark, Ex. xxv. 11; the mercy-seat, xxv. 17; the cherubim, xxv. 18; the pillars and hooks for the veil that separated the inner sanctuary from the

other, xxvi. 31, 32. Who now can rationally suppose, that the urn containing manna, and the censer used on the great day of atonement, were not also *golden*? See EXCURSUS XVII.

Μάννα, see on this word, Rosenmueller on Ex. xvi. 15, where the various derivations of the word are considered; the various species of manna described; and the fact shown, that the supply of this food for the Israelites in the wilderness, was understood by the writer of the narration in Exodus to be miraculous.

Καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἡ βλαστήσασα, and the rod of Aaron which budded. See Num. xvii. 1—10, and what is said respecting this rod and the pot of manna, in EXCURSUS XVII.

Καὶ αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, the tables of the covenant, means the stone tablets on which the ten commandments were inscribed, and which were deposited in the ark, Ex. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 16. xxxiv. 28, where *the words of the covenant* are expressly said to be *the ten commandments*; Deut. x. 1, 2. 1 K. viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10. The writer asserts, therefore, that the pot of manna, the rod of Aaron, and the two stone tablets on which the ten commandments were inscribed, were all laid up originally in the *κιβωτός*.

Ver. 5. *ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῆς χειρουρίμ . . . τὸ ἱλαστήριον, and over it [the ark] were splendid Cherubim, which overshadowed the covering of the ark.* See the description of the Cherubim in Ex. xxv. 18—20. 1 K. viii. 6, 7. 1 Chron. xxviii. 18. That Cherubim were *symbolical* images or representations, is quite plain from comparing the various descriptions given of them in different passages of Scripture; e. g. Ex. xxv. 18—20. xxvi. 31. 1 K. vi. 23—29, 32, and Ezek. i. and x., particularly x. 20—22. I understand the word *δόξης* as referring to *the splendour* of these symbolical figures, which were covered with gold throughout, Ex. xxv. 18—20. 1 K. vi. 38. Some understand *δόξης* of the glory which was displayed under and around them; to which they suppose a reference to be made in Ps. lxxx. 1 [2].

Κατασκιάζοντα refers to the outstretched wings of the Cherubim over the *ἱλαστήριον*, as described in the passages above quoted. *ἱλαστήριον* here means, the *lid* or *covering* of the *κιβωτός*, which was pure gold, Ex. xxv. 17, 21. In Hebrew it is called *כַּפֹּרֶת*, which the Seventy have rendered *ἱλαστήριον*, in Ex. xxv. 17, 21. As *כַּפֹּרֶת* means *to cover* sin, i. e. *to make atonement* for it, so *כַּפֹּרֶת* may very naturally be rendered *ἱλαστήριον*, since it was by sprinkling blood upon this *ἱλαστήριον*, by the high-priest, that atonement was made, Lev. xvi. 14. *ἱλαστήριον*, understood in reference to this, might be

translated *the place or instrument of propitiation*, or (with our English translators) *mercy-seat*. It was over this that the divine glory was seen, i. e. a supernatural, excessive brightness; and hence God was supposed to be seated on it as his throne, and from it to dispense his mercy, when atonement was made for the sins of the people by sprinkling it with blood. Hence our appellation, *mercy-seat*.

Περὶ ὧν . . . μέρος, *respecting which things it is not my present design to speak with particularity*. ὧν here refers to the various articles of sacred furniture, which he had just been mentioning. He means to say, that a particular description of these (and of all the various utensils of the sanctuary) and their symbolical uses, is not what he intends to give; i. e. he shall content himself with merely having suggested those which were already named.

Ver. 6. Τούτων δὲ οὕτω κατασκευαζομένων, *now these things being thus prepared*. Κατασκευάζω is also, *to build or construct*. But in our phrase it means more. It designates not only the *fabrication* of the various utensils above named, but the adaptation of them to their respective purposes, and the arrangement of them in the order which the rites of the sanctuary required.

Εἰς μὲν τὴν πρώτην . . . ἐπιτελοῦντες, *the priests performing the services entered continually into the outer tabernacle*. Πρώτην, that which is *first* approached, i. e. *outer*, as in vr. 2 above. Λατρείας, *public religious services*; see on vr. 1 above. Διαπαντός, *every day, without intermission, constantly and often*. This the priest did, in order to make the morning and evening oblations and sacrifices; and also to present the private offerings of individuals. Μὲν is the usual sign of the *protasis* of a sentence here; to which δὲ in the *apodosis*, vr. 7, corresponds. Μὲν, in such a case, is incapable of a translation that corresponds with its use in the original. It is easy to see, that there is not only a correspondence between the two parts of the sentence above mentioned, but also an antithesis between them.

Ver. 7. Εἰς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν . . . ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, *but into the second [viz., σκηνήν, tabernacle, apartment] the high-priest only [entered] once in a year*; comp. Lev. xvi. 2. Δευτέραν implies σκηνήν. Ἄπαξ means either simply *once*, as ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς, *once and again*; or it means (as here) *once only, once for all*, i. e. on one occasion, or on one day; for this is all that can be meant. Τοῦ ἱναυτοῦ is the genitive of time, the genitive being commonly used in order to designate the time *when* or *how often*. On the great day of atonement, it appears that the high-priest went thrice into the inner sanctuary, Lev. xvi.

2, 12, 14, 15; to which, perhaps, may be added once more, in order to bring out the golden censer; and this accords well with the Jewish tradition, viz., that the high-priest entered the sanctuary *four* times on the great day of expiation. However, it is quite possible that fire might have been carried into the most holy place on another censer, and then transferred to the golden one which belonged there. Comp. with the above, Ex. xxx. 10.

Οὐ χωρὶς αἵματος, *not without blood*. See Lev. xvi. 14, 15, by which it appears, that the blood of a young bullock (Lev. xvi. 3) and of a goat, was brought into the most holy place by the high-priest, on the great day of atonement, and there sprinkled seven times upon the mercy-seat and before it.

Ὁ προσφέρει . . . ἀγνοημάτων, *which he presented for his own sins, and for those of the people*; see Lev. xvi. 6, 11, 14—16. Προσφέρει designates the act of presenting the blood before the Lord, as indicated in Lev. xvi. 14—16. That the priest was to make atonement for himself, as well as for the people, is expressly declared in the verses above referred to. Ἀγνοημάτων Wahl renders *sins of ignorance*. But plainly it is not of necessity limited to this confined sense. It means *fault, error, sin* generally considered; so in Judith v. 20. Sirach xxiii. 2. li. 19. Tobit iii. 3. 1 Macc. xiii. 39. The LXX have sometimes used it to express the Hebrew חַטָּאת, from חָטָא to err. In Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, 27, sins חַטָּאת (through precipitancy) are mentioned, and atonement is directed to be made for them by sprinkling blood before the mercy-seat, Lev. iv. 6, 17. But this mode of making atonement, and this limitation of the kind of offences for which it was to be made in this peculiar way, seem to have been afterwards changed, and limited in a different way, on the occasion of the death of the sons of Aaron, Lev. x. 1, 2. xvi. 1, 2. It would seem, from Lev. iv., as if the sins חַטָּאת had a special atonement made for them, in the inner sanctuary, *without limitation* as to the number of times that the high-priest might go there. But Lev. xvi. 2 *restricted* this custom; so that atonement for sin of any kind was made before the mercy-seat only *once* in a year, agreeably to Ex. xxx. 10.

Ver. 8. Τοῦτο δηλοῦντος . . . ἰδόν, *the Holy Spirit signifying this, that the way to the most holy place was not yet laid open*. The Holy Spirit here mentioned, is that Spirit which guided the ancient prophets; which taught Moses what arrangements to make for the service of God; and which signified, by these arrangements, what the apostle here affirms. Τοῦτο may be construed with διὰ under-

tood, and so be translated, *by this*: so Ernesti and Dindorf, *his rebus*; Storr, *wodurch, whereby*. But must not *διά*, in such a sense, govern the genitive? On account of this difficulty, it is preferable to render it as I have done.

Τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδὸν means, *the way to the heavenly or upper sanctuary*. Through Jesus only, Jews and Gentiles have free access, at all times, to the mercy-seat of heaven; comp. Eph. ii. 18. Heb. v. 16. This way was before obstructed by numerous ceremonial rites, and limited as to times and persons. Of necessity such was the case.

*Ἐτι τῆς πρώτης σκηῆς ἔχούσης στάσιν, *while the first tabernacle had a standing*; i. e. so long as the Jewish dispensation lasted. Πρώτης σκηῆς is here used in the general or unlimited sense, for the tabernacle or temple with its services.

Ver. 9. *Ἦτις παραβολή . . . τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, *which [has been] a type down to the present time*. Παραβολή means *symbol, similitude, image*, i. e. symbolical representation of any thing; which is also the meaning of τύπος. But in the English language, *type* is used not for similitude merely, but for something under the ancient covenant, which was specially *designed* on the part of God to be a symbol of some person or event, that was to exist or take place under the new one. Here, the preceding verse shows that the ancient tabernacle or temple was designed by the Holy Spirit to be a symbol, expressive of some important truths that had relation to the New Testament dispensation. Of course, the rendering of παραβολή by *type*, is appropriate to express the idea intended to be conveyed by the writer. Εἰς τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, *down to the present time*; εἰς, *ad, usque ad*, see Wahl on εἰς, 2. a.

Καθ' ὃν δῶρά . . . λατρεύοντα, *in which oblations and sacrifices are presented, that cannot fully accomplish what is needed for the worshipper in respect to his conscience*. Καθ' ὃν, *in which, during which*, viz., time: see Wahl on κατά, No. 2. Δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι means, *offerings of every kind* which were presented to God. For τελειῶσαι, see on τελειώσεις, vii. 11. The meaning is, 'To render the mind of the worshipper secure of pardon for sin, and to produce that quiet which was connected with a well grounded persuasion of this, and that moral purification which must accompany it.' We have no one word to express all this in English. I have come as near to it as I am able to do, in the version which I have given.

The whole verse shows very plainly, that our epistle was written while the temple rites were still practised; consequently, before

A. D. 70. But by the phrase τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, the writer particularly alludes to the age then present, in which the new or Christian dispensation had begun. The whole sentence is as much as to say, 'The Jewish ritual, from the commencement of it down to the present moment, has never been, and still is not, any thing more than a *type* of the Christian dispensation which has already commenced. All its oblations and sacrifices were ineffectual, as to removing the penalty due to sin in the sight of heaven, or as to procuring real peace of conscience.'

Ver. 10. Μόνον ἐπὶ βρώμασι . . . ἐπιτείμενα, *being imposed (together with meats and drinks and divers washings—ordinances pertaining to the flesh) only until the time of the reformation.* A passage of great difficulty in respect to its grammatical construction. Many writers have referred δικαιώμασι to the δῶρα καὶ θυσίας mentioned in the preceding verse; and then have found difficulty enough, (as well they might,) in accounting for it how *oblations* and *sacrifices* could consist in meats and drinks and *various ablutions*. It seems quite evident, that vr. 10 is designed to signify something *additional* to that which is mentioned in vr. 9; while still it is to be regarded as connected with vr. 9, and a continuation of it. 'Επὶ βρώμασι . . . βαπτισμοῖς, I understand as a clause qualifying δικαιώμασι, i. e. these words stand in the place of an adjective designating wherein the δικαιώματα consisted; while σαρκὸς supplies another qualification, denoting to what the δικαιώμασι had relation, viz., to the *flesh* or *external part* of man. *Meats* and *drinks* have respect to food which was deemed clean and unclean, under the Jewish dispensation; and not, as some critics interpret the words, to the meats and drinks offered to the Lord. Most evidently βαπτισμοῖς refers to the ceremonial ablutions of the Jews, which were concerned with external purification; and βρώμασι καὶ πόμασι plainly have respect to the same kind of purity. All this agrees perfectly with the scope of the writer. He had denied that the penalty due to sin in the sight of God, could be removed by any of the *temple offerings*, vr. 9; and in this verse, he denies that the moral expiation required could be effected by any or all of the rites pertaining to *external* purification. Consequently there was, according to him, nothing in the Jewish ritual which could effect an atonement such as the sinner needed.

Thus far the words of the first clause, which by themselves are not difficult to be understood. Next, for the connexion and arrangement of the whole verse. This, as I now view the subject,

after a repeated and recent examination, may be made out thus; viz., include in a parenthesis ἐπὶ βρώμασι . . . δικαιώμασι σαρκός, and consider it as thrown in to augment the effect of the declaration at the close, and then μόνον . . . μέχρι καιροῦ διορθώσεως ἐπιτείμενα as closely connected together in sense. The whole will then stand thus; *Oblations and sacrifices are offered, which cannot fully accomplish what is needed for the conscience of him who performeth the services, being imposed (together with meats and drinks and diverse washings—ordinances pertaining to the flesh) only until the time of the reformation.*—That the words admit of this construction, is plain. Ἐπί, *with, together with, in addition to*, (like the Hebrew ^ל, *upon, concerning, with*, i. e. *in addition to*, etc.,) is a frequent and undoubted sense of the preposition; e. g. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις, *in addition to these things, besides this*; ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῃ, *one upon another*; νεκροὶ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς, *corpses upon corpses*, i. e. *in addition to corpses*; see Passow's Lex. ἐπὶ, II. C. So in the New Testament: "Other five talents have I gained ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *in addition to them*," Matt. xxv. 20; see other examples in Bretschneider's Lex. ἐπὶ, II. 2. So in the Septuagint: "Lest coming he smite me, even the mother ἐπὶ τέκνοις, *together with the children*," Ex. xxxii. 11 (12). "They have devoured the mother ἐπὶ τέκνοις, *together with the children*," Hos. x. 14.—In regard to the participle ἐπιτείμενα (neuter gender), there is no serious difficulty. The immediate antecedent is δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι, which take first a feminine participle, viz., δυνάμεναι, agreeing with θυσίαι, the last of the two antecedents; and then ἐπιτείμενα, (for so the best codices read,) which agrees in form with δῶρα the first of the two antecedents. Yet, although such a construction might be vindicated on this ground, I do not apprehend it is the true ground. I regard ἐπιτείμενα (neuter gender) as conformed to an idiom very common in the best Greek writers, e. g. in Plato and Thucydides, according to which, an adjective or participle, specially when separated by intervening words, is often put in the neuter gender, let the antecedent be of whatever gender it may. So Matthæi, remarking on the change of ἐπιτείμενα into ἐπιτείμεναι, as made by some critics, says: "Nulla causa corrigendi erat; cum enim antecederet δῶρα καὶ θυσίαι, pluribus interpositis, ista omnia *neutro genere* complecti poterat Paulus per ἐπιτείμενα. Plura loca similia apud Thucydidem reperias." He might have added, *apud Platonem et multos alios*. I add merely, that while Dr Knapp and some other critics of name adopt the reading δικαιώματα instead of δικαιώμασι, yet most codices and versions have the latter; and the latter, on the whole, seems

to be altogether preferable. The whole verse, indeed, is not without its difficulties, even at the best; but still, I think the construction now given to be the most facile and natural, and to be less liable to objections than any other; and in this Kuinoel and Bloomfield also unite.

Καιροῦ διορθώσεως plainly means, *the time of the gospel dispensation*, called χρόνων ἀποκατάστασεως, in Acts iii. 21. compare Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5, 6. Is. lxvi. 22. lxv. 7. li. 16.

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Thus much for the description of the earthly tabernacle and its sacred utensils, together with an exhibition of the inefficacy of the whole in respect to meeting the wants of sinners, and also an avowal of their temporary nature. They were intended only as the introduction to a new and better dispensation. If μὲν in vr. 1 be regarded as in a *protasis*, then the correlate (δέ) must be sought in vr. 11, where the *apodosis* begins. Vr. 11 seems to be the sequel to vr. 1, and is nearly related to it.

The writer now proceeds to show, that the tabernacle in which Christ officiates, is οὐ χειροποίητος, not νομιμικός, like that of the Jews. The antithesis between the old and new tabernacles, their services and the respective efficacy of them, is carried on, by the apostle, through the remainder of chap. ix., and down to chap. x. 19.

Ver. 11. Χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος . . . ἀγαθῶν, *but Christ being come, the high-priest of future blessings*. Χριστὸς . . . παραγενόμενος is nominative to the verb εἰσῆλθε in vr. 12. If the δὲ here be considered as standing in relation to μὲν in vr. 1, this would represent the whole arrangements of the first temple or tabernacle as placed in antithesis to those of a spiritual or heavenly temple, with its high-priest, offering, etc.; which corresponds with the representation in the sequel.

Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, lit. *a high-priest of good things to come*, i. e. of blessings then future. The meaning is, 'The high-priest who procures blessings promised by the gospel.' The principle of interpretation is the same that is adopted in such phrases as the following; viz., *the God of peace*, i. e. who procures or bestows peace; *the God of consolation*, i. e. who bestows consolation; *the God of grace*, i. e. who bestows grace; ἄριστος τῆς ζωῆς, i. q. ἄριστος τὴν ζωὴν διδούς, etc. The genitive τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, is genitive *auctoris*. Christ is here called *the high-priest who procures future blessings*, by way of comparison with the Jewish high-priest, who was μεσίτης, viii. 6, or ἱεργός, vii. 22, between God and the people, and was the medium through which blessings were procured from God.

Διὰ τῆς μείζονος . . . τῆς κτίσεως, *through a greater and more perfect temple, not made with hands, that is not of this [material] cre-*

ation. Σκηνή here, as in vr. 2, most probably means, the *outer* apartment or court only of the heavenly temple. So we must understand it if we render *διά* *through*, as the best commentators and lexicographers do in this case. But to give it *material* form and shape, would be nothing less than to make it χειροποίητος; although the writer of our epistle expressly says, it is, οὐ χειροποίητος. It is unnecessary, then, to inquire precisely what there is in the heavenly world, which constituted *materialiter* this greater and more perfect *outer sanctuary*, through which Jesus passed when εἰσῆλθεν ἰφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἁγία, vr. 12. The comparison is made with the high-priest of the Jews, who passed through the outer sanctuary when he entered into the inner one, upon the great day of atonement. The probability is, that the writer compared in his own mind the *visible heavens*, (through which Jesus passed in his ascension on high, iv. 14. vi. 20. viii. 1, 2,) with the veil which separated the *outer* sanctuary of the Jewish temple from the *inner* one; the clouds or sky, which conceal the temple above from our view, being resembled to the veil of the inner temple. Be this as it may, he explicitly declares that he does not mean a *material* sanctuary, visible to the natural eye, and corresponding in this respect to that upon the earth; for he says, 'it was οὐ χειροποίητος.' And lest this should not be sufficient to prevent misapprehension, he adds, οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, i. e. *not of the visible material creation*, or *not* [like this creation] *visible and material*; which is plainly implied by ταύτης.

The version *διά* by Dr Schulz and others (*vermoege, by virtue of*), I am not able to comprehend. In what sense can it be said, that Christ εἰσῆλθεν ἰφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἁγία, αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος, BY VIRTUE OF *a greater and more perfect tabernacle that was not material?* which is the same as to say, 'He entered into the adytum of the tabernacle above, *by virtue of* a more perfect tabernacle.' What or where was this? I do not aver that this has no meaning; but I confess my inability to discover what the meaning is. It would be well for Dr Schulz, who has appended so many interrogation and exclamation points to extracts made by him from Storr's version of our epistle, and from his notes upon it, to defend, or at least explain, such a version as that which gives occasion to these remarks.

There is, indeed, another construction of *διά* in this case, which, if it might be applied, would give a meaning that is tolerable. *Διά* is often put before the genitive of a noun, which indicates the

manner or the *circumstances* in which a thing exists, or takes place, or is effected; as all the lexicons will show. In 2 Cor. v. 10, the apostle says, "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, in order that every one may receive τὰ διὰ σώματος, [according to] *the things done IN the body.*" Strictly considered, however, διὰ does not signify *place* here; for διὰ σώματος means, *in a corporeal condition.* Now if we render the phrase in Heb. ix. 11 thus, *IN a greater and more perfect temple,* we should make διὰ indicate the *place where* simply. This would afford a good sense, if we could philologically defend such a translation; but I find no sufficient authority to do this; for διὰ is used before nouns of place only to denote the place *through which* or *by which* one passes; see Wahl on διὰ I. 1. a. Besides, the *circumstances IN which* Christ entered the most holy place, are noted in vr. 12; so that one would hardly expect to find them noted here. There, διὰ is used in a way that is not at all uncommon; e. g. 'Christ entered the eternal sanctuary, οὐ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων, but διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. But I cannot see how διὰ μίζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς can be here construed as indicating *the circumstances in which,* or *the means by which,* Christ entered the eternal sanctuary. It is not associated by the writer with δι' αἵματος τράγων and διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, as the particles before these phrases clearly show. Nor does the sense of the passage permit this; for what would be the sense of saying, 'By means of a more perfect tabernacle, Christ entered into the sanctuary of [the same] tabernacle?' I see no tolerable way, therefore, of construing the passage, but by joining διὰ . . . σκηνῆς with εἰσῆλθε, and construing it as I have done in the version. Compare the like usage of διὰ, in Matt. ii. 12. vii. 13. viii. 28. xii. 1, 43. Mark xi. 16. Luke iv. 30. v. 19. xvii. 11. Acts ix. 25.

Ver. 12. Οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος . . . τὰ ἅγια, *not with the blood of goats, and of bullocks, but with his own blood, he entered once for all into the sanctuary.* The Jewish high-priest, on the great day of atonement, carried with him into the inner sanctuary, (1) The blood of a bullock, which he sprinkled upon the mercy-seat, Lev. xvi. 14. (2) The blood of a goat, which he also sprinkled upon the mercy-seat, Lev. xvi. 15. Christ did not carry with him into the heavenly sanctuary the blood of bullocks and goats, in order to make atonement; but he presented his own blood there, in order to make expiation. This, however, is not to be understood *literally*; for as the sanctuary itself was οὐ ταύτης τῆς κρίσεως or οὐ χειροποίητος, so the Saviour's blood which was shed upon Calvary, was not *literally* taken and carried

by him into the heavenly temple. All that is *material*, is only a figure or emblem of that which is *spiritual* or *heavenly*. That *διά* before *αἵματος* means *with, cum*, *ἄ*, is quite clear from the nature of the case; and that *διά* has such a meaning, is clear from comparison with Lev. xvi. 14, 15. 1 Cor. xvi. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 4. Rom. ii. 27. xiv. 20. viii. 25. Heb. xii. 1; compare in vs. 22, 25 below, the equivalent phrase *ἐν αἵματι*. *Δέ* is adversative, *but*, when it follows a negative particle such as *οὐδέ* is here. *Ἐφάπαξ* means here, *once for all, once only*.

Αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος, *obtaining eternal redemption*. *Εὐράμενος* is not an Attic form of the 1 aorist middle. It seems to be an Alexandrine form of the 2 aorist middle voice made after the analogy of the 2 aorist active *εὔρα*; see Winer's Gramm. sect. 13. 1. ed. 3. *Εὐρίσχω* often means *to obtain* or *acquire* any thing. Here the act of entering the eternal sanctuary and presenting his own blood, is considered as the means by which the eternal redemption of sinners is obtained or accomplished. *Λύτρωσις*, in the New Testament, means *liberation* or *redemption*; i. e. liberation from the penalty due to sin, or redemption from the bondage and penalty of sin. It is called *αἰωνίαν*, because the redemption obtained is eternal in its consequences, or because it is liberation from a penalty which is eternal and an introduction to a state of endless happiness. The *λύτρωσις* effected by Christ needs no repetition; when once made, the consequences are eternal: as we may see in ix. 24—28. x. 1, 2, 11—14.

Ver. 13. *Εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα κεκοινωμένους*, *for if the blood of bulls and of goats; and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean*. The *γὰρ* here introduces a clause which assigns the reason why the blood of Christ should be so efficacious as to procure eternal redemption. The blood of bulls and of goats, as employed for the purpose of purification or expiation, is described in Lev. xvi. 14, 15. It was also shed on other occasions as a sin-offering, Lev. i. 2—5, 10, 11. *Ταύρων*, in our verse, corresponds with *μόσχων* in vr. 12. Both words mean *a bullock* or *a beeve*; and the Septuagint employ both Greek words to translate the Hebrew *שׁוֹר* and *פָּר*. E. g. *ταύρος* for *שׁוֹר* in Gen. xlix. 6, and for *פָּר* in Gen. xxxii. 16 [15]; *μόσχος* for *שׁוֹר* in Prov. xv. 17, and for *פָּר* in Lev. iv. 3—5.

Σποδὸς δαμάλειως κ. τ. λ. See an account of the manner in which these ashes were prepared, in Num. xix. 2—9. In the last verse, the ashes are directed to be kept *for a water of uncleanness*, *מֵי טְהָרָה*, i. e. to be mixed with water which was to be sprinkled on the unclean, that they might be purified. It is also called, in the same

verse, **תנודף**, a *sin-offering*, or, as our English version has it, a *purification from sin*; meaning *a means of purification*. So in Num. xix. 13, 20, the person who had defiled himself, and neglected to have the **תנודף** sprinkled upon him, is pronounced *unclean*.—Storr applies **ἐαντίζουσα** to **αἷμα**, as well as to **σποδός**. But, setting aside the difficulty of the grammatical construction as to concord, it does not appear, that the sprinkling of *blood* upon the unclean was a usual part of the Levitical rites of purification. The blood was sprinkled upon the mercy-seat, and on the horns of the altar, and poured out before the altar. Nor is there any need of the construction which he adopts; for the sense is unembarrassed, if we follow the usual grammatical construction. **Ἐαντίζουσα** is, indeed, feminine, and **σποδός** masculine. But such anomalies in concord are very common in Hebrew, see Gramm. sect. 189. 5, 6. Besides, as the latter noun here (**δαμάλιος**) is feminine, it happens, as in some other cases of the like nature, that the grammatical concord, as to gender, is regulated by the latter of two nouns in regimen.

Ἀγιάζει . . . καθαρίστητα, *sanctifies in respect to external purification*. **Ἀγιάζει**, used in respect to external rites, denoted that the person rendered **ἁγιαζόμενος** was *clean* or *purified* from all ritual uncleanness, i. e. that he had performed all the necessary rites of external purification, so that he could draw near to God as a worshipper, in a regular manner. Thus much, our author avers, was accomplished by the ceremonial rites of the law. If so, then greater efficacy is to be attributed to the sacrifice made by Christ; as he proceeds to declare.

Ver. 14. **Πόσω μᾶλλον . . . ἔργων**, *how much more shall the blood of Christ, who by an eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purify our consciences from dead works*. In vs. 11, 12, Christ is represented as entering the heavenly sanctuary *with his own blood*, in order to expiate the sins of his people or to procure **λύτρωσιν** for them, i. e. deliverance from the penalty of the divine law. It is then in the heavenly world, in the tabernacle *not made with hands*, that the offering of our great high-priest is made. There he presented himself as the victim that had been slain, x. 10—12. i. 3. vii. 27. Rev. v. 9. Eph. v. 2; and there his blood that had been shed, is virtually offered to make atonement; not *literally* but *spiritually*, i. e. in a manner congruous with the *spiritual temple* in which he ministers.

Theophylact thus explains this difficult passage: **Οὐκ ἀρχιερεύς τις προσήνεγκε τὸν Χριστὸν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐ διὰ πυρός, ὥς αἱ δαμάλις,**

ἀλλὰ διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου, ὥστε καὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διαιωνίζειν, i. e. “no high-priest made an offering of Christ, but he of himself; and this, *not by fire*, as the heifers [were offered], but *by an eternal Spirit*, so that he might render grace and redemption eternal.” Whether he means *divine influence* or the *divine Spirit*, it would be difficult to decide. I am rather inclined to believe that he meant the former, and if so, he seems to have adopted the same sentiment with the more recent and able interpreters of our epistle. See in EXCURSUS XVIII.

Ἐαυτὸν προσήνεγκε. The apostle seems to use σῶμα, ἑαυτόν, and αἷμα, as equivalent in regard to the sacrifice which Christ offered; see and compare Heb. i. 3. x. 10. ix. 12, 14. x. 19. ix. 26. The reason of these different expressions, may be found in the nature of the Jewish ritual. When the blood of an animal was presented before God, in order to make atonement, the body was also consumed by fire, so that the *whole* was offered in sacrifice. See Lev. iv. 6—12, 17—21. The use of either of the three words, σῶμα, ἑαυτόν, αἷμα, as designating the sacrifice of Christ, implies all that would be designated by employing the whole of them; i. e. when his *blood* was shed, his *body* was slain, i. e. *he himself* was slain.

Ἄμωμον, *spotless*, an evident allusion to the Jewish victims, which were required to be without spot or blemish. No other could be accepted of God. So Christ, who was “holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners,” vii. 26, was ἄμωμον, i. e. a perfect victim, a lawful or acceptable one in the highest sense.

Καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων, *shall purify our conscience from deadly works*. Καθαριεῖ is the Attic future for καθαρίσει. Συνείδησις does not mean simply the conscience as a faculty of the soul, but *the mind* or *conscious power* of man, i. e. the internal or moral man. Νεκρῶν in such cases usually means *deadly*, i. e. having a deadly, destructive, condemning power. This may be the meaning here; and so it is more usually taken, and so I have translated it. But as in vr. 13 the writer had made mention of the *ashes of a heifer*, as one of the means of effecting external purification; and since, in Num. xix. 11—19, these ashes are described as particularly intended to cleanse those who had been polluted by the touch of *dead* bodies; may it not be supposed, that there is an allusion in the term νεκρῶν here to that fact? *Dead works*, in this sense, would be such as pollute the soul, as dead bodies did the persons of the Jews.—*Dead works*, then, may mean *sinful* works; for it is from the pollution of sin, that the blood of Jesus cleanses. Any one who

chooses, can adopt this sense, which is capable of philological justification.

Εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν Θεῷ ζῶντι, *so that we may serve the living God*; another allusion to the Jewish ritual. Before persons, under the ancient dispensation, could present themselves in the presence of the Lord acceptably, they must have been subjected to ceremonial purification. What this *prefigured*, the blood of Jesus *effects*. It takes away the sinner's moral pollution, i. e. Christ removes the penalty to which he was obnoxious, and sanctifies, by his Spirit, the soul of the penitent sinner; and thus he may draw near to God, and offer him an acceptable service. He is *clean* in a sense as much higher than the Israelite was, who had purified himself only externally, as the efficacy of Jesus' blood is greater than that of goats and bullocks.

Ver. 15. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο . . . ἵσθιν, *on this account also, he is the mediator of a new covenant*. A passage about which much difficulty has arisen, and a variety of interpretations have been proposed. Διὰ τοῦτο, I understand as referring to the sentiment in vr. 14. The sentiment stands thus: 'As Jewish sacrifices rendered the offerer *externally* clean; so the blood of Christ purifies the *moral* or *internal* man, and removes the consequences of sin. On this account (διὰ τοῦτο), i. e. because the sacrifice of Christ produces an effect such as the Jewish sacrifices did not, he may be justly called the *mediator of a new covenant*, differing greatly from the old.' Comp. Heb. viii. 6—8, 13. vii. 15—19.

Διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης means *the mediator of a new covenant*, or the *internuntius*, מִשְׁלֵּי, who, so to speak, negotiated such a covenant between God and man. See Gal. iii. 19, where Moses is called the μεσίτης of the former covenant, in a like sense. And the use of the word μεσίτης here, shows that διαθήκη in the present verse must mean *covenant*, and not, as a few have maintained, *testament*; for what has a *mediator*, as such, to do with a testament? Let the reader turn back and compare viii. 6 seq., and he must be satisfied respecting the sense here given to διαθήκη.

'But of what avail,' the Hebrews here would very naturally inquire, 'can this *new covenant* be to all those, who have lived in former ages under the Mosaic dispensation? You affirm that the ritual of the Mosaic law had no power to remove the *spiritual* penalty of guilt; do the patriarchs, then, and prophets, and just men of past ages, still lie under the imputation of the sins which they committed?' By no means, answers the apostle. A new and

better covenant than the Mosaic one has been instituted, under which real spiritual pardon for offences is obtained, which enures to them, as well as to us at the present time.

Ὅπως κ. τ. λ., *so that the death* [of Christ] *having taken place to redeem from the punishment due to transgressions* [committed] *under the ancient covenant, those who have been called might be made partakers of promised eternal blessings.* Θανάτου means *the death of Christ*. Τῶν παραβάσεων means here *the effects of transgression*, i. e. punishment, penalty; just as the Hebrew חַטָּאת and חַיִּיב mean not only *sin*, but the *penalty* due to it. Οἱ κεκλημένοι (like ἐκλεκτοί) means, those who are *called, invited*, viz., to an actual participation of the heavenly inheritance. It is of course understood, that only those who are pious have such an inheritance *promised* to them. Comp. κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου μέτοχοι, in Heb. iii. 1. Οἱ κεκλημένοι here refers to just men who lived in the times which preceded the gospel dispensation or new covenant; as the antecedent member of the verse clearly shows. Τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας, as a genitive depends on ἐπαγγελίαν, not on κεκλημένοι, although such a separation is somewhat unusual; see on vr. 16, θάνατον . . . διαδεμένου. Ἐπαγγελίαν is best translated here, as in vi. 12, 15, 17. x. 36. xi. 13, etc., *promised blessings* or *proffered good*. The inheritance is called eternal (αἰωνίου), because the blessings procured by a Saviour's blood for those who lived under the ancient dispensation, are of a spiritual eternal nature; see vr. 12. Such blessings could not be attained by any of the rites of the old covenant; it is only by virtue of what is done under the new, by Jesus, that the ancient worthies came to the possession of them.

The sentiment which this verse contains, respecting the efficacy of atoning blood in regard to the sins of preceding ages, has an exact parallel in Rom. iii. 25; where the blood of Christ is declared, by Paul, to have procured τὴν πᾶρσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων, *the remission of sins committed in preceding times*, as is plain from the antithesis (τῶν νῦν καιρῶ) in the following verse. Both passages compared, form a striking coincidence of a peculiar sentiment, which is no where else so clearly and directly asserted.

Ver. 16. Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη . . . διαδεμένου, *for where there is a testament*, (i. e. where a testament becomes complete, ἰσχύει, *is valid*), *the death of the testator must take place*. The sense given to διαθήκη here, viz., *testament* or *will*, is beyond all doubt consonant with the *usus loquendi* of the Greeks; although in the Septuagint and New Testament no example of this usage occurs, excepting in the

present passage. All the lexicons will supply proof that the meaning *testament* is a common one in classical Greek, and Kuinoel (in loc.) has quoted abundantly to this purpose; which, however, seems to be superfluous. The Hebrew בְּרִית, however, never has the sense of *testament*. The real generic and original meaning of διαθήκη is *arrangement, disposition, or disposal* of any thing. Hence secondarily, *will, testament, also compact, covenant, league, agreement*, etc. The γάρ here is before a clause introduced for additional confirmation or illustration. The occasion of here introducing διαθήκη in the new sense of *testament*, is stated in the summary prefixed to chap. iv. 14, to which the reader is referred; p. 358 above. The whole comparison of *testaments* (διαθήκαι) among men, which confer a valid title to an *inheritance*, vs. 16, 17, seems evidently to spring from the mention of Christ's *death* in the preceding verse, and of the confirmation thereby of the believer's title to a heavenly *inheritance*. It is as much as to say, 'Brethren, regard it not as strange, that the death of Christ should have given assurance of promised blessings to believers—should have ratified the new διαθήκη of which he is the author; other διαθήκαι are ratified by the death of their respective testators, and only in this way.' And then he goes on to show, that even the ancient covenant, though it could not be called a διαθήκη in all respects so well as the new one, was still ratified in a manner not unlike the new one, viz., by blood the emblem of death, vs. 18—22.

As the mode of illustration or comparison, in vs. 16, 17, depends entirely on the sense of the *Greek* word διαθήκη, and is not supported by any meaning of the Hebrew בְּרִית, if the sense above put upon διαθήκη be well grounded, it must be plain that our epistle was originally written in Greek, and not in Hebrew, as some of the ancient and a few of the modern critics have supposed.

φέρεσθαι in the sense of *intervening, happening, taking place*, (which seems to be necessarily attached to it here,) has, perhaps, no exact parallel either in classic or sacred usage. The old Latin version, and many modern critics, have rendered φέρεσθαι as given above; but Ernesti, Valckenaer, and Kuinoel, deny that this sense can be confirmed by any ancient testimony. Grotius renders it by the verb *expecto*; some others by *in medium affferri*; Kypke, *annunciari, indicari*; Bretschneider (in Lex.) *ferri sermone*, i. e. to be announced or shown; Carpzoff and Kuinoel, *insequi*. But although examples of exact conformity in usage may be wanting in the classics, yet, as it seems to me, there are cases sufficiently near

to the sense which I have given to the word, to justify such a translation; e. g. εἶ or κακῶς φέρεσθαι means, *to happen, turn out, or take place, well or ill*; τὰ πράγματα κακῶς φέρεται, and εἶ φέρεται ἡ γεωργία, (Xen.), *things happen badly, the husbandry turns out well*. Analogical with this is the meaning of τὸ φέρον *destiny*, τὸ φερόμενον, *sors, fortune*. Or if one is not satisfied with these analogies, he may adopt the sense of φέρεσθαι in the passive, and render it *should be suffered, borne*, a common sense of the word; or *should be introduced*, i. e. be interposed; or *be accomplished*, i. e. happen or be brought about.

If the reader finds any difficulty in admitting in vr. 15, the wide separation of ἐπαγγελίαν and κληρονομίας, he will now perceive a separation of the same nature, in respect to θάνατον and διαθεμένου, about the relation of which no possible doubt can be rationally entertained. In regard to this last word, it is a participle (used as a noun) of aorist 2. middle voice, and means *testator*.

Ver. 17. Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, *for a testament is valid, in respect to those who are dead*. Ἐπὶ is not unfrequently employed to denote *after*, viz., in respect to *time*; e. g. Acts xi. 19, ἐπὶ Στεφάνῳ, *after the time of Stephen*, as Wahl renders it; and so Mark vi. 52, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρτοις, *after the loaves*, i. e. the miraculous feeding of several thousands with them. But these cases are not altogether clear. In classic authors, however, ἐπὶ τούτοις means, *postea*; so ἐπὶ πυφλῶ τῷ Δανδάμῳ, *after Dandamis became blind*, Lucian in Tox. See Vigerus, p. 620, Matthiæ, Section 584. In accordance with this usage, many critics have translated the phrase under consideration thus: *a testament is valid after men are dead, or after death*. This, no doubt, gives the general *sentiment* of the passage; but after all, the explanation of ἐπὶ νεκροῖς in this way is somewhat forced, and I prefer that given in the translation, which conveys the like sense. Or the phrase may be construed in this way, viz., ἐπὶ νεκροῖς, *interventu mortis testatorum*. So Kuinoel; and this comes in effect to the meaning which I have given of ἐπί; which is often employed when joined with the dative, in expressing the condition in or under which any thing takes place or happens; e. g. ἐπὶ νηπίῳ μοι τέθνηκιν, *he died whilst or when I was a child*. So here: 'a testament is valid when they [the testators] are dead.'

Those who render διαθήκη in vs. 16, 17, by the word *covenant*, construe νεκροῖς here as applicable to *dead sacrifices*, i. e. victims slain in order to confirm a covenant. But it is a conclusive objection to this exegesis, that νεκρός never means the dead carcase of an *animal*, but the corpse of a *human* being.

'Επει . . . διαδέμενος, *since it is of no avail while the testator is living*. Μη ποτε is stronger than the simple negative μή; and one might well translate, *since it is of no avail at all*. 'Ισχύει, here first expressed, seems to be implied after διαθήκη in vr. 16.

The amount of the comparison in vs. 16, 17, is, as before stated, that as διαθήκαι (testaments) among men are ratified by death, so did the death of Christ (which the writer had just mentioned, vr. 15) ratify the new διαθήκη which he made, and give a valid title to the heirs who were to receive the inheritance.

The reader should know, before vs. 16, 17 are dismissed, that not a few commentators of distinction have rendered διαθήκη *covenant* here, as well as in vr. 15; e. g. Pierce, Michaelis, Macknight, Steudel, Scholefield, and others; and Mr Bloomfield, in his recent work, pronounces this opinion probable.* My difficulties in admitting it are insuperable; and they may now be very summarily stated. 1. It is yet to be made out, that no *covenants* were valid, except those made by the intervention of sacrifices. Most clearly these were exhibited only in covenants of a peculiarly solemn and important nature. See Ruth iv. 7. Deut. xxv. 7. 9. Gen. xxij. 16. xxiv. 9, etc. The proposition is too general here (δπου διαθήκη) to admit of limitation merely to covenants of a special nature. Even in regard to them, it remains to be shown that the sacrificial rite, specially in latter times, was deemed to be necessary. Where is this seen, in solemn compacts and treaties so often made, as represented in the books of Kings and Chronicles? An *oath* is the general sanction. 2. Διατίθημι and διαδέμενος cannot properly be rendered *mediate* and *mediating sacrifice*. They have no such meaning any where else. Διαθέμενος must mean either a *testator*, or else a *contractor*, i. e. one of two covenanting parties. But where is the death of a person covenanting, made necessary in order to confirm the covenant? 3. Νεκροὶς means only *dead men*; but *men* surely were not sacrificed by the Jews, as a mediating sacrifice in order to confirm a covenant. Of course it is impossible to support the exegesis of Pierce and others, in the way of *philological* argument.

If it be asked, how the writer could insert γάρ in vr. 16, unless he viewed it as closely connected with vr. 15, and as assigning a ground or reason of the sentiment there stated; my answer is, that

* Several letters from three or four highly esteemed friends, have vindicated the like sense and commended to me a review of this subject. I thank them most sincerely for their suggestions and their kind feelings; and I trust they will see in the remarks now made, that I have investigated anew the whole subject. I trust also that they will be satisfied with my present views, when they have weighed my reasons for them.

there is a connexion. *Γάρ*, in vr. 16, introduces a clause, which is to illustrate and confirm what is stated in the preceding verse, viz., that the death of Christ secured redemption for the heirs of salvation. But this illustration is borrowed from a meaning of *διαθήκη* different from that which the writer had already given, although equally well authorized, viz., *testament*. It is as much as if he had said thus: 'The death of Christ makes sure the promise; *for* (*γάρ*) if I should make the appeal to *διαθήκη* in its other sense, that of *testament* as well as of covenant, we may say that the death of a testator confirms, instead of invalidating, the favours he designs to bestow. So it is with the death of Christ. Instead of frustrating the purposes of his *διαθήκη*, it has fully ratified and established them.'

Verses 16, 17, I take to be a parenthesis, containing a forcible illustration of the efficacy of the death of Christ thrown in *ἐν παρέδω*. Verse 18 I understand as resuming the subject, in the shape in which vr. 15 left it.

Ver. 18. *Ὅθεν οὐδ' . . . ἐγκαταίνισται*, *wherefore neither the first* [covenant] *was ratified without blood*. The course of thought, as it stands connected with vr. 15, seems to be this: 'The new covenant of redemption from sin, was sanctioned by the death of Jesus; consequently, or wherefore (*ὅθεν*), the old covenant, which was to be a type of the new, was sanctioned by the blood of victims.' *Ὅθεν*, *wherefore, quare, qua ratione*; but the usual meaning is *whence*, in respect to place. The verb *ἐγκαταίνιζω* usually means *to renew, to consecrate, to dedicate*, etc.; but here, although the sense of *consecrating* would answer well, it seems more appropriate to render it *ratified*; so Chrysostom, *βεβαία γέγονε*; Theophylact, *τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συστάσεως καὶ τῆς βεβαιώσεως ἔλαβε*; Syriac version, *confirmed*. Thus the old covenant, ratified by the effusion and sprinkling of blood, was typical of the new, which was ratified and made sure by the blood of Jesus its mediator. It was merely the blood of *animals* slain, which sanctioned the old and typical covenant; it was *Jesus's* own blood which sanctioned the new covenant, established upon better promises than the ancient one held out.

In this way of interpretation, vs. 16, 17 are to be considered as a parenthesis, the matter of which merely amplifies and illustrates the declaration contained in vr. 15.

Ver. 19. *Λαληθείσης γὰρ πάσης . . . τῷ λαῷ*, *for when, according to the law, all the commandment had been recited by Moses to all the people*. *Γάρ* introduces a confirmation of vr. 18. The *πάσης ἐντολῆς*

to which reference is here made, means the statutes contained in Ex. xx—xxiii. These Moses first recited *memoriter* to the people, after they had been communicated to him by the Lord at Sinai, Ex. xxiv. 3. He then wrote them down, Ex. xxiv. 4; and afterwards, on occasion of solemnly renewing the covenant on the part of the people to obedience, he again recited them from the book of the law (סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית), Ex. xxiv. 7. Κατὰ νόμον may mean here, *according to the written law*, i. e. just as the ἐντολή was in the book of the law. But νόμον more probably refers to the command received by Moses, to communicate to the people the laws given to him, although this command is not recorded in the Scripture; in which case the meaning would be, that *agreeably to the divine command* Moses read all the law to the assembled nation.

Λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα . . . ἐξέαντισι, *taking the blood of bullocks and of goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, he sprinkled both the book and all the people.* This passage has occasioned no small perplexity to commentators; inasmuch as Moses, in his history of renewing the covenant of the people in Ex. xxiv., has said nothing of the blood of goats; nothing of the water and scarlet wool and hyssop; nothing of sprinkling the book of the law with blood. Whence then did the writer obtain these circumstances? That they were not matters of new revelation to him, seems pretty evident; for he plainly makes an appeal to circumstances, which, he takes it for granted, are well known to the Hebrews whom he addresses, and about which if he were to commit an error of statement, all his readers would be revolted.

1. *The blood of goats.* In Ex. xxiv. 5, it is said that Moses *sent young men who offered burnt offerings* (עֹלֹת) *and sacrificed sacrifices, which were peace-offerings* (זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים) *to Jehovah, even bullocks, (פָּרִים).* Now although *goats* are not mentioned here, yet it is quite probable, that the עֹלֹת on this occasion were goats; for עֹלָה is a *holocaust*, i. e. an offering *entirely* consumed by fire; while the שְׁלָמִים were mostly eaten by the offerers. That goats were used for all kinds of sacrifices, as well as bullocks, is quite evident from mere inspection of the Levitical law. E. g. *goats* are named as an עֹלָה, Lev. i. 10. iv. 24, 28, etc., et alibi. It is altogether probable, then, that the holocausts or עֹלֹת, mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 5 as offered on the occasion of renewing the covenant, were *goats*; and were of course understood by a Jewish reader to be such, inasmuch as the שְׁלָמִים only are affirmed to have been *bullocks*.

2. *The water, scarlet wool, and hyssop.* That water was used as

well as blood in order to sprinkle various things, is clearly implied in Lev. xiv. 4—7 compared with Lev. xiv. 49—52. Num. xix. 18. Ps. li. 7. Ezek. xxxvi. 25. The scarlet wool (שָׁנִי תוֹלַעַת), was connected with a bunch of hyssop (אֶזְוִיב) in order to make a convenient instrument for receiving and sprinkling the blood and water. It is not, indeed, expressly mentioned in Ex. xxiv.; but it is doubtless implied; for this was the common instrument by which the rite of sprinkling was performed. So, in Ex. xii. 7, direction is simply given to sprinkle the door-posts of the Israelites with blood; and afterwards, in vr. 22, it is mentioned, that this was to be done *with a bunch of hyssop*. So in Lev. xiv. 4—7, the שָׁנִי תוֹלַעַת (i. e. ἔργιον κόκκινον) and the hyssop, are mentioned as employed in the office of sprinkling; and again in Lev. xiv. 49—52. The hyssop is also mentioned in Num. xix. 18. Ps. li. 7. It may well be presumed, that the reason why the writer of our epistle and the Hebrews of his time supposed that Moses made use of the water and hyssop and scarlet wool in the lustration of the people when the covenant was renewed, was because these were employed in the lustrations whenever sprinkling was performed on other occasions. The convenience of the instrument in question, and the nature of the case would very naturally lead to such an opinion; and who can doubt that it is well grounded?

3. *The book of the law.* Because nothing is said in Ex. xxiv. 3—8, respecting the sprinkling of the book, many commentators, e. g. Grotius, Bengel, Koppe, Storr, and others, construe αὐτό τε τὸ βιβλίον with λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα, i. e. *taking the blood . . . and also the book of the law*. So far as such a construction of the particle τε itself is concerned, this might perhaps be allowed; for τε is sometimes employed when it is not preceded by καί or δέ in the clause immediately antecedent, as in Acts ii. 33. To justify the method of interpretation now in question, Storr appeals to Heb. ix. 1 and xii. 2. But in the former case, τε is preceded by καί; and the latter is a case where two verbs are connected. But in our verse καί follows βιβλίον, and seems *necessarily* to connect it with πάντα τὸν λαόν. Now to say of Moses, λαβὼν . . . πάντα τὸν λαόν, I suppose will not be contended for. Michaelis, Heinrichs, Dindorf, Ernesti, Kuinoel, Bloomfield, and others, agree with the interpretation which I have given. Indeed καί and τε seem to be as necessarily related here, as *et* and *que* are in Latin; and in fact they *commonly* sustain the same relation to each other. As to manuscripts, only one omits καί after βιβλίον; and we are obliged, therefore, by the laws of criticism to retain it, whatever difficulties it may occasion to the interpreter.

In regard to the fact itself, viz., that Moses did sprinkle the book with blood, no intimation of it is given in Ex. xxiv. 3—8. Yet nothing can be more probable than that such was the fact. Aaron and his sons and their garments were sprinkled with blood, when consecrated to the priests' office, Ex. xxix. 19—21. The blood of sacrifices was sprinkled upon the altar, Ex. xxix. 16. Lev. i. 5, 11. iii. 2, 13; also before the veil of the sanctuary, Lev. iv. 6, 17; comp. Lev. vi. 27. vii. 14. viii. 15, 19, 24, 30. ix. 12, 18, et alibi. Philo (de Vita Mosis p. 675 B.) has a passage which speaks of all the various apparatus of the tabernacle as being anointed with holy oil, and the vestments of the priests being sprinkled with blood. So Josephus, also, speaks of sprinkling the garments of Aaron and his sons with αἷματος τῶν τεθυμένων, *blood of the slain beasts*, and with spring water, and holy chrism, Lib. V. 6. 6. p. 334. edit. Havercamp. All this serves to show, how common this rite of sprinkling with blood was in the Jewish ritual; so common, that the writer of our epistle seems, with those whom he addressed, to have considered it a matter of course, that when the people were sprinkled with blood, at the time of renewing their covenant to keep the precepts contained in the book of the law, Ex. xxiv. 8, the book itself, like all the sacred apparatus of the temple, was also sprinkled in like manner. Nothing could be more natural. The people were consecrated to observe the statutes of the book; and the book was consecrated, as containing that sacred code of laws which they were bound to obey.

If however, after all, one is not satisfied that Paul drew his conclusions from the analogies and probabilities just stated, he may easily suppose that tradition among the Jews had preserved the remembrance of the particulars described in our verse, on account of the very solemn and important nature of the transaction with which they are connected. It would be easy to suppose, with some commentators, that these particulars were suggested in a miraculous way by the Holy Spirit to the mind of the writer. But this solution of the difficulty is not a probable one; because the writer evidently touches upon circumstances here, which he takes it for granted his readers will recognize and admit. If so, then these things must have already been matters of common opinion among the Hebrews; and consequently they were not now first suggested to the writer of our epistle in a miraculous way. At all events, there can be no serious difficulty in this case. The fact that Ex. xxiv. 3—8 does not mention the particulars in question, can be no more proof that they did not take place, than the fact that the

Evangelists have not recorded the words of Christ, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," would prove that he did not utter them. Whether Paul and the Hebrews knew these things by tradition, or believed them from analogical reasoning, cannot be important. Enough that they were facts, and were appealed to as such by the writer, with full confidence that they would be recognized by his readers.

To illustrate the principle *de minimis non curat lex*, it may be remarked, that Paul says simply λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα; Moses, that "he took *half* of the blood," Ex. xxiv. 6. But surely if he did the latter, he did the former. Such expressions, whether in sacred or profane writers, are not to be tortured in order to extract from them a *metaphysical* exactness—*ne resecanda ad vivum*.

In like manner I interpret πάντα τὸν λαόν. How, it has been asked, could he sprinkle three millions of people with the blood of a few goats and bullocks? In such a way I would answer, as "*all* Judea and Jerusalem went out to John to be baptized of him in the river Jordan, *confessing their sins*," Matt. iii. 5, seq. Must we understand by this, that all the infants, the *non compotes mentis*, the mutes, the sick, the infirm, the aged, all females, or literally *all* adult males, repaired to John in order to be baptized? And did *all*, including infants and mutes, *confess* their sins to him? If not, then there is no difficulty in construing πάντα τὸν λαόν, in the case now under consideration. *Moses sprinkled blood on the multitude of the people*, I take to be the simple meaning of the writer; not that all and every individual was actually and personally sprinkled. Some were actually sprinkled; and these, being of the multitude, were representatives of the whole. Nothing is more common than to attribute to a body of men collectively, what belongs, strictly considered, only to certain individuals of that body. Thus what the *government* of this country do, the *Americans* are said to do; and so of all other countries.

Ver. 20. Λέγων τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα . . . ὁ Θεός, *saying, This is the blood of the covenant which God has enjoined upon you*. Another instance in which the *letter* of the Old Testament is forsaken, and the *sense* merely retained. The original in Ex. xxiv. 8 is, הִנֵּה דָם בְּרִית, *behold the blood of the covenant which God has made with you*. But הִנֵּה means *see here* or *see this*, and is equivalent to τοῦτο used as a *demonstrative*. The verb בָּרַת is rendered by the Seventy, διέθετο; by our author ἐνετείλατο. The reason of this probably is, that בְּרִית in Ex. xxiv. 8 means *statutes, laws*; as

it evidently refers to the preceding *statutes*, in Ex. xx—xxiii., God *commanded* that the people should observe these ; and with reference to this injunction, our author says ἐνετείλατο, which is preferable to the διέθετο of the Seventy.

Τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης means *the blood by which the covenant*, (viz., the assent on the part of the people to the laws proposed, or rather, their promise to observe them, Ex. xxiv. 7,) *was ratified*. So common had it once been among the Hebrews, to ratify engagements by the blood of animals slain, that the usual idiom of the language was כָּרַת בְּרִית, *to cut a covenant*, i. e. to sanction one by cutting an animal into two pieces, and passing between them ; see Gen. xv. 10. xxxi. 54. Jer. xxxiv. 18. Ephrem Syrus testifies that the Chaldeans had the same usage, Opp. I. p. 161 ; as also Hacourt does, in respect to the Arabians, Histoire de Madagascar, pp. 98, 360. The meaning of such a transaction seems evidently to be, that the persons, who make the engagements by passing between the dis-severed parts of the slain animal, virtually say, ‘ If we preserve not our engagement faithfully and without violation, then let us be cut in pieces like the animal between whose dis-severed parts we now pass.’ The sprinkling of blood on the people, Ex. xxiv. 8, was a solemnity of a similar nature. By it they were also ceremonially purified, and consecrated to God.

Ver. 21. Καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν . . . ἐξῆλάντισε, *the tabernacle, moreover, and all the vessels for service, he sprinkled in like manner with blood*. Καὶ, although a copulative here, still indicates another transaction different from that related in vr. 19 ; for when the people were sprinkled with blood, the tabernacle was not built, neither were the σκεύη λειτουργίας yet made. The setting up and consecration of the tabernacle with its vessels, is related in Ex. xl.; yet nothing is there related of sprinkling them with blood, but only of anointing them with holy oil, Ex. xl. 9—11. In the like manner, the *anointing* only of Aaron and his sons is there spoken of, as a rite preparatory to entering upon the duties of their office in the tabernacle, Ex. xl. 12—15 ; while nothing is said at all of their being sprinkled with blood. But if we compare Ex. xxix. 20, 21, and Lev. viii. 24, 30, we shall see it to be certain, that Aaron and his sons were sprinkled with blood, as well as anointed with oil. In like manner it is probable, that the tabernacle and its furniture were sprinkled with blood ; although Moses has not mentioned it in Ex. xl. Josephus says, “ Both the tabernacle and the vessels pertaining to it, [Moses sprinkled and purified] with oil prepared as I have described

and with the blood of bulls and rams that were slain, one of each kind alternately, every day,"-Antiq. III. 8. sect. 6. This seems to indicate, that Josephus had the same view as Paul, in regard to purifying the tabernacle. The verbs in brackets, in the above translation, are drawn from the preceding clause, where we find ἱεῖραιεν ἀφαιγνίσας *purifying he sprinkled*. They belong to the sentence translated, by *implication*.

In regard to the fact itself, we may observe that it is rendered quite probable from analogy. Then as to a knowledge of it by our author, nothing more is necessary, than the supposition that tradition had conveyed the knowledge of this, as well as of many other facts, down to the time of Paul. The writer evidently appeals to facts, which were believed by the Hebrews in general whom he was addressing; and facts which, although not stated in the Old Testament, are by no means improbable, and which no one surely has it in his power to contradict.

Ver. 22. Καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν αἵματι . . . νόμον, *indeed, according to the law, almost every thing is purified by blood*. Καί, *imo, vero, yea, indeed*. Σχεδὸν πάντα, and not πάντα absolutely and simply; for some things were purified by *water*, Lev. xvi. 26, 28. Num. xxxi. 24; some by fire and water, Num. xxxi. 22, 23. But the exceptions were few, in which shedding of blood or sprinkling of blood was not required, in order to effect ceremonial purity; see on vr. 19.

Καὶ χωρὶς αἱματηχυσίας οὐ γίνεται ἄφαις, *and without shedding of blood there is no remission [of sins]*. See Lev. iv. 2—6, 13—17, 22—25, 27—30 and 31, 35. Under the Mosaic law, not every transgression could be atoned for; consequently, remission of the penalty which the law inflicted could not, in some cases, be obtained. See Num. xv. 30, 31. It was only he that sinned through a degree of ignorance or inadvertency, who could bring his sin and trespass-offering, Num. xv. 27, 29; for cases of a different nature, comp. Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, 27. The חטאת and עוון, *sin* and *trespass*, were atoned for in a civil and ecclesiastical point of view, by appropriate sacrifices which bore the like names. But in this case, the remission was only from a temporal penalty or calamity. It was not possible that such sacrifices could atone for sin, as viewed by the righteous Governor of the world. Such the nature of the case seems plainly to be; and so the writer of our epistle has expressly declared, in chap. x. 4. God, as the king and head of the Jewish nation, granted remission of the penalty which the Jewish law inflicted in many cases, on certain conditions. But this had respect merely to the present world, and not to the accountability

of transgressors before the tribunal of the universe in the world above. Even *temporal* forgiveness, however, could not be obtained *χωρὶς αἱματινῆς χάριτος*.

It was thus that these *ὑποδείγματα* shadowed forth, to the ancient church, the necessity of atoning blood which possessed a higher virtue than that of beasts, in order to remove the penalty against sin that was threatened in respect to a future world. So the writer proceeds to tell us, in the next verse.

Ver. 23. *Ἀνάγκη οὖν . . . ταύτας, since then the images of heavenly things must needs be purified by such [rites], the heavenly things themselves [must be purified] by better sacrifices than these.* *Μέν* is here the mere sign of *protasis*. *ὑποδείγματα*, *copies, effigies, images, resemblances, likenesses*; meaning the tabernacle and temple, with all their sacred utensils, etc.; see on viii. 5. *Τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* means *the spiritual objects of the heavenly world*, of which the tabernacle with all its apparatus and services was only a symbol; see on viii. 5. *Τούτοις* designates such things, i. e. such rites and means of purification, as had been described in the preceding context. *καθαρίζεσθαι* refers to the ceremonial purification of the temple and its sacred utensils; e. g. of the most holy place, Lev. xvi. 15, 16; of the altar, Lev. xvi. 18. Ex. xxix. 36, 37; of the tabernacle, Lev. xvi. 33, 20. This was to be done, because the Israelites, sinful and impure, profaned these sacred things by their approach, Lev. xvi. 19. xv. 31. Num. xix. 19, 20. And this being done, God vouchsafed his presence in the tabernacle, and promised to dwell among the Israelites, Ex. xxix. 43—46. All this was symbolical of the heavenly sanctuary and sacrifice. God permits sinners to hope for pardon and to approach him, only when they are sprinkled with the atoning blood of Jesus; and what was done on earth as a *symbol*, has been done in the heavenly world in *reality*, i. e. so as actually to procure *spiritual* pardon and restoration to the divine favour.

Αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἱερόγνια . . . ταύτας. Δέ, but, and in this sense it here marks the *apodosis*. *Ἱερόγνια* means the *σκηνή, ἀληθινή, ἣν ἱστηκεν ὁ Κύριος*, viii. 2, i. q. *ἡ σκηνή οὐ χειροποιήτος*, ix. 11. But how could the heavenly tabernacle *καθαρίζεσθαι, be purified*? The grammatical construction of vr. 23, certainly requires us to supply this verb in the latter clause, since it is expressed in the former. But the word, of course, can be here used only in a *figurative* manner; for the *ἱερόγνια* are not in reality impure. But as God was accessible to offenders in his sanctuary on earth, only when atoning blood had been offered; so God in his heavenly sanctuary is accessible to

sinners only through the blood of Jesus there offered, and there consecrating a new and living way of access to the throne of mercy. It is in this sense that the writer means to apply καθαρίζουσαι, viz., that of rendering the sanctuary approachable by offenders, and affording assurance of liberty to draw near to God, iv. 16, rather than that of direct purification from uncleanness; which could not be predicated of the heavenly sanctuary. It is the *effect* of the purifying blood of Jesus in regard to giving access to the heavenly sanctuary, which the writer means to compare with the purification of the tabernacle and its utensils; for the most holy place of the earthly tabernacle could be properly approached by offenders, only when atonement was made.

Ver. 24. That better sacrifices than those offered on earth by the Jewish priests, were required under the priesthood of Christ, necessarily results from the nature of the sanctuary in which Christ ministers. Οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα ἄγρια . . . οὐρανόν, *for Christ entered not into a sanctuary made by hands, which is only a copy of the true one, but into heaven itself.* It is the entrance of Christ, as a *priest*, into the heavenly sanctuary, of which the writer is here speaking. That Christ performs the office of priest in the heavenly sanctuary, the writer has already intimated several times; see ix. 9, 11. viii. 1—4. Ἀντίτυπα *copy, image, effigy, form or likeness*, corresponding to the original τύπος shown to Moses in the mount, viii. 5. Ἀληθινῶν means *that which is real*, i. e. the original or heavenly sanctuary, of which the earthly one is a mere copy. In other words, they stand related as substance and shadow or image. The *reality* is in heaven; the *emblem* or *mere similitude* of it on earth.

Νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι . . . ἡμῶν, *thenceforth to appear before God in our behalf.* Νῦν means, from the point of time when he entered heaven as our high-priest, onward indefinitely; and it implies, that his office was continued while the writer was then addressing his readers. Ἐμφανισθῆναι means, among other things, *to present one's self before a tribunal*, for the sake of accusing or defending. In the former case, it is followed by κατὰ, e. g. Acts xxiv. 1. xxv. 2. 15; in the latter, it takes ὑπὲρ after it, as in our text. The usual and full grammatical construction would be ὥστε ἐμφανισθῆναι. I have been able to find no similar usage of ἐμφανίζω among the Greeks.

Τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, the same as the Hebrew לְפָנַי אֱלֹהִים, being altogether Hebraistic. The whole comparison is taken from the custom of the Jewish high-priest, who, when he entered the most

holy place, was said, *to appear before God or to draw near to God*, because the presence of God was manifested over the mercy-seat, in the holy of holies, and God was represented, and was conceived of by the Jews, as sitting enthroned upon the mercy-seat. Now as the high-priest appeared before God, in the Jewish temple, and offered the blood of beasts for expiation on the great day of atonement, in behalf of the Jewish nation; so Christ, in the heavenly temple, enters the most holy place with his own blood, vr. 12, to procure pardon, αἰώνιαν λύτρωσιν, for us. This is what the writer means, by ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

Ver. 25. But although there is a similitude between the atoning office of Christ and that of the Jewish high-priest, yet there is a great difference, in some respects, between his *manner* of offering expiatory sacrifice and that of the Levitical priesthood. Οὐδ' ἵνα πολλάκις . . . ἄλλοτριῶν, *yet not that he may frequently repeat the offering of himself, like the high-priest, who every year enters into the sanctuary with blood not his own.* This refers to the entrance of the high-priest into the sanctuary, on the great day of atonement. Ἐν αἵματι ἄλλοτριῶν, *with the blood of others*, i. e. with blood not his own; in distinction from the manner in which Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary, which was *with his own blood*, vr. 12. Two points of difference then are here suggested, between the Jewish offerings and that of Christ; the one, that they were *often* repeated, while his was made but *once*; the other, that the high-priest presented the *blood of goats and bullocks*, but Jesus *his own blood*. For the sense of *in* here, see Bretschneider Lex. *ἐν*, 6. b.

Ver. 26. Ἐπεὶ ἴδει . . . κόσμου, *for then he must needs have often suffered since the world began.* That is, since the blood of Christ is necessary to make atonement for sin, and to procure pardon for it from the righteous and spiritual Judge of men; and since the blessings procured by the death of Jesus, must inure as well to the benefit of the ages which preceded his coming, as to those which follow it, see vr. 15 and Rom. iii. 25, 26; it follows, that if his sacrifice had not been of a different nature and value from that of the Jewish priests, it must have been continually repeated, from the very beginning of the world down to the time in which the writer was addressing his readers. We may of course add, that it must have continued to be repeated down to the end of the world, for the same reason. This passage serves then to show, that when Heb. ix. 15 and Rom. iii. 25, 26 are construed as having relation to the *retrospective* influence of the death of Christ, no doctrine

foreign to the conceptions of our author is introduced; for the verso under consideration is plainly built upon the ground of such a *retrospective* influence.

Νῦν δὲ ἅπαξ *πιφανέσθωται*, *but now, at the close of the [Jewish] dispensation, he has once for all made his appearance, in order to remove the punishment due to sin by the sacrifice of himself.* Νῦν does not relate particularly to *time* here, but is a particle of opposition, in contradistinction to *ἔπειτα*. Συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων, the close of the Mosaic economy or period. Αἰών singular and αἰῶνες plural, appear to be sometimes used in the same sense in the New Testament, like οὐρανός and οὐρανοί, σάββατον and σάββατα, and some other nouns; see on i. 2. For the meaning given to αἰών see Wahl's Lex. on the word.

Ἀθήνησις signifies *putting away, removal, abrogation, annulling*, etc. Ἀμαρτία I understand here, as meaning *the penalty due to sin*; just as the Hebrew חַטָּאת means *sin*, and the *punishment* or *consequences of sin*; and חַיִּיב means *iniquity*, and the *punishment*, i. e. *consequences, of iniquity*. It is true, indeed, that Christ came to save men from the *power* as well as the *penalty* of sin; but most evidently his death is here considered, by our author, as an expiatory sacrifice by virtue of which the consequences of sin, i. e. the punishment due to it, are removed, and the sinner treated as though he were innocent.

Διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ, compare i. 3. ii. 14. vii. 27. ix. 12, 14, 15. x. 5—10.

The whole comparison stands thus. ‘As the expiatory sacrifices under the law, which were annually offered, and therefore often repeated, procured remission of the temporal punishment due to offences under the Mosaic dispensation; so the sacrifice of Christ, and the blood which he presents, once for all, in the eternal or heavenly sanctuary, is effectual to procure spiritual pardon for all times and ages, past and to come.’ Nothing could exhibit the great superiority of Christ’s priesthood over that of the Jews, in a more striking point of light than this. The latter, by its offerings and atonements, procured only a remission of *temporal* punishment in the *present world*; the former, a remission αἰωνίου πολλάσιως, Matt. xxv. 46, in the *world to come*.

Ver. 27. Καὶ καθ’ ὅσον κρίσις, *for since it is appointed unto men to die once only, and after this [cometh] the judgment.* Καθ’ ὅσον is sometimes equivalent to καθώς, *since, as*, in this epistle; e. g. vii. 20, compare vr. 22; and here it is plainly the same as ὡς; or

καθώς. Ἀπόκειται, *repositum est*, it is laid up for, i. e. by divine appointment, it is reserved, or it awaits men, once to die. The translation gives the meaning, but not with *literal* exactness. Ἀπαξ is here, *once for all, only once*; for the object of this comparison is to show that as men die *but once*, so Christ, who had a nature truly human and was in all things made like unto his brethren, ii. 17, could die *but once*, and not oftentimes, in order to atone for sin.

Μετά δὲ τοῦτο χρίσας, i. e. men, having *once* died, go after that to a state of reward or punishment, to a final state in which no more such changes as death makes, can be suffered. The clause in question is added to the former part of the verse, in order to show that dying more than once is impossible, inasmuch as judgment immediately follows, with which is connected the immutable state of men. The implication contained in this verse, viz., that a state of trial is not to be expected in a future world, like to that which is allowed to men in the present world, seems to be plain.

Ver. 28. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός ἀμαρτίας, so Christ also, after having *once for all* offered up himself in order to bear the sins of many. The writer had been labouring, in the preceding context, to show that the offering of Christ needed not, like that of the high-priest, to be often repeated. Vs. 27 and 28 are designed to show, that a repetition of the death of Jesus, who suffered in our nature, would have been inconsistent with the nature which he sustained, and contrary to all analogy. So the author: 'Since men die *but once*, so Christ died or was offered up, προσενχθείς, *but once*.'

Προσενχθείς, from προσφέρω, is a participle of 1st aorist passive, and may be rendered *offered up himself*, or *made an offering of himself*, inasmuch as the 1st aorist passive frequently has a middle or reflexive sense, particularly when any verb lacks the 1st aorist of the middle voice, Buttman's Grammar, sect. 145. N. 1. Προσφέρειν is a very general word in respect to offerings, and designates the action of the person who brings the sacrifice, or of the priest who presents it. As the sacrifice offered to God was first *slain*, and then presented; so the idea of an offering here necessarily involves the idea of the death of the victim offered. It is this implied idea of the death of the victim, that stands in comparison with the ἀπαξ ἀποθανεῖν of all men; i. e. as they die but once, so Christ died but once.

Πολλῶν, *many*, i. e. *all nations* without distinction, Jews and Gentiles, for ages past and ages to come, vs. 15, 26 and Rom. iii. 25, 26. See the like representation, respecting the universality of

the benefits offered through the death of Christ, in Matt. xx. 28. xxvi. 28. Rom. v. 15, 19, compare vr. 18. John vi. 51. iii. 16. 1 John ii. 2, etc.

Ἀνεγκλὴν ἁμαρτίας, to bear the sins, means to bear the punishment, i. e. to suffer the penalty, due to sin. See EXCURSUS XIX.

Ἐκ δευτέρου εἰς σωτηρίαν, shall make his appearance a second time without a sin-offering, for the salvation of those who wait for him. *Ἐκ δευτέρου* has reference to *ἄραξ* in the preceding clause. Christ appeared and died *once* for sin; but when he appears *again*, *ἐκ δευτέρου*, it will not be to repeat his sufferings, i. e. to make again an expiatory sacrifice, but for the purpose of bestowing rewards on those who trust in him and wait for his coming.

Χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας has been variously explained. But it is evident that the expression has a direct reference to the preceding clause, i. e. either to *προσενχθείς*, or to *ἀνεγκλὴν ἁμαρτίας*. In the former case, *ἁμαρτίας*, in our clause, would mean *sin-offering*, like *ΔΥΝ*, *ΠΝΩΠ*, because *προσενχθείς* means *he made himself an offering*. The meaning would then be, ‘but when Christ again appears, he will not make himself a sin-offering, i. e. his appearance will be *χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας*.’ So I understand the phrase. But if we construe *χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας*, as referring to *ἀνεγκλὴν ἁμαρτίας*, then the supplement to the phrase will be *χωρὶς [τοῦ ἀνεγκλὴν] ἁμαρτίας*. The meaning of this is, ‘Without again suffering the penalty due to sin.’ In either way the sense amounts to about the same; for either method of interpretation makes the writer say, that Christ would no more suffer on account of the sins of men, but that, by dying once, he has perfectly accomplished the redemption of those who trust in him.

Τοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπειδεχομένοις means, those who, renouncing the world and resisting all the motives to swerve from Christian hope and faith which the times presented, patiently wait for the rewards which the Saviour will finally bestow upon his followers. There is a tacit admonition to the Hebrews in this; for it is as much as to say, ‘Those only who do thus persevere, will be rewarded.’ *Εἰς σωτηρίαν* has reference to the future salvation or blessedness which Christ will bestow upon his followers, at his second coming.

CONTENTS.

The insufficiency of the Levitical sacrifices to procure spiritual pardon for sin, and the sufficiency of the sacrifice which Christ had offered, was one of the most important and interesting of all the points which the writer of our epistle had to discuss. The Hebrews

in general placed full confidence in the efficacy of the Levitical sacrifices to purify them from sin, at least to remove the penalty of it. Every person, who is conscious of sin and knows that it subjects him to the penalty of the divine law, must naturally feel a deeper interest in the question, *whether* and *how* sin can be pardoned, than in any other. It was very natural for Jews, who had been educated in the full belief of the efficacy of the sacrifices instituted by Moses, to cling to them as the foundation of their dearest and highest hopes, viz., the means of pardon and restoration to divine favour. It was an attachment to the Jewish ritual, built upon hopes of such a nature, which rendered the Mosaic religion so attractive to the Hebrews, and endangered their adherence to a Christian profession. There was much, too, in the pomp and solemnity of their rites, which served to interest the feelings and delight the fancy of the worshippers. It is on account of the strong attachment which they cherished for their system of sacrifice and purifications, that our author is so urgent in showing that real pardon with God could not be procured by any or all of these means. The blood of Christ only cleanses from sin, and procures acceptance for sinners with God as their spiritual judge.

Accordingly, in chap. ix. he declares that the tabernacle, with all its sacred utensils and services, was only an *image* or *symbol* (παρεβολή) of what is real and spiritual in the heavenly world, a *copy* merely of the σκητὴ οὐ χειροποίητος, ix. 9—11, or a mere ὑπόδειγμα τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ix. 23. The Jewish sacrifices availed for nothing more than *external* purification, ix. 10, 13; while the blood of Christ purified the soul or mind (συνείδησις) from the uncleanness of sin, and rendered it capable of offering acceptable service to the living God, ix. 14. After adducing various considerations to show how extensively the rites of the law, which required the exhibition and application of blood, prefigured that atoning blood which Jesus offered to make expiation for sin, and that his death, once for all, was sufficient for this purpose, he proceeds in chap. x. more deeply to impress the great subject of atoning sacrifice by Christ upon the minds of his readers, knowing that very much depended on the conviction which might be attained in respect to this point. Could they be persuaded, that Jesus had himself offered the only sacrifice which made real expiation for sin; and that this, once offered, was an all-sufficient sacrifice; then there could be no rational inducement for them to abandon their spiritual hopes, and return to their confidence in the rites of the Levitical law.

The repetition of this subject, is for the purpose of suggesting some new arguments in order to enforce it; as may be seen vs. 5—18.

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. Σκιαὶ γὰρ ἔχων . . . πραγμάτων, *moreover the law, which presented only an imperfect sketch of good things to come, and not a full representation of those things.* The γὰρ here introduces a sentiment which serves to illustrate and confirm the preceding verse. The reasoning stands thus: 'The death of Christ, once for all, is adequate for ever to secure the pardon of sin; [this must be so,] *for* the law with all its sacrifices could never accomplish this end. Σκιά and εἰκών are related, as the Latin *umbra* and *effigies* are. The former is an *imperfect sketch*, a *mere outline* (as we say), a *slight representation* or *resemblance*; the latter is a picture or image filled out or completed, and made in all its minute parts to resemble the original. Not that these words are always employed with a sedulous attention to such nice shades of signification; but in the case before us they are so, because they are evidently contrasted with each other. The meaning of the writer is: 'The law did not even go so far as to exhibit a *full image* of future blessings, but only a *slight adumbration*. ἔχων, *having, containing, possessing, affording, or (ad sensum) exhibiting, presenting, being,* (which gives

the same sense,) so as to accord with the nature of the image that follows.

Nóμος here means *the sacrificial ritual law* of which he had before been speaking, the old *בְּרִית* (*διαθήκη*) which was to be abolished. The *whole* law of Moses, i. e. the moral code which it contains, is not the subject of consideration or assertion here. *Μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν*, the same as in ix. 11. *Τῶν πραγμάτων*, i. e. *τούτων*, viz., the *future blessings* just before mentioned.

Κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν τελειῶσαι, *by the yearly sacrifices themselves which are continually offered, can never fully accomplish what is needed for those who approach* [the altar.] By *κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν θυσίαις*, the writer means particularly to designate those which were offered on the great day of national atonement; which were considered the most sacred and efficacious of all, inasmuch as the high-priest then entered the inner sanctuary and presented himself before the mercy-seat.

Προσφέρουσι, with a nominative not expressed, is equivalent to the passive voice here, as often elsewhere, agreeably to the Hebrew idiom.

Εἰς τὸ διηνεχές, *without cessation, continually*, i. e. they were repeated each successive year. The word is peculiar to this epistle, so far as the New Testament is concerned, and Schneider has omitted it in his lexicon; but Elian, Appian, Diodorus Siculus and Symmachus, employ it.

Τοὺς προσερχομένους means *the worshippers* who approach the altar, or the temple, or the divine presence in the temple. The sense is for substance the same, whichever of these be understood. For *τελειῶσαι*, see on Heb. ix. 9 and vii. 11. The sentiment of the verse corresponds very exactly with that in ix. 9, 10.

Ver. 2. *Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἱσαύσαντο προσφερόμεναι*, *for otherwise*, i. e. if the sacrifices could have perfected those who presented them, *would not the offerings have ceased?* To *προσφερόμεναι* most critics subjoin *εἶναι* understood, which would be equivalent to the infinitive *προσφέροναι*, and then they render the phrase thus: *They*, i. e. the sacrifices, *had ceased to be offered*. The sense of the phrase thus explained, is the same that I have given to it. But *προσφερόμεναι* [*θυσίαις*] *ἱσαύσαντο* seems to me more facile than the other construction.

Διὰ τὸ μηδὲμίαν καθαρευμένους, *because the worshippers once for all made clean, would have no longer been conscious of sins*. *Λατρεύοντας* designates those who brought the offerings or sacrifices, and on

whose account they were presented to God, i. e. the worshippers. Ἄραξ denotes here, as in the preceding chapter, *once for all*; the nature of the argument demanding this sense. For if a worshipper at one time obtained pardon, or was made clean only in respect to *past* offences, and surely expiatory sacrifices were offered only with respect to the past, this would not prevent the dread of punishment at a future period, when new offences would have been committed. To be purified *once for all* then was necessary, in order to quiet the apprehensions of such a worshipper.

Κεκαθαγμένους, *purified, atoned for*. As καθαρίζω means, in Hebrew Greek, *to make expiation for, to purify by expiatory offering, to pronounce or declare one to be pure*; so κεκαθαγμένους of course means, *those atoned for, those for whom expiation is made, those declared to be pure, or rendered pure*, and consequently restored to favour.

Συνείδησιν means not merely *conscience*, but *consciousness, opinion, judgment, sentiment, apprehension*. Συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν is an *apprehension of the consequences of sin, or a consciousness that one has subjected himself to them, a consciousness of guilt*. ἁμαρτιῶν may mean here, as often before, *punishment of sin, consequences of sin*, like the corresponding Hebrew לַנֶּפֶשׁ, הַיָּד, הַלֵּב; or it may mean *sin, guilt, transgression*. The writer, however, does not mean to say, that the pardon of sin takes away from him who obtains it, the *consciousness* that he has once been the subject of moral turpitude. This the blood of Christ does not effect; and in heaven, the consciousness of this will for ever raise high the notes of gratitude for redeeming mercy. But pardon may and does remove the apprehension of suffering the penalty due to sin; or if by ἁμαρτιῶν we understand *sin, guilt* simply, then *to be made clean* (κεκαθαγμένους) from this so as to have no consciousness of it, is so to be purified as not to contract the stain of it, i. e. to be made holy.

Ver. 3. Ἄλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς . . . ἐνιαυτόν, *nay rather, by these [sacrifices] yearly remembrance of sins is made*. Ἀλλά, *but rather, nay rather, quin, quin imo*; or, as I have rendered it in the version, *on the contrary, but*. Αὐταῖς agrees with θυσίαις implied; see in vr. 1. On the day of annual atonement, the sacrifices that were offered being of an expiatory nature, and being designed as propitiatory offerings, they were of course adapted to remind the Hebrews of the desert of sin, i. e. of the punishment or penalty due to it. As they continued to be offered *yearly*, so those who brought them must be reminded, through their whole lives, of new desert of punishment. The writer means, however, that a yearly remembrance of sin in

a *spiritual* respect, not merely in a civil or ecclesiastical one, was made; for in this latter sense, the yearly atonement procured pardon. In the other it did not; as he now proceeds to assert.

Ver. 4. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ . . . ἁμαρτίας, *for it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should remove the penalty due to sin.* Γὰρ confirmantis, i. e. what follows assigns a reason or ground of the assertion which precedes. Ἀφαιρῶν ἁμαρτίας means *to take away sin*, in the sense of *removing the penalty or consequences of sin*; for this is the subject of which the writer is now treating. That the author has reference to the consequences of sin in a future world, or to the punishment of it which God inflicts as the spiritual judge of men, is evident from the whole tenor of his discussion. One so profoundly versed as he was in all the Jewish ritual law, surely was not ignorant of the fact, that civil and ecclesiastical pardon for offences of various kinds was every day procured by the blood of bulls and goats, and this too, agreeably to divine appointment.

Ver. 5. Nothing could be more directly in opposition to Jewish prejudices respecting the importance and value of the Levitical sacrifices, than the assertion just made. Hence the writer deems it prudent to make his appeal to the Scriptures, for confirmation of what he had advanced. This he does by quoting a passage from Ps. xl., which he applies to the Messiah and to the efficacy of the sin-offering made by him.

Διὸ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, λέγει, *wherefore, entering into the world, he [Christ] says*; i. e. because the blood of goats and bullocks is *not* efficacious in procuring pardon for sin, Christ, when entering into the world, is represented by the Psalmist as saying, etc.; see Ps. xl. 7, seq.

Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, *in sacrifice and oblation thou hast no pleasure.* Θυσία means *a sacrifice of some slain beast*, from θύω, *to kill*. So the corresponding Hebrew מַצֵּה from מָצָה, *mactare*. Προσφορά is *any thing offered or presented*; and here it means other oblations than those of sacrifices, such as thank-offerings, libations, etc. The corresponding Hebrew מִנְחָה, *gift, present*, comes from the obsolete root מָנַח, *to present*, Arabic مَنَحَ, the same. Οὐκ ἠθέλησας, Hebrew מִנְחָה לֹא, is capable of being translated, *thou hast not required, or thou hast not desired, thou hast no pleasure in or desire for*. The latter is, doubtless, the shade of meaning here. The sentiment is not, that God had not at all required sacrifices and oblations, for this he had done; but that they were in a *comparative* sense of

little value; they were insufficient in themselves to accomplish the higher purposes of his spiritual law, and therefore he had no pleasure in them.

Σῶμα δὲ κατηρίσω μοι, *but a body hast thou prepared for me*. A very difficult and much agitated expression. If we recur, in the first place, to the Hebrew in Ps. xl. 7, we find the corresponding words there to be, אָזְנַי פָּרִיתָ לִי, *mine ears hast thou opened*. The verb פָּרִיתָ (from פָּרַח) means primarily, *to dig, to hollow out*, e. g. a well. Gen. xxvi. 25; a pit, Ps. vii. 16; or pit-fall, Ps. lvii. 7; a sepulchre or grave, Gen. l. 5. 2 Chron. xvi. 14. The verb פָּרַח has also the meaning of *purchasing* or *procuring*, e. g. water, Deut. ii. 6; particularly of procuring a supply of food and drink, 2 K. vi. 23; also of other things, e. g. a wife, Hosea iii. 2, where אֶפְרָח has a Dagesh euphonic in the פ. These are all the meanings of this word which the Hebrew Scriptures present. In translating לִי אָזְנַי פָּרִיתָ, then, we may render it either *mine ears hast thou opened*, which is only a small deflection from the literal sense, for *to dig out* a pit or well, is *to open* one; or we may render it *ears hast thou provided for me*, in which sense the Seventy seem plainly to have understood פָּרִיתָ, when they rendered it by κατηρίσω. The former sense seems to be more analogical with the nature of the subject, and with the Hebrew idiom. The Hebrews speak of *opening the ears* or of *uncovering them*, in order to designate the idea of prompt obedience, of attentive listening to the commands of any one. E. g. Is. l. 4, we have יָעִיר לִי אָזְן לִשְׁמוֹעַ, *he excited my ear to hear*; and in vr. 5 is an equivalent expression פָּתַח לִי אָזְן, *he opened mine ear*, which is explained in the corresponding parallelism by וְאֲנִי לֹא מְרִיתִי, *and I was not refractory*, i. e. I was obedient. It is true, that גָּלָה אָזְן means *to uncover, or disclose the ear*, i. e. to communicate any thing or reveal it to another; e. g. 1 Sam. xx. 2, 12, 13. xxii. 17. But that אָזְנַי פָּרִיתָ, in Ps. xl. 7, lit. *thou hast opened mine ears*, may mean *thou hast made me obedient*, or *I am entirely obedient to thy service*, seems to be sufficiently confirmed by Job xxxvi. 10, 15, and by vs. 8, 9 of Ps. xl., which follow the expression quoted in Heb. x. 5, and serve as a comment upon it.

If this view of the meaning be correct, then another interpretation put upon the phrase by many critics, is not well founded. They render it, *mine ears hast thou bored through*. They suppose the expression to be figurative, and to be borrowed from the Hebrew usage of boring through, with an awl, the ear of a person who be-

came the voluntary servant of another; as described in Ex. xxi. 6. Deut. xv. 17. *Mine ears hast thou bored through* would then mean, 'I am through life thy voluntary servant,' or 'I will be perpetually obedient to thee.' This sense, it will be seen, agrees in general with that put upon the phrase by the other mode of explanation. But the source of explanation here adopted, does not seem to be admissible. In Ex. xxi. 6, the verb *bore through* is כָּרַע, not כָּרַח as in Ps. xl. 7, and the instrument by which it is done is named מַרְצֵעַ, an *awl*, a derivate of the verb רָצַע. So in Deut. xv. 17, the instrument named is the same מַרְצֵעַ, and the action of *boring through* is expressed by נָתַתָּה בְּאָזְנוֹ, *thou shalt put it through his ear*, not כָּרַח. That רָצַע and כָּרַח, indicate very distinct actions, is sufficiently plain; for *to bore through* any thing, and *to dig* or *hollow out* a pit, grave, or well, are surely very different actions, indicated in Hebrew by verbs as different as the English *dig* and *bore through*. Moreover, in Ex. xxi. 6 and Deut. xv. 17 the singular אֵז is used, and not as here אֵזִים, *both ears*.

The original then in Ps. xl. 2, אֵזִים כָּרַח לִי, means *mine ears hast thou opened*, i. e. *me hast thou made readily or attentively obedient*; at least, this seems to be the meaning, if we make Is. l. 4, 5 and other places cited above, our exegetical guide. See EXCURSUS XX.

Ver. 6. Ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ . . . εὐδόκησας, *in whole burnt-offerings and [sacrifices] for sin thou hast no delight*. Ὁλοκαυτώματα means, *such offerings as were entirely consumed upon the altar*; so the corresponding Hebrew עֹלָה signifies. Περὶ ἁμαρτίας is an elliptical expression, answering to the Hebrew original חַטָּאת, and which completed would be, θυσίαι περὶ ἁμαρτίας, *sin-offerings*. Οὐκ εὐδόκησας, Heb. לֹא שָׂאֵלָה, *requirest not, desirest not, demandest not, hast no pleasure in*.

Ver. 7. Τότε εἶπον, *therefore I said, or then I said*. The first of these versions is approved by eminent critics. They suggest, that if τότε, Heb. אָז, be referred to *time* merely, it seems very difficult to ascertain what is the precise meaning; for at what particular *time* was it, that God did not delight in whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin? Gesenius renders אָז by *propterea* in Ps. xl. 8. Jer. xxii. 15. It may however be said, that the speaker here refers to the time when he is disclosing these views respecting sacrifices; or, with still more probability, the time referred to in the preceding context of Ps. xl., which relates the wonderful works of God.—

Supposing either to be the case, *τότε* would mean *then*, i. e. immediately after this sentiment was declared, or after the time of deliverance specified in the context. If *τότε* be rendered *therefore*, the meaning will be, 'because thou hadst no pleasure in sacrifices, *therefore*, I said,' etc. Strictly speaking, however, *τότε* is not *illative*. I prefer the other rendering.

'Ἰδοὺ ἤκω . . . Θέλημά σου, *Lo! I come, O God, to do thy will, (in the volume of the book it is written respecting me.)* 'Ἰδοὺ ἤκω expresses the *readiness* of him who speaks, to obey the will of God.

'Εν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου is a much agitated expression. The Hebrew is simply *בְּמִגְלַת סֵפֶר*, *in the roll or volume of the book*. But how does *κεφαλίδι βιβλίου* correspond to this? *Κεφαλίς* denotes *the end* or *extremity* of any thing, as being the head or summit of it. The Heb. *סֵפֶר*, *בִּיבְלִיֹן*, was a manuscript rolled upon a cylinder of light wood, at the extremity of which were *heads* or *knobs*, for the sake of convenience to those who used the manuscript. The *knob* or *head*, *κεφαλίς*, is here taken as a *part* which is descriptive or emblematic of the *whole*. *Κεφαλίς βιβλίου* means therefore, a *βιβλίον* or *סֵפֶר* with a *κεφαλίς*, i. e. a manuscript roll; which was the form of the Jewish sacred books, and is still retained in all their synagogues. It coincides, then, in regard to *signification*, very exactly with the Heb. *מִגְלַת סֵפֶר*, of which it is a translation.

But what volume of manuscript-roll is here meant? Plainly the one which was already extant, when the Psalmist was writing. If the Psalmist was David himself, as the title of the Psalm seems to affirm, the only parts of the Hebrew Scriptures then extant, and of course the only part to which he could refer, must have been the Pentateuch, and perhaps the book of Joshua. Beyond any reasonable doubt, then, the *κεφαλίς βιβλίου* (*מִגְלַת סֵפֶר*) was the Pentateuch.

But *what* is there written, and *how*, respecting the personage who speaks in the xl. Psalm? Rosenmueller, on Ps. xl. 7, translates the Hebrew *כְּתוּב עָלַי*, *γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ*, by *prescriptum est mihi*, and appeals to 2 K. xxii. 13 for confirmation of this version. He compares also Gen. ii. 16. Ezra i. 2, where *לֵךְ* is used after *וַיֹּאמֶר* and *וַיִּצְוֶה*, verbs of *commanding* or *enjoining*. Gesenius approves this version, but produces no other instances to confirm it which are of the same kind. He appeals, indeed, to Est. ix. 23, where *לֵךְ* is used after *כְּתוּב*; and to Hos. viii. 12. 2 K. xvii. 37, Prov. xxii. 20, where *לֵךְ* is used after the same verb, in order to confirm this inter-

pretation. But the three last cases plainly denote nothing more, than that the matter referred to was *written for the use of another*, or *addressed to him*. Such too is the case with the other example in Est. ix. 23; as may be clearly seen by comparing Est. ix. 20. With reference to the opinion of these very distinguished critics, I must still doubt, therefore, whether כָּתוּב עָלַי means *præscribere alicui*. At most, there is only 2 K. xxii. 13, which is apposite to establish this signification; and even here the meaning in question is not *necessary*: for הַכָּתוּב עָלֵינוּ may be rendered with about equal significancy, *which was written in respect to us* or *concerning us*, i. e. for our sake or to regulate our duties. The Seventy, then, who translated כָּתוּב עָלַי by γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, translated it agreeably to the usual idiom of the Hebrew. The apostle, in our text, has evidently recognized the correctness of this version. The difference in meaning between *prescribed to me* and *written concerning me*, is a considerable one in this case. The first version would represent the speaker as saying; “I come, O God, to do thy will, [i. e. my duty,] as I am commanded in the Scriptures to do.” The second; “I come to offer my body or myself in place of the legal sacrifices, for in the Scriptures, i. e. in the law of Moses, this is written concerning me.” Now as to a choice of versions here, it will not be doubted that the latter version accords with the reasoning and design of the apostle, or rather that it is important to his purpose. The first version would not, indeed, contradict the design of the apostle; for he might say, ‘It is prescribed in the Scriptures that the Messiah should do the will of God,’ i. e. make himself an offering for sin. Comp. Luke xxiv. 25—27, 46. Acts xvii. 2, 3. 1 Pet. i. 11, 12. But I apprehend the meaning of the writer to be, that the *book of the law* which prescribes sacrifices that were merely *τυχαί* or *παραβολαί* of the great atoning sacrifice by Christ, did itself teach, by the use of these, that something of a higher and better nature was to be looked for than the Levitical rites. In a word, it pointed to the Messiah, i. e. some of the contents of the *written* law had respect to him. So Michaelis, Storr, and others. Still, γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ may have respect to declarations, in the Pentateuch, of a different and more direct nature. That there are such, Jesus himself affirms, John v. 46. So Paul, Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Gal. iii. 16, seq. Construed in either way, the amount of the phrase under consideration is this: ‘In the law of Moses I am described as coming to do thy will,’ i. e. to offer my body as a sacrifice, comp. vr. 10.

That the Hebrews to whom the apostle addressed himself, would recognize such an affirmation and feel the force of it, seems to be nearly certain from the fact, that the writer without any hesitation addresses it to them, in order to produce conviction in their minds with respect to the point which he is labouring to establish. Certain it is, then, that both he and the Christian Hebrews to whom he wrote, believed that the Jewish ritual had respect to the sacrifice of the Messiah, and that he was virtually revealed in the law of Moses as a suffering Saviour, making atonement for the sins of his people. Were this not so, then the argument in Heb. x. 5—10 would be destitute of any real foundation, and consequently of any force as a proof of what the writer is labouring to establish.

Ὁ Θεός, Heb. יְיָ, *O my God*. If the Messiah be considered as uttering this before his incarnation and as *Logos*, then would it be an embarrassing circumstance to explain how, in his simple *divine* nature, he could speak of “*my God*.” But if considered as a prophetic anticipation of what he would say during his incarnation, and so it clearly seems to me the writer intends it should be considered, then ὁ Θεός, or ὁ Θεός μου, accords with the usage of the Saviour in addressing the Father, as disclosed in the gospel Matt. xxvii. 46, al.

Τὸ Δέλημά σου. What this will is, see in vr. 10.

Ver. 8. Ἀνώτερον λέγων . . . εὐδόκησας, *first saying, “Sacrifice, and oblation, and whole burnt-offering, and [offering] for sin thou desirest not, nor hast pleasure in them.”* Ἀνώτερον, lit. *above*, which is equivalent here to *first*, or *in the first place*.

Αἵτινες κατὰ τὸν νόμον προσφέρονται, *which are presented according to the law*. This is a parenthetical explanation, added by the writer in order to show that the same legal sacrifices in which the Hebrews were in danger of placing their confidence, were those which must be superseded by the death of Christ.

Ver. 9. Τότε εἶρηκεν . . . τὸ Δέλημά σου, *he then says, “Lo I come to do thy will.”* We might expect εἶπων here, instead of εἶρηκεν, for the *regular* construction of the sentence would seem to require it. But here is a sentence constructed in the Hebrew manner, which not unfrequently begins with a participle in the first clause, and then uses a verb in the second, when both stand in the same relation to the sequel of the sentence, see Heb. Gramm. sect. 564. It is evident here, that ἀνώτερον λέγων, κ. τ. λ., and τότε εἶρηκε, κ. τ. λ., both bear the same relation to ἀναίρει, κ. τ. λ.; the sense of which, I may add, is rendered obscure, by the period which most editors of the Greek Testament have put before it.

‘*Ἀναίρει*’ . . . *σήμερον*, *he abolished the first*, viz., the sacrifices, etc., *that he may establish the second*, viz., the doing of the will of God, or the offering of himself as a sacrifice for sin, vr. 10. That is, ‘Doing the will of God, or obedience to him even unto death, or the offering up of his body, is represented by the Psalmist as a substitute for legal sacrifices, and as an arrangement which would supersede them.’

It is quite plain that *ἀναίρει*, κ. τ. λ., is an inference, drawn from the two declarations recited in the context immediately preceding; for *πρῶτον* certainly refers to the legal sacrifices, and *δούτερον* to the obedience of the Messiah. But the construction of the sentence, for it seems certainly to be but one sentence, is Hebraistic, as noted above, and not according to the rules of classical Greek; and it affords a notable example, how far the style of our author is from the easy, rhetorical, flowing method, of which so much has been said by late critics, and from that *Ἑλληνισμός* which even Origen ascribes to him.

Ver. 10. The writer proceeds to explain what is meant in this case by *doing the will of God*, and what is the efficacy of that obedience. ‘*Ἐν ᾧ θιλήματι* . . . *ἐφάπαξ*, *by which will expiation is made for us, by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all*. ‘*Ἐν ᾧ θιλήματι* means *by doing which will*, i. e. by whose obedience.—‘*Ἁγιασμένοι ἰσμίν*, *expiati sumus, conciliati sumus, purificati sumus*; in a classical sense it would mean, *we are consecrated*, viz., to God; see on *ἀγιάζω* under ii. 11.

The latter part of the verse leaves no doubt, that the writer meant to refer the *obedience* in question, or *the doing of the will of God*, to “obedience unto death,” to the voluntary sacrifice for sinners which the Saviour offered upon the cross; comp. Phil. ii. 8.

The whole amount of the reasoning in vs. 5—10, is this: ‘Ritual sacrifices for sin are not accepted by God, as sufficient to remove the penalty due to the moral turpitude of sin. But the obedience of the Messiah unto death, the offering of his body on the cross, is sufficient, and fully supersedes the other sacrifices.’

If all this be true, it follows of course that what the apostle had affirmed in vr. 3 is true, viz., that it is impossible for the blood of slain beasts to remove the penal consequences of sin, when considered in the light of a *spiritual* offence and as having respect to the tribunal of God.

‘*Ἐφάπαξ*, *once for all*. The idea conveyed by this is carefully repeated again here, because it concerns a point in respect to which the Hebrews would be very prone to raise objections. “You

affirm," they would naturally say, "that there is a resemblance between the sacrifice of Christ and the annual expiatory sacrifices by the high-priest. But there is evidently a great dissimilitude; for the expiation made by the high-priest was repeated *every year*; while Christ suffered *only once*. The apostle meets this difficulty by showing from various considerations, that being *once* slain as an expiatory offering was altogether sufficient to satisfy the demands of the case. Compare Heb. ix. 9—14, 25—28. x. 1—3, 10—14. Indeed Christ from the nature of the case could die but once, ix. 27, 28.

Ver. 11. Καὶ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς θυσίας, *now every priest stands performing daily service, and oftentimes presenting the same sacrifices.* The writer now pursues the confirmation of the thought introduced by the ἰσάπαξ in the preceding verse. Καί is used here, as often elsewhere, in order to designate a *transition* to an additional view of the subject which the writer is discussing. Πᾶς ἱερεὺς, every or any Levitical priest. Ἔστηκε, *stands*, denoting the attitude of those who are in waiting or attendance upon another and keep the position of *standing* both as a token of respect and as a state prepared for ready service. It is only the perfect, pluperfect, aorist 2 active, and aorist 1 passive, of the verb ἵστημι, that have the intransitive meaning *to stand*. The other tenses are transitive, and mean *to set, place, station*, etc. See Buttmann, sect. 107, II. 1. and Wahl's Lex. on the word; and compare, for a sense of the word like that above, Rev. vii. 9, 11. viii. 2.

Τὰς αὐτὰς θυσίας. The same daily sacrifices were repeated without intermission; see Num. xxviii. 2—6.

Αἱρεῖς οὐδέποτε ἁμαρτίας, *which can never remove the penalty due to sin*; comp. vs. 1—3. That ἁμαρτίας here means *penalty due to sin*, is plain; and that it may be properly so construed, no one will deny who understands the full meaning of נָצַח, תָּנִידָה, and עוֹשֶׁת.

Ver. 12. Οὗτος δὲ μίαν θυσίαν, *but this [priest] or he, having offered a sacrifice for sin of perpetual efficacy, sat down at the right hand of God.* In vr. 11, we have πᾶς ἱερεὺς, i. e. every priest of the common order, every Levitical priest; the antithesis is οὗτος, which refers to Christ, and which, if the ellipsis be supplied according to the grammatical construction of sentences, must mean οὗτος ἱερεὺς. The best copies read αὐτός, which gives *essentially* the same sense, and *honoris causa* (for so was αὐτός employed by the Greeks) is to be preferred.

Εἰς τὸ δεξιόν may be joined with θυσίαν, (so Dindorf, Valcknaer,

Knapp, Boehme, and others); or with ἐκάθισαν, (so Carpzoff, Kuinoel, and most commentators). On the whole I now prefer the latter method. The writer apparently designs an antithesis between ἵστηται καθ' ἡμέραν λειτουργῶν of vr. 11, and εἰς τὸ διηνεκές here; and so between τὰς αὐτὰς πολλάκις προσφέρων θυσίας in vr. 11, and μίαν . . . προσενέγκας here.

Ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, see on Heb. i. 3. Ἐκάθισι here is opposed to ἵστηται in the preceding verse. The latter denotes the attitude of a *servant*; the former that of a *master* or *lord*.

Ver. 13. Τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκδεχόμενος . . . ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, *thenceforth waiting until his enemies be made his footstool*. Τὸ λοιπὸν means *for the rest*, viz., of the time; therefore the idea conveyed by λοιπὸν here is *afterwards, thenceforth*. Ἐκδεχόμενος designates the attitude of *waiting* or *expecting*. The idea is, that the Messiah is seated on his throne, quietly expecting that his enemies will in due time be all subdued.

Οἱ ἰχθῆροί designates all those who are opposed to the character, doctrines, or reign of Christ. *To make them his footstool* means, thoroughly to subjugate and humble them; comp. ii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. See the origin of this phrase in the custom described in Josh. x. 24.

Ver. 14. Μιᾷ γὰρ προσφορᾷ . . . τοὺς ἀγιαζομένους, *for by one offering he has for ever perfected those for whom expiation is made*. Γὰρ here introduces a confirmation of what is said in vr. 12. Μιᾷ προσφορᾷ, viz., the offering of his own body, vr. 10. Τετέλειώκει, see on ix. 9. and x. 1. The meaning is: 'He has for ever removed the penalty due to sin, and procured for those who were exposed to it, that peace of conscience which the law could never give; comp. vs. 1—4. Ἀγιαζομένους, see on ii. 11. ix. 13. x. 10.

Ver. 15. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν . . . ἅγιον, *moreover the Holy Spirit also bears testimony to us*. Δέ, *moreover*, a continuative of the discourse, here marking the transition to a new paragraph, in which appeal is made by way of confirming what the writer had said. *The Holy Spirit* means, *the Holy Spirit* who speaks by the Scriptures; as the sequel shows, which is a quotation from the Scriptures. Ἡμῖν, *to us*, means, that the sentiment which the writer had been inculcating, the truths which he had declared, and confirmed by what the Holy Spirit says *to us*, i. e. to us and to all, in the Scriptures of truth.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ προσηγήναι, *for after he had said*, viz., had said first in order or in respect to time.

Ver. 16. Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, κ. τ. λ. See on chap. viii. 10, where is the same quotation. It is worthy of note, however, that even here, where the same passage is appealed to, the *words* are not all the same. In viii. 10, we have τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ; in x. 17, αὐτούς; in the former, διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν; in the latter, διδοὺς νόμους μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν: in the former, ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς; in the latter, ἐπὶ τῶν διανοιῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς. *Non refert verbum, sed res ipsa.* The meaning of both is the same. *De minimis non curat lex*, says civilians in construing human laws; and the maxim applies as well to the manner of diction in the Scriptures as in any other book.

With Beza, Lud. de Dieu, Storr, Boehme, Knapp, Kuinoel, and others, I now regard μετὰ τὸ προσηκέναι, κ. τ. λ. down to ἐκείνας, as protasis; and λέγει Κύριος, κ. τ. λ. as apodosis. This gives a better and more connected sense than to make the apodosis begin with vr. 17, as I did in the first edition of this work.

Ver 17. Καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, κ. τ. λ.; see on viii. 12. Καί here merely connects the clause quoted in the preceding verse from viii. 10, to the clause in vr. 17, which is quoted from viii. 12. We might say, perhaps with almost equal probability, that καί stands before λέγει implied, i. e. *he also saith*. Comp. Heb. i. 10, καί for καὶ λέγει.

Ver. 18. The writer now sums up the reason why, under the new covenant or gospel dispensation, absolute and *final* pardon is obtained. Ὅπου δὲ ἄφεςις . . . ἁμαρτίας, *now where there is remission of these, there is no more offering for sin.*

Ἄφεςις here means *spiritual pardon* or *remission*, on the part of God as judge and ruler of the world. Τούτων, i. e. τούτων ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἁνομιῶν mentioned in the preceding verse. Οὐκέτι, i. e. offering is no more needed, is no more presented.

This circumstance makes a great difference between the new covenant and the old one. Under the latter, sacrifices must be perpetually repeated; and after all, only *civil* and *ecclesiastical* pardon was to be obtained by them. Under the former, one sacrifice is sufficient, and avails to procure, for all nations and all ages, spiritual pardon or remission of the penalty threatened to be inflicted in a future world. Well might the apostle call this a *new* covenant.

CONTENTS.

The writer having gone through a comparison of the new dispensation with the old, and having shown, that whether Christ be compared with angels who were the mediators of the Mosaic law, or with Moses himself, or with the high-priest of the Hebrews, he holds a rank far above them; having also shown, that whether the temple in which he ministers be compared with that at Jerusalem, or the sacrifice which he offers be compared with those sacrifices presented by the Jewish priests, either as to its exalted nature, its spiritual efficacy in respect to procuring pardon for sin, or the duration and extent of its effects, the Mosaic institutions are nothing more than the *shadow*, of which the Christian ones are the *substance*; he now proceeds to the hortatory and admonitory part of his epistle. In this, various subjects are presented, which the circumstances of those whom he was addressing rendered it expedient to consider. All that was peculiarly attractive to the Jew in the Mosaic ritual, all that served to allure him away from his adherence to Christianity and expose him particularly to the danger of apostasy, the apostle has brought into view in the preceding part of our epistle, with a design to show, that however attractive or important these things might in themselves be, there was something still more so in the Christian religion, something of which the Jewish religion offered only a shadow or adumbration. Nothing could be more apposite, then, to the case in hand, than the argument of the apostle in the preceding part of this epistle.

The practical application which follows, is designed to excite those whom the writer addresses to constancy and perseverance in their Christian profession, to dehort them from apostasy, and to warn them against its tremendous consequences. With his warnings, however, the apostle intermingles a great deal of encouragement and promise, in order to excite in them an earnest desire to obtain the rewards which would be bestowed on all who should remain faithful to the end of their course.

He begins the hortatory part, by an appeal to the great *encouragement* which the present privileges of the Hebrew Christians afforded them, to persevere in their Christian profession.

Ver. 19. *Ἐχούρις οὖν . . . Ἰησοῦ, having then, brethren, free access to the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus.* Οὖν, then, sometimes a particle of transition and resumption of a subject that has been suspended; and so here. The writer now resumes the admonitions which it was his highest purpose to urge. Παρρησία, in its first acceptation, means *boldness of speech*, or *the liberty of speaking without restraint*. But the word is also used to designate *freedom from restraint* generally considered; which is plainly the meaning here. Παρρησίαν εἰς τὴν εἰσοδόν, lit. *freedom in respect to entrance*, i. e. free access, unrestrained liberty of approach. Ἁγίον, i. e. ἁλθινῶν, the heavenly sanctuary, or the presence of God, comp. ix. 24. Ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ denotes, the means by which this access is procured, agreeably to what has been shown in chap. vii—x; comp. particularly ix. 22—26.

Ver. 20. *Ἡν ἐνκαίνισεν . . . ζῶσαν, in a new and living way which he has consecrated.* Ὅθεν may be taken as the accusative of *manner*, and construed with κατὰ understood; or it may be considered as a repetition of εἰσοδόν and in apposition with it; which latter I prefer. Πρόσφατον means *recent*, and has reference to the way then *lately* opened by the new covenant or gospel dispensation. The way is called *new*, however, not merely because of this, but also because those who draw nigh to God in it, have liberty of access in their own persons to the mercy-seat, and there obtain par-

don by means of a sacrifice altogether different from that which was offered for worshippers by the Jewish priests.

Ζῶσαν, i. q. ζωοποιοῦσαν i. e. εἰς ζωὴν ἄγουσαν, *leading to life, conferring life or happiness*. So ζάω is often used in the New Testament. But it may mean here, *perennial, perpetual*, a frequent sense of ζάω in the Hebrew Greek; and this would be altogether congruous with the preceding context, which insists on the *perpetuity* of the sacrifice of Christ. But on the whole I prefer the former sense. So Theophylact; who assigns the following reason for the epithet ζῶσαν, viz., ὅτι ἡ πρώτη ὁδὸς θανάτηφόρος ἦν, i. e. because that any one who entered the inner veil of the temple, was punished with *death*. But here, viz., under the gospel, it is the way to *life*.

Ἐνχαίνισι, *consecrated, dedicated*. To consecrate a way, is to open it for access, to dedicate it to use. So Jesus opened the way of access for sinners to the eternal sanctuary, in which, if they go, they may obtain free access to God, and pardon for all their offences.

Διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, *through the veil, that is, his flesh*. I translate these words literally, because I am not well satisfied that I understand their meaning. The opinions of all the commentators it would be tedious, if not useless, to recite. The principal interpretation in which the most distinguished of them unite, is, that as the veil of the temple must be *removed* in order to enter the inner sanctuary, so the body of Jesus must be removed (by death), that we might have liberty of access to the sanctuary above. So Kuinoel and Bloomfield. But this is an exegesis which, while the facts to which it alludes are true, still presents a comparison incongruous at first sight; and seemingly it requires one to do violence to his imagination, in order to recognize it with any degree of satisfaction.

I could more easily acquiesce in the idea, that there is a kind of *paronomasia* here in respect to the word διὰ. The form of it may be thus expressed. ‘As the most holy place in the earthly temple, could be approached only *through* (διὰ) the veil, i. e. through the aperture which the veil covered; so the heavenly sanctuary is approached only *through* (διὰ implied) *the flesh or body of Jesus*.’ In this last case, διὰ (if employed as here supposed) would mean, *by means of, because of, on account of*, viz., by means of the body of Jesus sacrificed for sin, see vr. 10. The paronomasia would consist in using διὰ, in the first case, in the sense of *through* with respect to *place*; and in the last case, in the sense of *through* with

the signification, *by means of*. Instances could easily be accumulated, where the same word is employed in different senses in the same sentence. E. g. 'Let the *dead* (νεκρούς) bury their *dead* (νεκρούς,)' Luke ix. 60; where νεκρούς in the first case means *morally dead*, in the second, *physically dead*. So 2 Cor. v. 21, 'He hath made him to be a *sin-offering* (ἁμαρτίαν), who knew no *sin* (ἁμαρτίαν).' In like manner the apostle might say: 'As the Jews had access to the inner sanctuary of the temple διὰ καταπετάσματος, *through the veil*, so Christians have access to the heavenly sanctuary διὰ σαρκός, i. e. διὰ προσφορᾶς σαρκὸς Ἰησοῦ,' comp. vr. 10. And although I would not admit paronomasia, except in cases where there are urgent reasons for it, it seems to be more tolerable here, than the other method of interpretation suggested above, and is certainly in harmony with the *principles* of the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers.

But after all, the mind still seems to feel a want of definite satisfaction, in regard to either of the methods of interpretation above proposed. May I be allowed, in a difficulty of such a nature, to propose, at least for consideration, a third method of interpreting the expression τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ?

In John i. 14, it is said, 'The Word became flesh, σὰρξ;' to which the writer adds, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. In 1 Tim. iii. 16, we have Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, supposing the reading to be correct, (and the evidence seems to me quite in its favour, and so Dr Knapp has judged.) In Rom. i. 4, a broad distinction is made between the nature of Christ κατὰ σαρκά and his nature κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης; and in Rom. ix. 5, Christ is said to have descended from the Jewish fathers κατὰ σαρκά, while he is at the same time ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός. In Phil. ii. 6, Christ, who was ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ,——ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών. In all these, and in many more passages which might easily be added, the human nature or body of Christ, seems to be regarded as a kind of temporary tabernacle, or *veil* of the divine nature which dwelt in him. May not our author, in the verse under consideration, have had such an idea in his mind, when he wrote τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ? The idea would seem to be this, 'As the veil of the temple concealed the glory of Jehovah, in the holy of holies, from the view of men, so Christ's flesh or body screened or concealed the higher nature from our view, which dwelt within this veil, as God did of old within the veil of the temple.' If, on this account, the apostle calls Christ's flesh a *veil*, then we may easily make out the sense of the

verse before us. It would stand us: 'As God dwells behind the veil in his earthly temple, so God dwells behind the veil of Jesus's body in his spiritual temple, i. e. he is to be approached through the medium of this, or by means of this.' So the context which precedes; 'free access to the sanctuary is *ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ*.' That the writer had in his mind a design to compare the veil of the Jewish temple, as the medium between the worshipper and the visible presence of Jehovah, to the body of Christ (*σὰρξ αὐτοῦ*) as the medium of access to God, or what must interpose between God and him; and this, specially in reference to Christ's sufferings and death, seems to be, on the whole, quite clear. But which of the ways now proposed will best present this general idea, or whether any of them are sufficiently grounded to be fully admitted, is a question on which the reader must be left to judge for himself. My own apprehension on the whole is, that the occasion of calling Christ's flesh a *veil*, or of comparing it to a *veil*, lies in the views stated under the last of the above explanations; while at the same time, the actual comparison of the veil of the temple and of Christ's body, is confined to the single point that *each is a medium of access to God*. If you say, 'The comparison is, in most respects, without grounds of analogy, and the two things widely dissimilar;' my answer is, that there is as much congruity in it, as there is in the comparison between the *physical* death of Christ, in Rom. vi., and the *moral* death of believers to sin, to which the former is there compared. Indeed, between all objects of comparison, when God or Christ is one of these objects, there must of course be a *dissimilarity* that is exceedingly great in *some* respects, although there may be an analogy in some others.

In whatever light our passage is viewed, it will be conceded, that its language is far from being in that *easy* and *flowing* style which has been so often asserted of our epistle.

Ver. 21. *Καὶ ἱερεῖα . . . Θεοῦ*, i. e. *καὶ ἔχοντες ἱερεῖα*, κ. τ. λ., the participle being *implied*, which was expressed at the beginning of vr. 19; compare iv. 14. v. 10. vii. 17, 20, 26. viii. 1. 'Ἱερεῖα μέγαν is the same as *הַגָּדֹל*, *הַכֹּהֵן* *high-priest*, a Hebraism. 'Ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον τοῦ Θεοῦ, compare iii. 1—6. It designates here the *spiritual* house of God, i. e. Christians.

Ver. 22. *Προσερχώμεθα*, *let us draw nigh*, i. e. *τῷ Θεῷ*, which is implied. The manner of the expression is borrowed from approach to the most holy place in the temple, where God peculiarly dwelt.

Μετὰ ἀληθινῆς . . . πίστεως, *with a true heart, in full confidence*.

Ἀληθινῆς means, *sincere, faithful, true*, and designates sincerity of Christian profession, faithful attachment to Christianity, in opposition to an insincere or an apostatizing state of mind. Πληροφορία means a *full measure*. Πληροφορία πίστιως, means, *unwavering, undoubting faith, a fulness of faith* which leaves no room for apostasy or scepticism. How exactly this exhortation was adapted to the state of the Hebrews, it is easy to perceive.

Ἐξῆαντισμένοι πονηρᾶς, *being purified as to our hearts from a consciousness of evil*, lit. *being sprinkled as to our hearts*, etc. The expression is borrowed from the rites of the law, agreeably to which very many ceremonial purifications, as we have seen, were made by the sprinkling of blood either upon persons or utensils. This was *external*. But when the writer says here, ἐξῆαντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας, he designates *spiritual, internal* purification, and shows that he is not speaking of any *external* rites. This *internal* purification is effected by the blood of Jesus, with which Christians are figuratively said to be sprinkled. But the construction, ἐξῆαντισμένοι ἀπὸ shows that the participle ἐξῆαντισμένοι is to be taken in a secondary or metaphorical sense, i. e. *purified from, cleansed from*.

Συνιδήσιως πονηρᾶς, *a consciousness of evil, or a conscience oppressed with evil or sin*. Perhaps both senses are included; for both are characteristic of Christian sincerity and full faith, which is incompatible with a consciousness of evil designs, and which frees men from an oppressive sense of past evil, by inspiring them with the hope of pardon.

Ver. 23. Καὶ λελουμένοι καθαρῷ, *and having our bodies washed with pure water*; another expression borrowed from the frequent washings prescribed by the Levitical law for the sake of external purification; see Ex. xxix. 4. xl. 31, 32, Lev. xvi. 4. also vi. xiv. xv. et alibi. It seems to me, that here is a plain allusion to the use of water in the initiatory rite of Christian baptism. This is altogether consonant with the method of our author, who is every where comparing Christian institutions with Jewish ones. So in the case before us he says: 'The Jews were sprinkled with blood in order that they might be purified so as to have access to God; Christians are internally sprinkled, i. e. purified by the blood of Jesus. The Jews were washed with water, in order to be ceremonially purified so as to come before God; Christians have been washed by the purifying water of baptism.' So Ananias exhorts Saul to be baptized and *wash away his sins*, Acts xxii. 16. In this latter case, and in that before us, the phrase is borrowed from the

legal rite of washing for purification. In Heb. x. 23, no particular stress is to be laid on the mere external rite of *washing the body*; for the connexion shows, that the whole is designed to point out the *spiritual* qualifications of sincere Christians for access to God. But the manner of expression turns wholly upon a comparison with the Jewish rites.

On the whole, I prefer, with Kuinoel, Bloomfield, Storr, Cramer, Michaelis, and others, to join *λελουμένοι* in construction to the preceding *ἐξῆραντισμένοι, κ. τ. λ.* as the whole runs smoother, and the construction is more facile.

Κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν . . . ἐπαγγειλάμενος, let us hold fast the hope which we profess, for faithful is he who has promised. 'Ὁμολογία means *profession or confession of the Christian religion*, which is here called *ἐλπίδος*, in reference to the hopes which it occasions or inspires. The idea is: 'Let us firmly retain our profession of that religion, which fills us with hope respecting future rewards and happiness.'

Πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος, i. e. let us firmly adhere to our religion, because God, the author of those promises which it holds forth, will certainly perform them; he is faithful, i. e. true to his word, and altogether worthy of confidence in respect to his promises.

Ver. 24. *Καὶ κατανοῶμεν . . . ἑξ ἑαυτῶν, and let us bear one another in mind, so as to excite to love and good works.* *Κατανοῶμεν, consider attentively, have a regard to, think upon or bear in mind.* The writer means, that it is the duty of the Hebrews to cherish a mutual spirit of interest or concern for each other; and this, in such a way as should be the means of mutually exciting each other to more distinguished benevolence and good works. The perils to which they were exposed, rendered such advice very timely. I prefer the sense as thus given, to that adopted by Kuinoel and others, viz., *κατανοῶμεν, let us watch over others, i. e. for the sake of admonition, reproof, praise, etc.*

Ver. 25. *Μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες . . . παρακαλοῦντες, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the custom of some is, but admonishing [one another].* 'Εγκαταλείποντες is in the same construction with *κατανοῶμεν* in vr. 24, and consequently agrees with *ἡμεῖς* understood. 'Επισυναγωγὴν has been rendered *society of Christians, i. e. the church*, and the precept applied to apostasy. And although some critics of good name have patronized this interpretation, I cannot think it to be a probable one. How could the apostle refer to *apostasy* by *καθὼς ἔθος τισίν?* To absence from public worship,

or from Christian assemblies, this would very naturally apply.—*Ἐαυτῶν* relates to the first person plural here; as it does elsewhere, e. g. Rom. viii. 23. 1 Cor. xi. 31. 2 Cor. i. 9. x. 12, 14. In like manner, *παρακαλοῦντες* requires *ἀλλήλους* to be mentally supplied after it; which is expressed after *κατανοῶμεν*. That *παρακαλίω* means *to admonish*, any common lexicon will show. The whole sentence is in the usual manner of the writer, who very frequently employs *κοίνωσις* in warnings and admonitions.

Καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον . . . ἡμέραν, and this [do] so much the more, as ye see the day approaching. That is, be more earnest and constant in mutual admonition and efforts to excite each other to Christian diligence and perseverance, in proportion as the time draws near, when the judgments denounced against the Jewish nation by the Saviour will be executed. *Ἡμέραν, day*, is doubtless an elliptical expression for *ἡμέραν κυρίου, ἡμέραν τοῦ κυρίου*; a very common expression of the Hebrew writers for *a time of distress, of chastisement*, a time in which God executes the threats which have been uttered by his prophets; compare Ps. xxxvii. 13. 1 Sam. xxvi. 10. Ezek. xxi. 25. xiii. 5. Job xviii. 20. xxiv. 1. Amos v. 18. Jer. xxx. 7. Joel i. 15. Is. ii. 12. Rev. xvi. 14, et alibi. Now as Christ had foretold the destruction of the Jewish temple and nation, which could not be unknown to the Hebrew Christians, what could be more natural than for the apostle to say: ‘Brethren, do every thing in your power to guard against apostasy. And this the more, because a return to Judaism would now be very ill-timed; the season is near, when the Jewish temple and state are to be destroyed.’ All this is surely very apposite to the case in hand.

But if we should suppose, with not a few of the recent commentators, that the writer here alludes to the day when Christ should reappear and commence a visible reign on earth, (which they suppose the apostles to have believed in common with many individual Christians of early times,) then I could not perceive so much force in the apostle’s argument. It would run thus: ‘Be very strenuous in using all means to guard against defection from Christianity to Judaism; and this so much the more, because in a little time Christ will commence his visible reign on earth.’ I will not deny that the hope of reward for perseverance in Christian virtue, to be bestowed under this new order of things, might be used as an argument to dissuade from apostasy; but plainly, the argument as stated above is more cogent, and more to the writer’s purpose. How any one can be satisfied, after he has read and well considered

Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians, that this apostle believed in the *immediate* and *visible* advent of Christ, is more than I am able to see.

For these reasons I hesitate not to apply the phrase *ἡμῶν ἐγγιζουσάν*, to the time in which the Jewish state and temple were to be brought to an end; or at least to the time when the individuals addressed were to render an account to their divine Lord and Master, for the manner in which they had improved the privileges and blessings of the gospel.

Ver. 26. *Ἐκουσίως γὰρ* *Δυσία, moreover, should we voluntarily make defection from our religion, after receiving the knowledge of the truth, no more sacrifice for sin remaineth.* *Ἐκουσίως*, I apprehend, is not to be construed here with *metaphysical* exactness, but has reference to the common and acknowledged distinction in the Jewish law between the sins of *oversight* or *inadvertence* (*שְׁגָגָה*), and those of *presumption*. For the first class, see Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, 27. Num. xv. 27—29; for the second, Num. xv. 30, 31, where the presumptuous offender is described by the expression, *אִשֵּׁר יַעֲשֶׂה בְּיָדוֹ*, *who acts with a high hand*. That this is the kind of offence to which the apostle alludes, is evident; for he distinguishes it expressly from the *sin of oversight* or *inadvertence* (*שְׁגָגָה*) by saying, that it is committed after being enlightened by the gospel. *Ἐκουσίως* means then, *deliberately, with forethought, with settled intention or design*, and not by merely sudden and violent impulse or by oversight.

That *ἁμαρτανόρων*, in this case, refers to the sin of *apostasy*, is quite plain from the context and the nature of the case, as well as from the object which the writer has in view; compare xii. 1, 4. iii. 13; also *παραισίντας* in vi. 6; *ἀποσῆναι* in iii. 12; and *ἁμαρτάνειν* in Ex. xxiii. 33. Hos. xiii. 2 of the Septuagint. *Ἀληθείας*, *true doctrine*, i. e. the Gospel, Christian instruction.

Οὐκ ἔτι *Δυσία*, i. e. if you make defection from Christianity, and renounce your hope and trust in the atoning sacrifice of Christ, no other is provided or can be provided for you. No other makes real atonement for sin; this being renounced, therefore, your case is desperate. The sacrifice under the new covenant is never, like the Jewish offerings, to be repeated. Apostasy from your present religion, then, is final perdition.

Ver 27. *Φοβερὰ δέ τις* *ἐκταντῶντες*, *but a certain fearful expectation of punishment, yea, of burning indignation* [awaits us], *which will consume the adversaries.* *Κρίσις*, often means *condemnation*, and

sometimes the consequences of it, i. e. *punishment*, as here; compare James ii. 18. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Ζῆλος πυρός is equivalent to the Hebrew פִּתְּוֹן שֵׁן, Zeph. i. 18, which means *vehement displeasure, fierce flames*, i. e. severe punishment. Both ἰδοχή and ζῆλος are nominatives to ἀπολείπεται understood. Ἐσθίειν, *consume, devour, destroy*, like the Hebrew לָכַף, Deut. xxxii. 22. So Homer, Iliad XXIII. 182, πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει. Ὑπαναντίους designates all *who oppose themselves* to the character, claims, and kingdom of Christ.

Ver. 28. Ἀθιγήσας τις . . . ἀποθήσκει, *whosoever dishonoured the law of Moses, suffered death without mercy, in case there were two or three witnesses*. The meaning is not, that *every* transgression of the Mosaic law was punishable with death, but that in all the cases which were of a capital nature, death without reprieve or pardon was inflicted, where sufficient testimony could be had; see Num. xv. 30, 31. Possibly, however, the writer means here to describe only those who apostatized from the law of Moses; e. g. such as are described in Deut. xiii. 6. (comp. vs. 8—10) xviii. 20.

Ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ μάρτυσιν, see Deut. xvii. 6. xix. 15. The Hebrew עַל לְו is rendered ἐπὶ by the Seventy; and well, for ἐπὶ denotes *in case that, on the condition that*, any thing is done or happens. The meaning plainly is: 'Provided two or three witnesses testify to a crime worthy of death.'

Ver. 29. Πόσῳ, δοκιᾷτε . . . καταπατήσας; *of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be counted worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God?* Δοκιᾷτε implies an appeal, on the part of the writer, to the conscience and judgment of his hearers, who, it is taken for granted, will decide according to his own views in respect to the point in question. Ἀξιωθήσεται is applied either to desert of reward or of punishment; just as we say in English, 'The man is worthy of reward,' or 'worthy of death.'

Καταπατήσας signifies *to treat with contempt, to spurn at, to treat with contumely*. Apostasy from the Christian religion implies this; and the peculiar criminality of it is here argued, from the superior claims which Christ has, on every account, to regard and fidelity.

Καὶ τὸ αἷμα . . . ἡγιασθή, *and has regarded the blood of the covenant by which expiation has been made as unclean*. Some translate thus: *blood of the covenant by which he hath been consecrated*, i. e. to God or Christ. The explanation is then made, by regarding the mode of expression as taken from the Jewish rites. When the people of Israel renewed their covenant with God, Moses sprinkled them with blood, Heb. ix. 19, 20. Ex. xxiv. 8. This is called *the blood*

of the covenant. So under the new covenant, when Christians are consecrated to the service of Christ, and make an open profession of his religion, as the people of Israel did of theirs, they are figuratively said to be sprinkled or cleansed with the blood of Jesus; comp. Heb. ix. 14. x. 22. xiii. 20. Matt. xxvi. 27. 1 Cor. xi. 25. 1 John i. 7. 1 Pet. i. 19. Rev. i. 5. And as they enter into covenant with Christ at such a time, pledging themselves to obedience and fidelity, so the blood with which they are said to be sprinkled, is called the *blood of the covenant*. The *sense* of the expression, thus taken, is plainly *spiritual*, while the *form* of it is borrowed from the Jewish ritual.

But although this is an interpretation which makes a good sense, and is allowable on the ground of philology, yet I must prefer the one given in the translation, because it better agrees with the idiom of our epistle. Comp. ii. 11 (ἀγιάζων, κ. τ. λ.), and the remarks there made; also x. 22, 26. ix. 14.

Κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος, regarding it as *common* or *unclean*, i. e. as blood not consecrated, but like any common blood; therefore as having no consecrating or cleansing power, as not having set apart those who were sprinkled with it, for the *peculiar* service of God in the gospel, nor laid them under *peculiar* obligations to be devoted to the cause of Christ.

Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνέργειας, and *hath done despite to the spirit of grace*. 'Ενέργειας designates the idea of *treating with spite*, or *malignity*, or *contempt*; and is nearly equivalent to καταπαρήσας above. Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος means, either the *gracious Spirit*, or the *Spirit who bestows grace*, i. e. religious, spiritual favours and gifts; comp. 1 Cor. xii. 4—11. Many commentators, however, interpret πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος as meaning simply *grace* or *gospel blessings*. But this does not accord with the idiom of our epistle; compare vi. 4, where apostates are described as having been μετόχους πνεύματος ἁγίου. Still the question whether πνεῦμα here means *agent* or *influence*, is not so easily settled; for the sense is good and apposite, interpreted in either way. Bloomfield thinks that the verb ἐνέργειζω is too strong to be applied to *things*, e. g. the influences, etc., of the Spirit of God; for he translates it *insult*. But is not the translation *treat with disdain, contempt*, or *contumely* equally just? And may not this be said of those who became apostates? Still, I incline, with him, to the meaning, *Spirit of God*.

Ver. 30. This warning the apostle follows up with a quotation from Scripture, descriptive of the tremendous nature of the punish-

ment threatened. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ . . . κύριος, *for we know him who hath said, To me belongeth retribution, I will render it.* The passage is quoted from Deut. xxxii. 35, לִי נִקְמָה וְעֹשֶׁתִּי, *to me belongeth punishment and retribution.* Ἐκδίκησις, like the Hebrew נִקְמָה, literally means *vengeance, revenge.* But as this is evidently spoken of God only ἀνθρωποπάθως, the meaning is, that God does that which is analogous to what men do when they avenge themselves, i. e. he inflicts *punishment.* The idea is rendered intense by the subsequent intimation that the almighty and eternal God will inflict such punishment. Γὰρ at the beginning, stands after a sentiment implied in consequence of that which precedes, viz., [sorer punishment will be inflicted,] *for* (γὰρ) we know, etc.

Λέγει κύριος are words of the apostle, not of the Hebrew Scriptures, and are probably added here, to show the end of the quotation made, and to enforce the threatening; for in the same way the Hebrew prophets often expressed themselves when they uttered comminations, adding to them יְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ, *thus saith Jehovah.*

Καὶ πάλιν . . . λαὸν αὐτοῦ, *and again, "The Lord will judge his people."* This quotation may be either from Deut. xxxii. 36, or Ps. cxxxv. 14, both places containing the same expression. If it be from the former place, then it is on account of the clauses that intervene between the first quotation and this, that the writer says, καὶ πάλιν. If from the latter, then the reason for subjoining καὶ πάλιν, is still more evident.

The original Hebrew יִנְקָמָה, from which comes the rendering κρίνει, found in Deut. xxxii. 36. Ps. cxxxv. 14, means *shall vindicate*, viz., his people, i. e. by the punishment of their enemies. And so it may be understood here, viz., the Lord will vindicate his faithful servants by the punishment of apostates. And on the whole, as the apostle here uses λαὸν αὐτοῦ after κρίνει, I must think it more probable that κρίνει is here employed in the sense of *avenge*, i. e. the Lord will *vindicate* his people by punishing those who apostatize from them and treat them with contempt.

Ver. 31. Well may the writer add, φοβερόν . . . ζῶντος, *it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.* Ἐμπιστῆν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, (יִפְּלוּ בְּיָדָיו) here means *to be at the disposal of his vindictive power*, i. e. of his punitive justice. It is a Hebraistic mode of expression; for the classic writers say, πιστῆν ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας. Ζῶντος probably here means *ever-living*, as it commonly does elsewhere, when applied to God. This idea, moreover, augments the dreadful

nature of the punishment; which is altogether apposite to the writer's design.

Ver. 32. The writer now proceeds to enforce his admonition against apostasy, by holding up to the Hebrews encouragement to persevere, from the experience of former days, when they remained steadfast amid many trials and sufferings. Ἀναμνήσεσθε δὲ τὰς πρότερον . . . παθημάτων, *call to mind, now, former days, in which after ye were enlightened ye endured a great contest with sufferings.* That is, 'Faint not, be not discouraged at the prospect of trials. Look back to the time when ye patiently endured severer trials than ye now suffer, and still persevered. Continue to do as you have already done.' Ἡμέρας, like the Hebrew יָמִים, is often used for *time, season*, indefinitely. Φωτισθέντες refers to the illumination which they received, when the knowledge of the Christian religion was first imparted to them. What the ἀθλήσεις παθημάτων means, is explained by the verses which follow.

Ver. 33. Τοῦτο μὲν . . . διατριζόμενοι, *partly because ye were made a public spectacle both by reproaches and afflictions.* Τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δὲ correspond, and when thus related they bear the sense here given. Ὀνειδισμοῖς refers to the reproachful appellations and language, addressed to Christians by their persecutors; ὧσιν, to the various sufferings inflicted upon them by the same. In this way they were exposed to public view, διατριζόμενοι, i. e. held up to the world as persons worthy of reproach and ill-treatment, or made a spectacle to the world as sufferers of these things, and thus loaded with disgrace. The phrase διατριζόμενοι is borrowed from the exposure and punishment of criminals before the assembly convened in the theatre; which was a common practice among the Greeks and Romans. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 9.

Τοῦτο δὲ . . . γεννηθέντας, *and partly because ye were associated with those who were thus treated.* It would be difficult to find a classical example of giving to the verb ἀναστρέφομαι a *passive* sense, inasmuch as it is commonly used in the *middle* voice, and employed as a verb *neuter deponent*. We may translate it, *who were in like circumstances, qui ita se gererent*; which seems at least to be *ad sensum*. Κοινωνοί I suppose here to designate *participation by sympathy* in the sufferings of others, and contributing of one's substance to make up the losses of those who had been persecuted.

Ver. 34. Καὶ γὰρ . . . συνεπαθήσατε, *for ye did truly sympathize with my bonds.* So some manuscripts and editions, with several of

the fathers, reading *δισμοῖς μου*; which is the reading of the received text, and is preferred by Matthiae, Michaelis, Carpzoff, Noesselt, and many others; see in Bloomfield, who prefers *δισμοῖς μου*, and has given ample reasons for the preference. At least so they seem to me, on a recent examination of the subject. That the Greeks used the verb *συμπάσχομαι* in connexion with *things* as well as persons, there can be no ground to doubt; as Bloomfield has fully shown.

Καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν προσιδέξασθαι, and cheerfully endured the plundering of your own property. This was a part of the *θλίψις*, which they had suffered in former times.

Γινώσκοντες ἔχειν μένουσαν, knowing that ye have for yourselves in heaven a possession of a better and more lasting nature. 'Εαυτοῖς, *dativus commodi*; the *iv* here inserted before *ἑαυτοῖς* in some copies, seems plainly not to be genuine. 'Υπαρξιν, *any thing possessed, estate, property.* Κρείττονα, *better than earthly possessions, i. e. spiritual, heavenly, not material and earthly.* Μένουσαν, *enduring, permanent, not perishable, fleeting, temporary, like all earthly possessions.*

Ver. 35. *Μὴ ἀποβάλητε μεγάλην, cast not away then your confidence, which will obtain a great reward.* That is, act as you have formerly done, and thus gain possession of the *κρείττονα καὶ μένουσαν ὑπαρξιν*.

Ver. 36. 'Υπομονῆς γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαν, *for ye have need of patience, in order that when you have done the will of God ye may receive the promised blessing.* Γὰρ introduces a reason why they should not cast away their *παρρησία*, but still hold out to cherish it. *Patience* they needed, because of the many trials and temptations to which they were still exposed. *To do the will of God*, here, is to obey the requirement to believe and trust in Christ. 'Επαγγελίαν, *thing promised, reward proffered*; for the promise itself they had already received. 'Επαγγελίαν here, and *μισθαποδοσίαν* in vr. 35, both refer to the *ὑπαρξιν κρείττονα καὶ μένουσαν* mentioned in vr. 34, and which is there represented as promised to them in case of obedience.

Ver. 37. Ἐτι γὰρ μικρὸν χρονεῖ, *for yet a very little while, and he who is coming will come, and will not delay.* The γὰρ here refers to a clause implied, viz., [ye shall receive the promised blessing,] for, etc. Bloomfield has placed the implication farther back; I think the above method is more simple and easy. The sentiment of the verse is this: 'The Messiah (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) will speedily come, and, by destroying the Jewish power, put an end to the sufferings which your persecutors inflict upon you;' comp. Matt. xxiv. Ὅσον δσον is an intensive form of expression, which is applied either to things

great or small, like **מֵאֵד מֵאֵד**. It is employed in the like way, however, by the classic Greek authors. The whole phrase resembles that in Hab. ii. 3, **כִּי בֵּא יְבֹא לֹא יִאָּחַר**, *for it, (viz., the vision) will surely come to pass, it will not delay*. If, however, it be an actual quotation, the application of the words is different from that of the original, and the writer designed merely to use the language of the prophet to express his own ideas. In fact, the Septuagint version of the passage in Habakkuk differs slightly from the words used by the apostle. It runs thus: *ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἤξει, καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ*. It seems quite probable, considering the quotation from Hab. ii. 4, which follows, that the apostle had the Hebrew expression above quoted in his mind. But it seems equally plain, also, that he has made use of it only as the medium of expressing his own particular idea, and not as a designed quotation used according to the exact idea of the original. I have marked it as a quotation, however, in my version, because the *words* appear to be quoted.

Ver. 38. *Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται*, *the just, moreover, shall live by faith*. *Δί* copulative and *continuative*; as often. In Hab. ii. 4, it runs thus, **וְצַדִּיק בְּאַמּוּנָתוֹ יִחְיֶה**, which, if rendered according to the accents, will be, *the just by faith shall live*, i. e. the just man who has faith shall be preserved. The expression in our verse is capable of the same translation, and Dr Knapp has pointed it so as to be construed in this way. But I apprehend, after all, that this is not the meaning of either the Hebrew or Greek phrase. *Faith* is put here as the means of preservation, in opposition to *apostasy* or defection in the other part of the verse, which is the means of destruction or disapprobation. 'A persevering confidence or belief in Christ,' the writer means to say, 'will be the means of preservation, when the Lord shall come to execute his judgments upon the Jewish nation.' So the Seventy understood the phrase, which they have rendered *ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται*; as if they read **בְּאַמּוּנָתִי** instead of **בְּאַמּוּנָתוֹ**. The meaning of *ἐκ πίστεώς μου* must of course be, *by faith or confidence in me*, which expresses the condition of being saved, rather than the peculiar character of the person who is saved. I understand the expression in Hebrew and in our epistle, in a similar way. If the apostle meant to quote here, which can hardly be doubted, it is evident that he has not adhered to the text of the Septuagint.

Καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστρίλῃται . . . ἐν αὐτῷ, *also if any one draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him*. *Καὶ* is probably an elliptical expression

here, for *καὶ λέγει*, i. e. *καὶ λέγει ὁ Θεός* vel *ἡ γραφή*. The latter resembles the usage of this epistle; see i. 10. x. 17.

Ἐὰν ὑποστρίλῃται, κ. τ. λ., seems plainly to be a quotation from Hab. ii. 4. The apostle, however, has changed the order of the verse, quoting the latter part of it first, and the former part last. The original Hebrew runs thus, *הִנֵּה עֹפֶלָה לֹא יִשְׂרָה נַפְשׁוֹ בּוֹ*, *behold the scornful, his mind shall not be happy*; or, as Gesenius translates, *See! he whose soul is unbelieving, shall on this account be unhappy*. The Seventy, who have rendered the Hebrew in exact accordance with the words of our epistle, must have read *נַפְשׁוֹ* here, as they did *נַפְשׁוֹ* in the clause preceding. This is the more probable reading, but it cannot now be critically defended. We can only say, therefore, that the quotation of the apostle is, on general grounds, *ad sensum* but not *ad literam*. The sentiment of the Hebrew is, that the scorner or unbeliever of that day should be unhappy; the sentiment of the apostle, that the unbeliever, i. e. the apostate Christian who renounces his religion, should incur divine disapprobation. The same *sentiment* lies at the foundation, in both cases. Such disapprobation the last clause expresses, *οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ*, where the negative form of expression is employed, as often in sacred and also in classical writings, instead of the affirmative, i. e. he shall be an object of my displeasure.

Ver. 39. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ . . . ἀπώλειαν*, *but we are not of those who draw back to destruction*. *ὑποστολῆς* is the abstract noun, *shrinking back, timidity, withdrawing*; and, as is common, the *abstract* is here put for the *concrete*, i. e. for persons who withdraw or shrink back, viz., from their Christian profession. The consequence of such withdrawing is *ἀπώλεια*; see vs. 26, 27.

Ἀλλὰ πίστει εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς, *but of those who believe to the salvation of the soul*. *Περιποίησιν* means literally *obtaining, acquiring, possessing*. But as it is here placed in antithesis to *ἀπώλειαν*, it plainly means *saving or salvation*. *Πίστειως*, *faith, belief*, is an *abstract* noun used instead of a *concrete*, in the same manner as *ὑποστολῆς* above; i. e. we belong to those who believe to the saving of their souls.

CONTENTS.

Having mentioned *faith*, i. e. belief or confidence, as a peculiar and most important characteristic of those who persevere in the Christian religion so as to secure their salvation, the writer now proceeds, with great force and propriety, to make his appeal to the Old Testament Scriptures in order to show that *faith* or *confidence* in the divine promises has, in all ages, been the means of perseverance in true religion, and consequently of salvation. In x. 34—39, the apostle had exhorted his readers to persevere in waiting for the rewards of a future world, which he names, ὑπαρξέν ἐν οὐρανοῖς κρείττονα καὶ μίνουσιν . . . μισθοποδοσίαις μεγάλαις . . . ἐν ἰσχυρίᾳ. He now goes on to show more fully that the very nature of *faith* and the character of *believers* demand this. All *believers* in every age have done so; and the Hebrews ought to follow their example. See on the nature of the faith brought to view in this chapter, p. 166. c. seq.

CHAP. XI.

VER. 1. The general nature of *faith* is first explained. Ἔστι δὲ πίστις . . . βλεπομένων, now *faith* is *confidence* in respect to things hoped for—*evidence of things not seen*. Ὑπόστασις, *confidence, confident expectation*. Others with Chrysostom, ‘Faith gives reality or substance to things hoped for.’ The sense is good; but the shade of meaning is not exactly hit. If this were the idea of ὑπόστασις, we might expect the antithetic word to be ἀσωμάτων or ἀνύλων, *incorporeal* or *immaterial things*, instead of ἐλπιζομένων. The use of ὑπόστασις, in the sense of *confidence*, etc., belongs to the later Greek, and is frequent in the New Testament. This sense is evidently appropriate here. The writer had just been exhorting his readers not to cast away their *confidence* or *boldness*, which would insure a great reward, x. 35. If any one should object to this exhortation, that the objects of reward are all *future* and *unseen*; the reply is, that ‘the very nature of belief or faith, implies confidence in respect to objects of this kind. All the patriarchs and prophets possessed *such* faith.’ Ἐλπιζομένων means, *things future which are the objects of hope*, and not of present fruition. The things future, are the rewards which have just been mentioned above.

Ἐλεγχος, *proof, means of proving, evidence*; it also means *summary, contents; conviction, contradiction, reproof*, etc.; but these meanings are not to our purpose. Kuinoel proposes *persuasio firma*. The sense is good, but not warranted by usage. I must therefore adhere to the sense of *evidence, proof*. This last idea I have expressed in the translation. The meaning is, that faith in the divine word and promises, is equivalent to, or supplies the place of, proof or demonstration in regard to the objects of the unseen world, i. e. it satisfies the mind respecting their reality and importance, as proof or demonstration is wont to do. I have omitted the

copula, *and*, before the word in the version which corresponds to ἰσχυρός, because the author has omitted it, and it is not necessary in order to render the version intelligible.

That the faith here brought to view, and adverted to through chap. xi., is not specifically what some theologians call *saving faith*, viz., faith in Christ in an *appropriate* and *limited* sense, is evident from the nature of the examples which are subjoined by the writer; e. g. vs. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, etc. In this chapter, faith is *belief* or *confidence* generally in divine declarations, of whatever nature they may be; for it does not always have respect even to *promises*, or to the *future*; e. g. vr. 3. Now the same confidence in what God declares, respecting subjects of such a nature as are brought to view in this chapter, would lead the person who exercises it to confide in all which God might declare respecting the Messiah; and consequently, to belief in Christ. It is then called by theologians, *saving faith*. But it should be remembered, that this is only a convenient *technical* phrase of modern theology; not one employed by the sacred writers. The true and essential nature of faith, is *confidence in God, belief in his declarations*; and whether this be exercised by believing in the Scripture account of the creation of the world; or, as Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, and others, exercised it, in respect to specific objects; or by believing on the Messiah; it is evidently *the same disposition of mind* in all cases. It is *confidence in God*. It is therefore with perfect propriety, that our author here excites the Hebrews to persevere in their Christian faith, by various examples which exhibit the power of faith in the ancient worthies, as a principle of pious and virtuous belief and action.

Ver. 2. Ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ . . . πιστεύουσιν, *for by this were the ancients commended*. Μαγνέω not unfrequently means *to applaud, praise, commend, openly signify approbation*; see Wahl's Lex. No. 2. This is evidently the sense of the word here. The γὰρ here is γὰρ illustrantis et confirmantis. It is as much as to say: [It is so], *for* the ancients, etc.

Ver. 3. Πίστιν νοοῦμεν . . . γιγνόναι, *by faith we perceive that the worlds were formed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made from those which appear*. Πίστιν, *confidence in the account which the Scriptures, viz., Gen. i., give of the creation*. It is confidence in *God*, too; for there could be no other witness of what was then done; at least there could be none of the human race. Νοοῦμεν, *we perceive, apprehend, attain to the apprehension of*.

καταρτίσθαι, *ordinare, disponere*, not simply to create or bring into being, but also *to fit, prepare, form*, i. e. reduce to form and order. Αἰῶνας, *the world*; see on Heb. i. 2, in respect to the plural use of this word. That αἰῶνας in this case cannot mean *seculum* or *ævum*, is sufficiently plain; for in what tolerable sense could the writer say, that *seculum* or *ævum* was not made ἐκ φαινομένων, i. q. was made ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων, i. e. *out of nothing*? That the assertion in the *negative* form, is of the same import as if it were of the positive form, might be easily shown by appeal to a multitude of the like cases of λήθη in the Scriptures. ‘John confessed, and *denied not*, but confessed,’ John i. 20; where οὐκ ἡγήσατο plainly conveys the same idea as ὁμολόγησε. As to classical usage, the commentary on the next clause may be consulted. In what sense, too, could *seculum* or *ævum* be called βλεπόμενα? This word means, *objects visible to the sight* or *palpable to the senses*, i. e. material objects. Φαινόμενα means the same thing; there being no more difference between the two words in Greek, as characterizing objects, than there is between *seen* and *apparent* in English. The assertion of the writer then is, that ‘visible objects, i. e. the visible creation, did not spring from objects that were apparent,’ i. e. that the visible creation was not made out of matter before existing; which is the same as to say, that the world was created or brought into existence by the word of God simply, and was not a mere reducing to order materials that before existed; see on the succeeding clause of the verse, in the sequel. At all events, the idea of a *seculum* or *ævum* ‘being framed (καταρτίσθαι) by the word of God,’ presents an incongruity of which no example can be found in the sacred writers. Equally incongruous would ἐποίησε τοὺς αἰῶνας in i. 2 be, if αἰών were to be rendered *seculum*. ‘Ῥήματι Θεοῦ, *by the command of God*; compare Gen. i. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 46. Ps. xxxiii. 6. 2 Pet. iii. 5.

Εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλεπόμενα γεγονέναι, a controverted and somewhat difficult expression. If we construe it as the text now stands, the μὴ must naturally be joined with γεγονέναι, and it must be rendered, *so that things visible were not made of things which do appear*. Accordingly Pierce insists on this construction, and maintains that the sense is, ‘So that things visible might appear not to have been made of things apparent, i. e. out of pre-existing matter.’

Those who adopt a different construction of the passage maintain, that εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων may be translated, as if it were written εἰς τὸ ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων. That such a metathesis of the negative μὴ, or of its equivalent οὐ, οὐκ, is allowable, or at least that

it is not uncommon, they endeavour to show by appealing to examples; e. g. 2 Macc. vii. 28, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός, which plainly means, 'God made them [heaven and earth] from things that do not exist,' i. e. out of nothing. So Arrian, de Exp. Alex. VII, 23, "These things I do not blame, unless that οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο, *he was too much occupied with small matters:*" where οὐκ seems to qualify μεγάλοις. Plutarch, Pædagogium, IX. 15, "I should say that promptitude of speaking on any matter is not to be altogether disapproved; nor, on the other hand, ταύτην οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀξίοις ἀσκεῖν, *is it to be practised in respect to trifling subjects.*" So the Greek οὐκ ἔφη εἶναι, *he said he would not come.* Arrian, Anab. I. 5, 4, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριάτας, *he said that the Autariatæ were not to be put into the account.* Polyb. p. 1331, τοὺς μὴ φάσκοντας ἀπολύειν, *saying that they were not to be absolved.* If the examples where φημί is used, be abstracted from the others, there are still a sufficient number, they aver, to show that a metathesis of the negative particle μή, is not without parallels.

Chrysostom also transposed μή here, and found no difficulty in it. He paraphrases it thus, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός· ἐκ τῶν μὴ φαινομένων, τὰ φαινόμενα· ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὑφιστάτων, τὰ ὑφιστάτα. So the Vulgate, Erasmus, Luther, Wolfius, and the most of the later interpreters.

That the metathesis of μή in this case, so as to construe it in connexion with φαινομένων, may be admissible, there can indeed be but little doubt. Yet after all, it is unnecessary; for the phrase has the same meaning, when translated agreeably to its present arrangement, if the nature of such a λυτότης be well understood. There is no need of understanding the examples cited from the classics in a different way. And indeed, take them which way we will, (either by way of metathesis in respect to the οὐκ or μή, or of joining the negative with the verb or participle that follows,) the sense, all must admit, is plain, and is substantially one and the same. These examples, it must also be admitted, cast sufficient light upon the sense of the passage Heb. xi. 3, so as to require no hesitation about admitting a meaning so well supported by parallel examples, and which indeed the context seems to demand.

We may also compare phraseology of a like nature, to be found in other parts of Paul's writings. In Rom. iv. 17, he says, "God restores the dead to life, and calls τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα," i. e. summons [to fulfill his own purposes] things that do not exist, as though they

did exist. In like manner, Philo, in Lib. de Creat. Mundi, p. 728. says, τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ εἶναι, *things which existed not, God called into existence*. That μὴ φαινόμενων is equivalent to μὴ ὄντων, needs not to be formally proved. So in Hebrew, נִצְּחָן *quod invenitur*, is a customary expression for *ens* or *existens*; and נִצְּחָן לֹא, for *res non existens, nihilum*.

On the whole, then, we must regard the phrase in question as equivalent to the expression in our language, 'The visible creation was formed from nothing,' i. e. it came into existence by the command of God, and was not formed out of any pre-existing materials. *Deus ex nihilo mundum fecit*, conveys the same idea. Such a phrase does not mean, that *nothing* was the *material*, so to speak, out of which the world was constructed, for there would be no sense in this; but it merely denies that any such *material* existed. This entirely agrees with the preceding clause of the text, which asserts that the command of God brought the universe into existence; and this is altogether confirmed by Gen. i. Here Moses represents, in vr. 1, the heavens and earth as first brought into existence by divine power, and afterwards as *formed* and *arranged* into their present order; compare Gen. i. 1, with Gen. i. 2, and the sequel of the chapter. In fact, if the *manner* of assertion in our text be strictly scanned, it will be found to be more exact and philosophical than the Latin *ex nihilo Deus mundum fecit*, or the English *God made the world out of nothing*. Each of these phrases presents the *seeming* incongruity of asserting that *nothing* was the *material* out of which the world was made. But our author is more strictly conformed to philosophical propriety, when he says, 'Things visible were not made out of things that are visible,' i. e. the visible creation was brought into existence by the word or command of God simply, and was not formed or fitted up out of any pre-existing materials. Exactly so do we find the assertion in 2 Macc. vii. 28, οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός, *God did not make them* [heaven and earth] *out of things existing*, i. e. he strictly created them.

Well may it be suggested, that faith in the *divine* word was requisite to believe this; inasmuch as Thales, Plato, Aristotle, and other eminent philosophers, who followed not the *divine* word, indulged in speculations about the creation of the world, which were either very visionary, or quite different from the view which Moses has given.

Ver. 4. Πίστει πλείονα τῷ Θεῷ, *by faith Abel offered to God a better sacrifice than Cain*. Πλείονα, *better, more excellent*; so fre-

quently, e. g. Matt. vi. 25. Luke xii. 23. Matt. xii. 41, 45. Mark xii. 33. Luke xi. 31. Heb. iii. 3. Rev. ii. 19. On what account the sacrifice of Abel was more acceptable, commentators have speculated much, and assigned a great variety of causes. But it may be asked: Does not our text contain a solution of this question? Abel made his offering *in faith*: the implication is that Cain did not, and therefore it was not accepted.

Δι' ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη Θεοῦ, *on account of which [faith] he was commended as righteous, God himself commending his oblations.* How this was done, is not said in Gen. iv. 4. But most probably it was by fire sent from heaven, which consumed the sacrifice; compare Gen. xv. 17. Lev. ix. 24. Judg. vi. 21. 1 Chron. xxi. 26. xxvii. 1. 1 K. xviii. 38. The appellation δίκαιος is given to Abel, in Matt. xxiii. 35. 1 John iii. 12.

Καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖ, *and by it, though dead, he continues to speak.* Δι' αὐτῆς, viz., by his faith. Λαλεῖ and λαλεῖται are both supported by good authorities. The former is preferred by Grotius, Hammond, Schmidt, Valkenaer, Michaelis, Storr, Rosenmueller, Bengel, Griesbach, Knapp, Schulz, Schott, etc.; the latter by Wetstein, Matthiæ, Henrichs, Tittmann, etc., and has the numerical majority of manuscripts, versions, and editions, in its favour. Where the balance of authority is on the whole nearly equal, I cannot well hesitate to prefer λαλεῖ to λαλεῖται. The sense of the latter would be equivalent to μαρτυρεῖται, sc. *laudatur, is commended.* But this idea has been twice suggested before in the same verse, by μαρτυρεῖται and μαρτυροῦντος Θεοῦ. It is hardly probable that it would be a third time repeated. But λαλεῖ, I apprehend, has reference to Gen. iv. 10, where the 'voice of Abel's blood is said to cry to God from the ground.' In Heb. xii. 14 also, our author represents the blood of Christ and of Abel as *speaking*, λαλοῦντι. The *form* of expression only, in our verse, seems to be borrowed from the thought in Gen. iv. 10; for here it is the *faith* of Abel which makes him speak after his death, viz., he speaks by his faith to those who should come after him, exhorting and encouraging them to follow his example. In other words, his example of faith affords admonition and instruction to succeeding ages.

Ver. 5. Πίστις Ἐνώχ ὁ Θεός, *by faith Enoch was translated that he might not see death, and he was not found, because God had translated him.* Τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν is equivalent here to εἰς τὸ μὴ ἰδεῖν or διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰδεῖν. The Hebrew has עָלָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת עֵנֹךְ, *God took him*, where our author uses μετέθεκε. The original in Gen. v. 24 says nothing

respecting the point, whether Enoch was translated alive or after death. *Kal οὐχ ἐγγίστατο* is the Septuagint version of the Hebrew אֵינֶנִּי, *he was not*, sc. he was no more among men; like to the expression of Livy, I. 16, respecting Romulus, “Nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit.” The idea in the Hebrew and Greek, is for substance the same; for *οὐχ ἐγγίστατο* means, *he was no more to be met with, he was no more extant* (אֵינֶנִּי לִפְנֵי), *among men*. But all the Targumists, viz., Onkelos, Jonathan, and the author of the Jerusalem Targum, understand Enoch to have been translated without dying. So the Comment. Bereschith Rabba, parasch. 25. f. 28. So, probably, the Son of Sirach, xlix. 14. I may add, that this is a very natural deduction from the brief notice of Enoch’s translation in Gen. v. 24. *Early* death is commonly represented, in the Old Testament, as the punishment of sin; and that “the wicked should not live out half their days,” was the persuasion of most good men in ancient times. If then Enoch died before translation, how could his removal to another world have been regarded as an evidence of his extraordinary piety? The texts to which Dindorf has appealed, in his notes added to the commentary of Ernesti, are very far from supporting the position, that the ancient Jews regarded premature death as a testimony of heaven in *favour* of him who was the subject of it. Nor is there any need of Rosenmueller’s concession here, viz., that the apostle, in his account of Enoch’s removal, has accommodated himself to the Jewish traditional opinions. It may indeed be, that a tradition existed among the Jews, that Enoch “did not see death.” But that this was founded in *fact*, seems to be plainly deducible from the manner of the narration in the Hebrew, and from the state of opinion in ancient times respecting *early* death.

Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς . . . τῷ Θεῷ, *for before his translation he is commended, as having pleased God*. The Hebrew says, וַיִּתְּהֵלֶךְ עֵנוֹךְ אֶת־יְהוָה, *and Enoch walked with God*, which denotes a state of communion and friendship with God, and implies of course, a complacency in the divine mind with respect to him. The apostle, therefore, appeals to the *sense* of the Scriptures in this case, and not to the *words*. Nor does he mean to say, that the testimony respecting Enoch’s pleasing God was given before his translation; but that the testimony given in the divine word, respects his having pleased God before his translation. *Εὐαρεστία* governs the dative. The *γὰρ* at the beginning of the phrase, introduces a clause designed

to show that Enoch must have acted under the influence of faith; he could not *hav pleased God* without it.

Ver. 6. The writer now suggests the grounds on which he builds the conclusion, that Enoch was translated on account of his *faith*; viz., *χωρὶς δὲ πίστεως . . . εὐαριστῆσαι, but without faith it is impossible to please [him]*. The truth of this he rests upon his own declaration, and the common opinion on this subject which he expects all his readers to entertain.

Πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ . . . γίνεσθαι, for he who cometh to God must believe that he exists, and that he will reward those who seek him. Γὰρ here introduces a clause which confirms the necessity of faith in an acceptable worshipper. *Προσερχόμενον τῷ Θεῷ* designates *him who worships God, Dei cultorem*; see vii. 25. The phraseology is probably derived from going up to the temple to worship, in the sanctuary where God dwelt by his peculiar presence. Some have understood the phrase as referring to an approach to God in the invisible world, i. e. in heaven; but the idea here is like that expressed by the Hebrew phrases, *going to God, returning to him*, etc., which usually denote approach in the present world to his spiritual presence.

Τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτόν, comp. the Hebrew *בְּקֶשׂ אֱלֹהִים, דְּרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים*, which are employed to designate the worship and prayers of those who are piously devoted to the service of God.

The two truths, fundamental to all that can properly be called religion, are here adverted to. The first is, a belief that God exists; the second, that he is the moral governor of the universe, i. e. that he rewards those who are pious, and consequently punishes those who are not so. He who denies these, denies all that sanctions religion, and makes it binding upon the consciences of men.

Ver. 7. *Πίστει . . . οἴκου αὐτοῦ, by faith Noah, being divinely admonished respecting things not yet apparent, with reverence prepared an ark for the safety of his household.* *Χρηματισθείς*, comp. viii. 5 and Gen. vi. 13, 14. vii. 1—5. *Μηδέπω βλεπομένων* i. e. the future flood, no signs of which were as yet visible. The choice of expression, however, seems evidently to have been dictated by the *οὐ βλεπομένων*, in vr. 1. *Εὐλαβηθείς* may be taken in the sense of *fearing*, viz., fearing the destruction which was coming, or it may be understood of the *reverence* which he paid to the divine admonition. I have translated it as bearing the latter sense, since this makes most directly for the apostle's object, which is to exhibit the faith which Noah exercised with regard to the divine warning.

Εἰς σωτηρίαν, *for the saving or safety*. It is often applied to temporal security or deliverance, like the Hebrew יְצִיאָה.

Δι' ἧς κατέκρινε κληρονόμος,, *by which [faith] he condemned the world, and obtained the justification which is by faith*, 'H; I refer to πίστειως, as do Sykes, Heinrichs, Dindorf, Kuinoel, Bloomfield, and others. Κόσμον means *wicked men, men of a mere worldly spirit*; often so in the New Testament. Noah *condemned* these by an example of faith in the divine warnings, while the world around him remained impenitent and unbelieving. In other words, his conduct condemned theirs.

Ἐγένετο κληρονόμος, i. q. ἐκκληρονόμησι, i. e. *obtained, acquired, became possessor of*. So Abraham is, in like manner, said to be justified by *faith* or *belief*, Rom. iv., viz., belief in the promise of God respecting a future seed. On account of Noah's *faith* he was counted רַ'יָּצ, δίκαιος, comp. vr. 4 above, or he was regarded or treated as δίκαιος.

From this verse, then, we may conclude that faith may be of a justifying nature, i. e. such as is connected with the justification or pardon of the individual who exercises it, without being specifically directed to Christ as its object; for here, the object of Noah's faith was, the divine admonitions and comminations in regard to the flood. This only serves to show that faith, in its *generic* nature, has been the same in every age; and that it is essentially *a practical belief in divine declarations*.

Ver. 8. Πίστι καλούμενος κληρονομίαν, *by faith Abraham obeyed, when called to go forth unto the place which he was to receive for a possession*; see Gen. xii. 1—4. Καλούμενος, *summoned, invited, bid*. Ἐξελθεῖν, viz., from his own country and kindred, Gen. xii. 1. Τόπον refers to *the land of Canaan, Palestine*, the future possession of which was promised to him. His *faith* in this case was manifested by believing in this promise.

Καὶ ἐξῆλθε ἔρχεται, *yea, he went forth not knowing whither he was going*. In καὶ ἐξῆλθε intensity is added by the καί to the phrase that follows; I have translated it accordingly. The meaning is, 'he even went out, ignorant of the place to which he was going; which serves to give a higher idea of the strength of Abraham's faith, than if we should suppose him to be well informed respecting the land of Canaan before he went to it.

Ver. 9. Πίστι παρῴκησιν ἄλλοτριαν, *by faith he sojourned in the land of promise, while it belonged to strangers*. Πίστι, *by faith* he did this, i. e. by confidence in the promises which God had made

respecting the future possession of this land and respecting his offspring, he was moved to sojourn in Canaan while it belonged to foreigners. *Εἰς γῆν* for *ἐν γῇ*. Such a use of *εἰς* with the accusative before a noun of place in which one is represented as dwelling, is not unfrequent in the New Testament. See *εἰς* in Brettsch. Lex. 5 c. The idiom is found even in the classics. *Ὡς* before *ἀλλοτριῶν* makes the predicate *ἀλλοτριῶν* more emphatic. In sense the phrase differs not materially from *οὐκ ἰδίαν*.

· *Ἐν σκηναῖς κατοικήσας αὐτῆς*, *dwelling in tents, together with Isaac and Jacob who were likewise heirs of the same promise*. That is, the promise was made to Abraham and his seed. What was not fulfilled in *him*, was to have its accomplishment in *them*. Hence *συγκληρονόμων*, *fellow-heirs, joint-possessors*, viz., with Abraham; the same promise being made to them as to him, respecting the land of Canaan and their future posterity.

Ver. 10. *Ἐξιδίχεται γὰρ θεός*, *for he expected a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God*. *Θεμελίους ἔχουσιν*, *firmly built, well founded*. The plural, *θεμελίους*, augments the idea of firmness of construction. *δημιουργός* means, originally, *one who labours for the public good*, from *δήμιος*, *publicus*, *ad populum pertinens*, and *ἔργον opus*. Hence, secondarily, it is transferred to designate *a labourer or artificer* of any kind. It is often applied by the heathen writers to designate the Divinity; and by Philo, Josephus, and the Christian fathers, it is employed as an epithet of the true God. Here, however, it is used as nearly a synonyme of *τεχνίτης*; the latter conveying the idea of *a builder skilled in the rules of his art*, but *δημιουργός* meaning more simply, *maker, builder, fabricator*.

The meaning of the whole verse most evidently is, that Abraham looked for a permanent abode in the heavenly country, i. e. his hopes and expectations were placed upon the world to come. It was faith in this which was *ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων*, and which moved him to obey the commands of God, and to do and suffer whatever he required. The fact, then, that saints under the Old Testament were moved, in their conduct, by considerations that had respect to the invisible world or an immortal state of existence, is plainly implied here by the reasoning of the apostle. See vs. 14, 16.

Ver. 11. *πίστι καὶ αὐτῇ ἑλᾶς*, *by faith, also, Sarah herself received the power of conception*. *Πίστι*, *by faith*; how, or when? For when God announced to Abraham that he should have a son by Sarah, Gen. xviii. 10, she seems to have been in a state of unbelief, Gen. xviii. 12. But although it is true that Sarah laughed

on that occasion, and it must be admitted that this was occasioned partly by her incredulity, as Gen. xviii. 13—15 shows; yet the same thing is affirmed of Abraham, Gen. xvii. 17. The truth seems to be, that the first annunciation that a child would spring from them, occasioned both in his and Sarah's mind a feeling of incongruity, or of impossibility that the course of nature should be so reversed. Subsequent consideration brought both to a full belief in the reality of the promised future blessing. The history of this is not expressly given in Genesis with respect to Sarah, but it is implied.

Καὶ αὐτὴ Σάρρα, Sarah herself also. *Καὶ αὐτή*, in this case, refers particularly to the fact that Sarah was barren, Gen. xvi. 1, and that she was far advanced in old age, Gen. xviii. 11. The meaning is, that faith gave even to Sarah, unpromising as her condition was in respect to offspring, the power of conception, i. e. by faith she obtained this blessing. *Εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος*, words tortured to the disgust of every delicate reader, by some of the critics. Even Wahl says, "she received strength *εἰς το δέχεσθαι σπέρμα καταβεβλημένον*, i. e. by Abraham, *εἰς τὴν μήτραν*." Did this need any *supernatural* strength? I construe the phrase very differently. *Καταβολήν* means *foundation, commencement, beginning*. Now what is the foundation or commencement *σπέρματος*, of offspring or progeny? Conception. The true idea of the phrase, then, appears to be fully given by the version above. In this view of the phrase, I observe, Dr Schulz concurs, rendering *δύναμιν εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος* by *das Vermögen zur Empfaengniss, the power of conception*. Bretschneider translates: *Prolem facere, foetum edere*, which does not essentially differ.

Καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν . . . ἐπαγγειλάμενον, and this beyond the usual time of life, inasmuch as she regarded him as faithful who had promised. *Καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν*, see Gen. xviii. 11. *Ἐπεὶ πιστὸν, κ. τ. λ.*, which shows that the apostle considered it as quite certain, that Sarah, like her husband, did come to full confidence in the divine promise.

Ver. 12. *Διὸ καὶ ἀφ' ἑνὸς . . . πλήθει, wherefore even from one who was dead as to such things, there sprang [a seed] like the stars of heaven for multitude.* *Διὸ*, on account of which faith, viz., faith of Sarah, or perhaps of Abraham and Sarah. *Καὶ ἀφ' ἑνός*, even from a single individual, is a designed antithesis to the *multitude* who are afterwards mentioned; consequently it heightens the description. *Καὶ ταῦτα νενεκρωμένου* means, *incapable* [according to the ordinary laws of nature] *of procreation*; *καὶ . . . νενεκρωμένου*, i. e. not only one individual, but *one even dead*; see the same description in Rom.

iv. 19. Ταῦτα is governed by κατὰ understood. Καθὼς τὰ ἄστρα, κ. τ. λ., that is, a very great number; comp. Gen. xv. 5. xxii. 17.

Καὶ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος . . . ἀναρίθμητος, *and like the sand upon the shore of the sea, which cannot be numbered*, i. e. an exceedingly great multitude. Χεῖλος θαλάσσης, lit. *lip of the sea*, which means the *shore*. So the word is used by profane Greek writers also; as *labium* is by the Latin ones. So the Hebrew פֶּשֶׁץ, Gen. xxii. 17; which compare.

Ver. 13. Κατὰ πίστιν . . . ἐπαγγελίας, *these all died in faith, not having received the blessings promised*. Οὗτοι πάντες—who? Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Sarah, mentioned in vs. 8—12; for οὗτοι cannot well be here extended to all who are mentioned in the preceding part of the chapter, because the “promised blessings” here named, are those which were assured to the Hebrew patriarchs.—Ἐπαγγελίας, not *promises*, for these they had received, but *blessings promised*, according to the idiom of this epistle. What were these blessings, *heavenly or earthly*? The sequel will answer this question.

Ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν . . . γῆς, *but seeing them afar off, and joyfully anticipating them, they openly professed themselves to be strangers and sojourners on the earth*. The application of this whole verse to the expectation of the future possession of Canaan, and of a numerous progeny, would be admissible, were it not for the sequel, vs. 14—16, which plainly forbids such an application. In addition to the faith of Abraham and other patriarchs, in the promises of God which had respect to temporal blessings, I understand the apostle as here asserting, that those ancient worthies also exercised confidence in God’s word respecting the blessings of the invisible world; i. e. theirs was ὑπόστασις ἐλπιζομένων . . . οὐ βλεπομένων. Those things which are invisible to the corporeal eye, they saw with the eye of faith; and seeing them, *they hailed them with joy*, (ἀσπασάμενοι), *welcomed them, greeted them, or anticipated them with gladness*, as we joyfully greet or anticipate the approach of a beloved friend or of some distinguished favour. And, looking forward to them as their chief source of happiness, *they openly declared themselves to be only strangers and sojourners in the present world*. That γῆς by itself might refer to the *land of Canaan*, is plain enough; but that it does so refer here, is rendered quite improbable by the sequel. The idea is plainly more general. Παρεπίδημος means *a temporary resident among any people*, i. e. a sojourner.

Ver. 14. Οἱ γὰρ τοιαῦτα . . . ἐπιζητοῦσι, *now they who thus profess,*

show that they are yet seeking for a country. Ταῦτα λέγοντες, viz., saying or professing that they were strangers and sojourners in the earth. Πατρίδα, a fixed or permanent place of residence, i. q. πόλιν μένουσαν, xiii. 14, or πόλιν θεμελίου ἔχουσαν in vr. 10 above. That this πατρίς was not of an earthly nature, the writer proceeds to show.

Ver. 15. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκείνης . . . ἀνακάμψαι, for had they cherished the memory of that [country] from which they came, they had opportunity of returning [thither]. That is, if their native country on earth, πατρίς, had been an object of affectionate desire, they might have easily returned thither and dwelt there. But this they did not; for,

Ver. 16. Νῦν δὲ ἐρέγονται . . . ἐπουρανίου, but now they were desirous of a better [country], that is, of a heavenly one. Νῦν, i. e. while they were strangers and sojourners, during the time then present.—The explanation of the writer, in respect to the country which the patriarchs sought, is so plain, that nothing can add to its perspicuity.

Διὸ οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται . . . πόλιν, wherefore God is not ashamed of them, [nor] to be called their God; for he hath prepared a city for them. Διὸ, wherefore, viz., because of the faith which they reposed in the promises of God respecting future happiness, or in regard to a πόλιν ἐπουράνιον or μένουσαν. To be their God means, to be their protector, rewarder, benefactor; comp. Rom. iii. 29. Rev. xxi. 3, 7. Ex. iii. 6. Zech. viii. 8. Gen. xv. 1. Ἡτοίμασι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πόλιν, i. e. he will reward them, for he has in fact prepared a πόλιν [sc. ἐπουράνιον] for them. By ellipsis, οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται is omitted before θεὸς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι αὐτῶν.

Ver. 17. Πίστι προσεήνοχεν . . . πειραζόμενος, by faith Abraham, when tried, made an offering of Isaac. Προσεήνοχε, made an offering of; for the act on the part of Abraham was essentially done, when he had fully resolved to do it, and was proceeding to the complete execution of it, Gen. xxii. 1—10. Πειραζόμενος, like the Hebrew **נִסָּה**, means, either to put to trial, or to tempt, i. e. solicit to sin.—Which of these senses the word must bear in any particular passage, depends on the character of the agent who occasions the trial or temptation, and the objects which he has in view. Beyond all question, **נִסָּה** in Gen. xxii. 1 and πειραζόμενος in our verse, are to be understood in the sense of trial; for God is the agent, and “he tempts no man,” i. e. solicits none to sin, James i. 13.

Καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ . . . ἀναδεξάμενος, yea, he who had received the

promises, made an offering of his only son; Gen. xxii. 2. This clause is designed to augment the force of the description of Abraham's case. It was not simply, that Abraham in circumstances common to others, i. e. surrounded by several children and without any special promises, made the offering in question; but Abraham did this, to whom God had repeatedly made promises of a numerous progeny; and it was Abraham's *only son*, i. e. only son of promise, who was the offering which he stood ready to make.

Ver. 18. Πρὸς ὃν . . . στίγμα, *unto whom it had been said, After Isaac shall thy seed be named.* Πρὸς ὃν, *unto whom*, and so very frequently; e. g. Matt. iii. 15. Mark iv. 41. Luke xiv. 25, et alibi. The Hebrew in Gen. xxi. 12, is בְּיִצְחָק יִקְרָא לְךָ זָרַע, which means literally, *thy seed shall be named after Isaac*, i. e. thy seed, viz., the seed which is *promised* to thee, must descend only from Isaac.—Neither Ishmael, nor the sons of Abraham by Keturah, could be progenitors of the *promised* offspring, and give name to them. The Septuagint and apostle have rendered the Hebrew preposition בְּ in יִצְחָק, by *in*; which may be rendered *in* with a good sense; viz., *in Isaac shall there be* [so יִקְרָא is often used in Hebrew] *a seed to thee.* The sense may be given more intelligibly by another version, viz., *by Isaac shall there be a seed to thee.* This is a third circumstance added, in order to augment the impression of the reader respecting the faith of Abraham. This patriarch to whom promises had been made, not only offered up his only son born of Sarah his beloved wife, but his only son on whom all the promises of God respecting his future progeny were suspended.

Ver. 19. Λογισάμενος ὅτι καὶ . . . θύς, *counting that God was able to raise him even from the dead*; i. e. he believed, that in case Isaac should be actually slain and consumed as a burnt-offering, God could and would raise him up from the dead, so that the promise made to him would be fulfilled. This was indeed a signal example of the strength of faith, and it deserves the commendation which the apostle bestows upon it.

There are not wanting, however, critics of the present time, who attribute this whole transaction of Abraham to his superstition, or to his heathenish views of sacrifice, or to a dream which he erroneously considered as a divine admonition. And in regard to the interposition from heaven which prevented his resolution from being executed, they aver, that the accidental discovery of a ram, caught by the horns in a thicket, was interpreted by the superstitious patriarch as a divine admonition to refrain from proceeding with

his design. How different all this is from the views of the author who wrote Gen. xxii., of Paul in Rom. iv., and of the writer of our epistle, need not be insisted on to any one, who does not make his own conceptions about the subject of religion and miracles, the standard by which the sacred writers are to be tried.

Ὅθεν αὐτὸν . . . ἐχομίσαστο, *whence, comparatively, he obtained him; or whence, as it were, he did obtain him.* It would occupy much room even to glance at the variety of interpretations, which have been put on this somewhat difficult phrase. Instead of this, I will simply state those which appear to me to be the most probable.

The first is this; viz., Paul, speaking of the procreation of Isaac in Rom. iv., mentions Abraham as then νεκρωμένον, and the νέκρωσιν τῆς μητρός of Sarah. In vr. 12 above, the same apostle speaks of Abraham as νεκρωμένον, and his description of Sarah in vr. 11 implies the same thing. Now as Isaac sprang from Abraham and Sarah, both κατὰ ταῦτα νεκρωμένοι, what is more natural than to suppose that in our verse this fact is adverted to? The sentiment seems to be this: 'Abraham believed that God could raise Isaac from the dead, because he had, as it were, obtained him from the dead,' i. e. he was born of those who κατὰ ταῦτα νεκροὶ ἦσαν. Then the whole presents one consistent and apposite sentiment. Abraham believed God could raise his son from the dead. Why? He had good reason to conclude so, for God had already done *what was equivalent to this, or like this*; he had done this ἐν παραβολῇ, *in a comparative manner*, i. e. in a manner that would compare with raising from the dead, or which was a significant emblem of raising from the dead, when he brought about his birth from those who were dead as to the power of procreation. Παραβολή means *comparison, similitude*; ἐν παραβολῇ, *comparatively, in like manner, with similitude, as it were.* It may be made a question, whether ἐχομίσαστο refers to Abraham's having *obtained* Isaac from the altar of burnt-offering, where he was as it were dead; or whether the word refers to Abraham's having *originally* obtained him, viz., at his birth. It may be applied to either; but the latter application seems to be more significant. In this way Hammond, Whitby, Newcome, Schulz, and others, explain the passage.

Another explanation is that of Calvin, Limborch, Kuinoel, Bloomfield, and others. It is as follows: 'Filius recepit quasi mortuum, i. e. ac si ex morte resuscitatum ipsi reddidisset Deus.'—The text will easily bear this explanation; and it agrees, on the whole, rather better with the verb ἐχομίσαστο than the preceding one.

Ver. 20. Πίστει περὶ μελλόντων Ἡσαῦ, *by faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau in respect to the future.* Περὶ μελλόντων εὐλόγησε, lit. *blessed Jacob and Esau in regard to future things.* The sentiment is: 'Pronounced a blessing upon Jacob and Esau, in regard to their future condition;' which accords with the facts as related in Gen. xxvii. 26—40. It was faith in the promises of God, which enabled the dying patriarch to do this.

Ver. 21. Πίστει Ἰακώβ εὐλόγησε, *by faith Jacob, when about to die, blessed each of Joseph's sons;* see Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. Ἀποθνήσκων here, like the present participle in Hebrew, has the meaning of the Latin future in *-rus*. It was not in the act of dying that Jacob blessed the sons of Joseph, as Gen. xlviii. 8—22 shows; but it was when on his death-bed, that both they and the twelve sons of Jacob were blessed by him; see Gen. xlvii. 31. xlviii. 2. xlix. 33.

Καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτοῦ, *and bowed himself upon the top of his staff.* This last action did not accompany the blessing of the sons of Joseph; at least it is not related in connexion with it, but as preceding it. See Gen. xlvii. 31, compare xlviii. 1, 15, 16. I regard it, therefore, as a *separate* transaction. Προσεκύνησε (Hebrew שָׁחָה) designates, as it would seem, *the act of worship or reverence* paid to God, and occasioned by the grateful emotions of the dying patriarch, on account of the promise which his son Joseph had just made to bury him with his fathers. That the Hebrew שָׁחָה and the corresponding Greek *προσεκύνησε*, are sometimes employed simply and merely to designate an act of religious worship, is plain from 2 K. v. 18. Gen. xxii. 5. 1 Sam. i. 3. That שָׁחָה generally means *worship or reverence by bowing down towards the earth* or even *to the earth*, is sufficiently plain; but that, in some cases, it also designates *worship* simply as a religious act, without necessarily implying a particular position of body, is sufficiently plain from 1 K. i. 47, where it is said of David, in extreme old age, and confined to his bed, וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה עַל הַמִּשְׁכָּב, *he worshipped upon his bed*; a phrase constructed exactly like that in Gen. xlvii. 31; in both of which cases, Gesenius says, the act of worship is signified without bowing down. This is indeed clear, from the nature of the position, and from the infirmities of Jacob and David. If the reader wants evidence of a similar meaning of *προσκυνέω*, he may consult John iv. 20—24. xii. 20. Acts viii. 27. xxiv. 11, etc.

The only question of difficulty that remains, is, whether the present vowel-pointing of the Hebrew, עַל רֶאֱשׁ הַמִּטָּה, *upon the*

head of the bed, is probably more correct than the Septuagint mode of reading the Hebrew, viz., *עַל רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה*, *upon the top of his staff*. I have no hesitation in preferring the latter punctuation; for what is *רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה*, *the head of a bed*, in the oriental country, when the bed itself is nothing more than a piece of soft carpeting thrown down upon the floor? And what can be the meaning of Jacob's *bowing himself down upon the head of the bed*? For 1st, There is no evidence that Jacob was upon the bed, when Joseph paid him the visit recorded in Gen. xlvii. 28—31. It was *after* this, that Jacob was taken sick, Gen. xlviii. 1, and sat up on his bed when Joseph came to visit him, xlviii. 2. 2nd, An infirm person, lying upon a bed, if he assumed a position such as to *bow himself*, would sit on the *middle* of the bed, and *not* upon the *head* of it. 3rd, In all the Scriptures, the *head of a bed* is not once mentioned; and for a good reason, as the oriental bed had, strictly speaking, no head. For these reasons, I must regard Jacob as leaning upon *the top of his staff* for support, when he conversed with his son Joseph; than which nothing can be more natural for a person of very advanced years. In this position he was, when Joseph swore to him that he would comply with the request which he had made in respect to his burial. This was so grateful to his feelings, that he spontaneously offered up his thanks to God for such a favour, q. d. *he worshipped upon the top of his staff*, i. e. leaning upon the top of his staff, he offered homage or thanks to God; just as David “worshipped upon his bed,” i. e. did homage or paid reverence to God while on his bed, 1 K. i. 47. That the *present* vowel-points of the Hebrew do not, in *every* case, give the most probable sense of the original, will not appear strange to any one, who reflects that they were introduced *after* the fifth century of our present era. All enlightened critics of the present day disclaim the idea that they are *authoritative*.

The apostle says, that *by faith* Jacob worshipped. I understand this of that confidence in God which he entertained, and which led him to trust that all which Joseph had promised him would be accomplished.

Ver. 22. Πίστει Ἰωσήφ . . . ἐνετείλατο, *by faith Joseph, at the close of life, made mention of the departure of the children of Israel [from Egypt], and gave commandment respecting his bones*. See Gen. i. 24—26. Josh. xxiv. 32. Τελευτῶν, see on ἀποθνήσκων in vr. 21. Ἐμνημόνους, *made mention of*, must mean a prophetic mention, as it long preceded the event. Ἐνετείλατο, i. e. he commanded that his bones

should be carried up out of Egypt to the land of Canaan, when the Israelites removed thither. It was by faith in the promises of God, that Joseph spoke thus confidently respecting the future *exodus* of the Israelites, and gave directions respecting his bones, which could be executed only in case this *exodus* took place.

Ver. 23. Πίστει Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῦ, *by faith Moses, after his birth, was concealed for three months by his parents*; see Ex. ii. 2. What is attributed by our author to the *parents* of Moses, is there said to have been done by his mother. But doubtless it was with her husband's knowledge and concurrence; and even if it were not, there are many cases in Scripture, where what is done by one of any class or company of men, is attributed generally to the class or company; e. g. one evangelist says, that the *thieves* on the cross reviled Jesus; but another informs us, that *one of them* did this. That πατέρες applies to both father and mother, is well known, it being equivalent to our word *parents*.

Διότι ἶδον βασιλέως, *because they saw that he was a goodly child, and they did not fear the king's commandment*. Ἀσπιδν, Heb. נָטוּ, *goodly, fair, beautiful*. Διάταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως, viz., the command of Pharaoh to destroy all the male children, Ex. i. 16, 22. It was faith or confidence in divine protection, which led them to perform such a hazardous duty.

Ver. 24. Πίστει Μωϋσῆς Φαραώ, *by faith Moses, when arrived at mature age, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter*. Μέγας γενόμενος means, *become full grown, become adult, having attained the stature of a man*. Ἠγήσατο, *refused, etc.*; no express act of this kind is related in the sacred history; but the whole account of Moses's conduct shows that he had, at this period, fully resolved upon leaving the court of Pharaoh and embarking in the cause of the oppressed Israelites.

Ver. 25. Μᾶλλον ἰλόμενος ἀπόλαυσιν, *choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season*. Λαῶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, i. e. the Israelites, to whom this name is often given. Πρόσκαιρον ἁμαρτίας ἀπόλαυσιν, viz., the pleasures of living at the court of Pharaoh in princely magnificence.

Ver. 26. Μείζονα πλοῦτον Χριστοῦ, *counting reproach, like that which Christ suffered, as greater riches than all the treasures of Egypt*. That ὀνειδισμόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ has the meaning here assigned to it, seems quite probable, if we consider that the comparison between the reproach which Christ himself suffered, and the treasures of Egypt, would be inapposite here. The simple sentiment is, 'Moses

renounced pleasures and wealth, and endured suffering and reproach, because he believed in the promises which God had made of future good, and that he would deliver his people from the bondage of Egypt. So Christ, "though rich, for our sakes became poor," in order to redeem us from a bondage worse than that of Egypt.' That Moses, then, counted *reproach like that which Christ suffered*, as preferable to the pleasure and wealth which he might have enjoyed at the Egyptian court, is plainly the meaning of the writer. Compare *παθήματα Χριστοῦ*, *sufferings like those of Christ*, in 2 Cor. i. 5. Such a use of the genitive case is by no means unfrequent, see Luke xi. 29. 2 Cor. iv. 10.

Ἀπίσλεπτι γὰρ εἰς τὴν μισθαποδοσίαν, *because he had respect to the retribution*. *Ἀπίσλεπτι* means *to look away from* present things, and *to have respect to* or *look forward to* future ones. The retribution of the invisible world is doubtless meant here, by *μισθαποδοσίαν*; compare vs. 13—16 and vr. 27. By faith in the proffered happiness of a future state, Moses was led to the acts of self-denial here adverted to.

Ver. 27. *Πίστι κατέλιπεν . . . βασιλίῳς*, *by faith he left Egypt, not fearing the indignation of the king*. It has been disputed, whether it was the *first* or *second* time that Moses left Egypt, to which the writer here adverts. The *first* is related in Ex. ii., and was when he fled to Jethro in Midian. But as he fled in this case to save his life, which Pharaoh sought to destroy, Ex. ii. 14, 15, this cannot be the leaving of Egypt to which the apostle refers; although Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Œcumenius, and some of the modern critics, have understood it to be so. It must be the occurrences related in Ex. x.—xiv., to which our author refers; for it was on this occasion that "he suffered affliction with the people of God." *Τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ βασιλείῳς*, see Ex. x. 28, 29.

Τὸν γὰρ ἀόρατον ὡς ὁρῶν ἱκαρτέρησε, *for he persevered, as seeing him who is invisible*. *Ἐκαρτέρησε*, *fortiter vel patienter duravit*, if it relate to perseverance in a time of trial and suffering, as here. It does not of itself indicate endurance of suffering, but *holding out, persevering*, in any state or condition, *keeping up good courage and fortitude perseveringly or constantly*. *Ἀόρατον*, i. e. him whom "no eye hath seen," viz., the invisible God; an appellation frequently given to the Deity; e. g. 1 Tim. i. 17, compare Rom. i. 20. Col. i. 15, 16. In other words, a regard to that world, which is seen only by the eye of faith, led Moses to quit Egypt in defiance of Pharaoh's injunctions.

Ver. 28. Πίστει πεποίηκε . . . αὐτῶν, *by faith he observed the pass-over and the sprinkling of the blood, so that he who destroyed the first born might not touch them.* Πεποίηκε τὸ πάσχα, Hebrew פִּסַּחַן תִּזְכֹּר, which the Seventy translate ποιῆν τὸ πάσχα. This means, as we say, *to keep or celebrate the passover.* The Hebrew פִּסַּחַן comes from פָּסַח, *to pass over, to pass by.* The Greek form πάσχα comes from the Aramean Hebrew word, נִפְסַח, which was the Jewish method of pronouncing פִּסַּח in later times, and to which the Greek word exactly corresponds. The account of the event to which the word πάσχα relates, may be seen in Ex. xii.; for the etymology see vs. 11, 13. Ὁ ὀλοθρεύων τὰ πρωτότοκα, see Ex. xii. 12. Μὴ θίγῃ αὐτῶν, Ex. xii. 13; αὐτῶν in the genitive is governed by θίγῃ, as verbs of sense (touch) govern the genitive.

All this was done *by faith*, i. e. because Moses fully believed that what God had foretold would come to pass; in other words, it was through confidence in the divine declarations.

Ver. 29. Πίστει διέβησαν . . . ξηρᾶς, *by faith they passed through the Red sea, as on dry land.* The nominative to διέβησαν is οἱ Ἰσραηλίται, which the writer leaves his readers to supply from the tenor of the narration. Instances of the like kind are not unfrequent, both in the writings of the Old Testament and of the New. See the history of the event in Ex. xiv.

Ἦς πείραν . . . κατεπόθησαν, *which the Egyptians assaying to do, were drowned.* Ἦς πείραν λαβόντες is an expression of peculiar construction. Ἦς πείραν means *the attempt of which*, viz., of passing through the Red sea; so that Ἦς πείραν λαβόντες is equivalent to, Ἦς διάβασιν πειράζοντες, *attempting the passage of which.* Κατεπόθησαν from καταπίνω, *to swallow up, to engulf, to overwhelm*, and hence *to drown*; see Ex. xiv. 27, 28.

It was on account of confidence in the promise of God to bring the Israelites safely through the Red sea, that they ventured to cross an arm of it, looking to him for protection from its waters. It is not to be supposed, that every individual of the Israelites possessed such confidence as is here described; but their leaders had it, and, as in other cases of a similar nature, it is here predicated of the nation.

Ver. 30. Πίστει τὰ τεῖχη . . . ἡμέρας, *by faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they had been compassed about for seven days*; see Josh. vi. 12—20. It was in consequence of the promise made by God to Joshua, that Jericho should be taken after the Israelites had marched around it for seven days in succession, that these circuits were performed. It was *confidence* then in the divine word,

which led to the event in question. Κυκλωθέντα, Rosenmueller, Schleusner, Dindorf, and others, understand to have respect to *circumvallation*, or a siege of the city by surrounding it; altogether contrary to the meaning of the narration in Josh. vi. For what can be the meaning of Josh. vi. 15, on the supposition that their interpretation is correct? Did the Israelites lay *seven sieges* to it, in one day? Most evident is it, that the sacred writer considers the whole event of the taking of Jericho as *miraculous*; and all attempts to explain it away by supposing a regular *circumvallation*, and that the city was stormed by the troops of Joshua on the seventh day, are glosses forced upon the Scripture by the sceptical philosophy of interpreters; not a simple explanation of the meaning of the sacred writers.

Ver. 31. Πίστει 'Ραὰβ σιγήνης, *by faith Rahab the harlot, having entertained the spies in a friendly manner, perished not with the unbelieving*. Οὐ συναπώλιστο, i. e. was preserved, the affirmative idea being conveyed, as often elsewhere, by the use of a negative form of the expression. 'Απειθήσασι refers to the inhabitants of Canaan, who treated the claims of the Israelites to that country with *contumacy*, and disbelieved what Jehovah had said respecting them. 'Απειθής, *one who refuses to be persuaded, who is contumacious*. The event to which this clause relates, is narrated in Josh. vi. 22—25.

Διξαμένη, *having entertained, received*, viz., into her house. Μετ' σιγήνης, *with amity, in a peaceable manner*; like the Hebrew דִּילֻץ, *friendship*, e. g. Ps. xli. 10. Jer. xx. 10. xxxviii. 22. Obed. vii. Ps. xxviii. 3, comp. Est. ix. 30.

It has been doubted whether πόρνη, the appellation given to Rahab here and in James ii. 25, means *harlot* or *hostess*. For the latter Schleusner contends, in his lexicon; as do also many commentators. The corresponding Hebrew word is נָזִיז, which they say comes from נָזַל, *pascere, alere*, so that נָזִיז may well be explained merely as *one who furnishes others with nutriment*, i. e. a *hostess*. But this derivation is contrary to the laws of etymology; for נָזִיז must come from נָזַף, *to commit whoredom*, and not from נָזַל which gives no such form; so that the whole argument on which this interpretation is built, falls to the ground. Besides, the *usus loquendi* both of נָזִיז and πόρνη, is against such an interpretation.

Ver. 32. Καὶ τί ἔτι λέγω; *and what shall I say more?* i. e. why should I recount examples any longer?

'Εκλείψει γάρ με προφητῶν, *for time would fail me, should I tell of Gideon, and Barak also, and Samson, and Jephtha; of Da-*

vid too, and Samuel, and the prophets. The history of these, see in the books of Judges and Samuel.

Ver. 33. Οἱ διὰ πίστεως . . . βασιλείας, *who through faith subdued kingdoms.* That is, confidence in divine promises respecting the deliverance of Israel, led them to war with and subdue the kingdoms of those who oppressed the Hebrew nation.

Εἰργάσαντο δικαιοσύνην, Hebrew עָשׂוּ יָשׁוּעַ or עָשׂוּ לְיָשׁוּעַ, *practised justice, did that which was equitable and proper, carried the laws of justice into execution*; which latter seems to be the idea here.

Ἐπίτυχον ἐπαγγελίας, *obtained promised blessings*, i. e. as the reward of their confidence in God. Ἐπαγγελίας means here, as generally in this epistle, *quod promissum est*; and refers to the various successes, which at different times attended the obedient efforts and deeds of kings and prophets.

Ἐφραζαν στόματα λεόντων, which probably refers to the history of Samson, Judg. xiv. 5—9; of David, 1 Sam. xvii. 34—36; and of Daniel, Dan. vi. 16—24.

Ver. 34. Ἐσβισαν δύναμιν πυρός, *they quenched the violence of fire*; see in Dan. iii. 19—26.

Ἐφυγον στόματα μαχαίρας, *they escaped the edge of the sword.* Στόματα μαχαίρας, Hebrew בָּרַחַפִּי. The expression is frequent in Hebrew, and the equivalent one στόμα μαχαίρας, is several times used in the New Testament. The phrase is of a *general* nature, and is therefore applicable to many cases in the Old Testament, where escape from imminent danger is related.

Ἐνδυναμώθησαν ἀπὸ ἀσθενίας, *were restored to vigour from a state of infirmity.* Ἀσθένεια refers to the infirmity occasioned by sickness or disease; not to the weakness of one army compared with another, or of one man compared with another. The case of Samson, then, in Judg. xv. 15, 19. xvi. 19. seq., to which Dr Schulz refers us, seems not to be such as the writer had in view; but rather such a case as that of Hezekiah, 2 K. xx.

Ἐγινήθησαν ἰσχυροὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, *become mighty in war.* Cases of this nature, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, supply in abundance.

Παριμβολὰς ἔκλιναν ἀλλοτρίων, *overthrow the armies of foreigners.* Many cases of this nature are presented in the same books. Παριμβολὰς means, *camps, encampments*; hence, *the persons who live in them*, i. e. armies. Ἀλλοτρίων, אֲרָמִי, אֲרָבִי, i. e. strangers to the Hebrews and to the worship of the true God; hence, *foreigners, heathens.*

Ver. 35. Ἔλαβον . . . νεκρὸς αὐτῶν, *women recovered their dead, by a resurrection.* Ἐξ ἀναστάσεως designates *restoration to life from a state of death, a renewed subsistence or existence, a resurrection*; which corresponds with facts as related in Scripture; e. g. 2 K. iv. 18—37. 1 K. xvii. 17—24. Τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν, viz., *their dead children*; which is implied by αὐτῶν, *their own*.

Ἄλλοι δὲ τυμπανίσθησαν, *some were tortured and beaten.* Τυμπανίζω, *to tympanize*, means to stretch upon an instrument called τύμπανον, (the shape of which is not certainly known at present, but most probably it was of a circular form,) for the sake of giving the body an attitude of peculiar exposure to the power of cudgels or rods. It involves the idea of scourging or beating in this peculiar way; i. e. torture by stretching upon the τύμπανον, and beating, were conjoined at the same time.

Οὐ προσδεξάμενοι . . . τύχωσιν, *not accepting liberation, in order that they might obtain a better resurrection.* That is, they declined accepting liberation from their torments on condition of renouncing their religion; and they thus declined, in order that they might attain to a better resurrection. They looked to a resurrection of the body, which was of a higher nature than merely the redeeming it for a while from temporal death; and in view of this, they refused to accept of liberation from their torments on the condition prescribed. They persevered, because their faith enabled them to regard as a certainty the future and glorious resurrection of the just.

Κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως, *better resurrection.* Better than what? Plainly, better than that which had just been mentioned, viz., resurrection to life in the present world merely; as in the examples of the children mentioned in 1 K. xvii. and 2 K. iv. It was not the hope of such a resurrection—the hope of merely regaining the present life and being again subject to death as before—which led the martyrs suffering upon the τύμπανον, to refuse liberation. It was the hope of a resurrection to a life of immortal happiness and glory, that led them to refuse liberation.

Ver. 36. Ἄλλοι δὲ . . . ἔλαβον, *others were tried by mockings and scourges*, literally, others were put to the trial of mockings and scourges. Ἐμπαυγμῶν refers to scorn, derision, and buffeting, which the victims of persecution experienced. Μαστίγων designates a method of scourging, different from that practised by the use of the τύμπανον; see 2 Macc. vii. 1. 2 K. ii. 23. 1 K. xxii. 24.

Ἐτι δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς, *and also by bonds and imprisonment*; see 1 K. xxii. 27. Jer. xx.

Ver. 37. Ἐλιθάσθησαν . . . ἀπίθανον, *they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they perished by the murderous sword.* The instances of suffering and death, mentioned in this verse, are not distinctly recorded in the Old Testament; but were doubtless all of them realities, and often repeated under the terrible persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, and perhaps of Manasseh and others. The Jews have had a tradition, from time immemorial, that Isaiah was sawn asunder by the command of Manasseh.

The word ἐπειράσθησαν has been a stumbling-block to the great body of critics, both in ancient and modern times. The difficulty lies in the fact, that a word of a mere *generic* signification, and of a milder aspect, should be inserted in the midst of such as designate *specific* sufferings, and those of a high degree. Accordingly it has been proposed to read ἐπυράσθησαν, ἐπηρώθησαν, ἐπρήσθησαν, ἐπάρθησαν, ἐπυρώθησαν, ἐπράθησαν, ἰσπειράσθησαν, ἰσφαιρίσθησαν, ἰπηρεάσθησαν, ἰταρχεύθησαν, or ἐπειράθησαν; all of which are without any authority, while ἐπειράσθησαν is well supported. In such a case, moreover, conjecture is out of question, so long as the established reading will make any tolerable sense. In respect to the contested word ἐπειράσθησαν, it seems to me that the great body of critics have overlooked a very obvious and intensive meaning of it, viz., that of *temptation to do evil*; which in the case presented by vr. 37 here, must mean, ‘temptations presented by persecutors to the victims of their torture, in order to induce them to forsake their religion and worship the gods of idolaters.’ Such was a common practice among the heathen persecutors of Christians. Not only life but wealth and honour were frequently proffered, in the midst of torture most agonizing to the human frame, in order to tempt the martyrs to forsake their religion. Such a temptation as this, is by no means to be reckoned, under such circumstances, among the *lighter* trials of good men; and to such an one it is plain our text may refer. Is it not probable that it has such a reference? Compare the latter part of vr. 35. If so, this *locus vexatissimus* may be permitted to rest in quiet, not only as being supported by good authority, but as altogether significant and entirely consonant with the writer’s purpose.

Περιῆλθον ἐν . . . πακουχούμεινοι, *they went about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in want, afflicted, injuriously treated.* That is, driven out from the society of men, they were obliged to clothe themselves with the skins of animals; to undergo all the wants and dis-

tresses to which such a condition reduced them; and to submit to the injuries which were heaped upon them by their persecutors.

Ver. 38. ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος, *of whom the world was not worthy*, i. e. with whom the world could not bear a comparison in respect to worth; in other words, 'who were of a character elevated far above that of the rest of the world.' This is a *proverbial* expression, and plainly is to be included here in a parenthesis, as it is an ejaculation of the writer, interrupting the regular series of the discourse.

Ἐν ἱερημίαις . . . γῆς, *wandering about in deserts and mountains, in caves also and dens of the earth*. A further description of persons banished from society, and wandering hither and thither in order to find the means of subsistence, or to avoid the rage of persecution. Σπηλαίαις and ὀπαῖς include fissures of the rocks and holes in the earth; both of which were resorted to by these outcasts, for a shelter, when one was needed.

Ver. 39. Καὶ οὗτοι πάντες . . . ἐπαγγέλαντο, *all these, moreover, who are commended on account of faith, obtained not the promised blessing*. That is, they lived in expectation of some *future* good, of some promised blessing. They habitually, by faith, looked forward to something which they did not attain in the present life. Μαρτυρηθέντες, *commended*; as often before in this epistle.

Ver. 40. Τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ . . . τελειωθῶσι, *God having provided some better thing for us, so that without us they could not fully obtain what was needed*. An exceedingly difficult verse, about the meaning of which there have been a multitude of conjectures. The only ones that deserve particular regard are, that the *κρείττον* refers to the Messiah; or, that it refers to the happiness of the heavenly world. In the latter sense, some very respectable interpreters take it. But how is *heavenly blessedness* vouchsafed to later more than to ancient saints? And in what sense can it be affirmed, that the ancients could not, or did not, attain it without us? The object of the writer, through the chapter, has been to show that the hopes of heaven, cherished by the ancient worthies, were firm and bright through faith in the word of God. That they did at last actually attain the object of their hopes, surely will not be doubted. The "better things reserved for Christians," then, is not a reward in heaven; for such a reward was proffered also to the ancient saints.

I must therefore adopt another exegesis of the whole passage, which refers *ἐπαγγέλλαντο* to the promised blessing of the Messiah;

see Gen. xii. 1—3. xvii. 1—8. I construe the whole passage, then, in this manner. ‘The ancient worthies persevered in their faith, although the Messiah was known to them only by *promise*. We are under greater obligations than they to persevere; for God has fulfilled his promise respecting the Messiah; and thus placed us in a condition better adapted to perseverance than theirs. So much is our condition preferable to theirs, that we may even say, Without the blessing which we enjoy, their happiness could not be completed.’ In other words: The coming of the Messiah was essential to the consummation of their happiness in glory, i. e. was necessary to their τελείωσις.

In ix. 15, (comp. ix. 26 and Rom. iii. 25, 26,) the death of Christ is represented as having a *retrospective* influence upon past ages. The happiness then of the ancient worthies, is connected with Christ's coming and atonement. And to these the writer seems to me to advert, when he says μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσι, i. e. without what has taken place in our days, their happiness could not be perfected, great and good as they were. If this be not his meaning, I am unable to discover it. And this meaning is altogether apposite to his purpose; for, as he had shown that *faith* was the means by which the ancient worthies persevered and obtained happiness even *before* the coming of the Messiah, he might well argue, that *since* his coming there were more powerful motives to persevere in the faith which he had been commending. If the ancients did so, whose happiness was connected with something then future, and which was to happen only in later days; then surely Christians ought now to persevere, who have actually *witnessed* the performance of promised good for which the ancients only *hoped*. The κριττόν τι then seems to be, ‘the actual fulfilment of the promise respecting the Messiah;’ in respect to which later times certainly have a pre-eminence over the early ones, and on which the expected happiness of early times was really dependent.

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Having thus set before his readers the illustrious examples of ancient times, in respect to faith and persevering steadfastness, the writer now proceeds to represent those worthies as gathered around his readers in order to witness the manner and the event of the contest in which they were engaged, vr. 1. Above all he exhorts them to look to the example of Jesus, who had subjected himself to the like trials, and had obtained a glorious reward, vs. 2, 3. He tells them, in order to animate them in their struggle, that they have not yet been called to trials of the greatest severity, vr. 4; and that they must consider, that their heavenly Father designs all their sufferings and trials for their good. They should receive chastisement, then, as adapted to promote this good; and therefore, with a willing and submissive spirit, vs. 5—11. On this account they should cheer their hearts, and mutually assist and encourage each other, vs. 12, 13. They should be very cautious in respect to all defection from faith and zeal, lest, in case they remit their watchful efforts, they should be left at last like rash and thoughtless Esau, to deplore the errors they had committed, when it was beyond their power to retrieve them, vs. 14—17. They have not come under a dispensation full of awe and threatening, like the law given at Sinai, but under one which proffers all that is attractive and encouraging, vs. 19—24. So much the more grievous and criminal will be their apostasy, in case they should renounce Christianity, vs. 25, 26. This change of dispensations, and the introduction of a *permanent* one, was predicted even among the very threatenings of the ancient one; so that there is now abundant evidence of the stability of the new dispensation, and those who neglect it will incur the most signal and exemplary punishment, vs. 27—29.

CHAP. XII.

VER. 1. *Τογαροῦν καὶ . . . μαρτύρων, since now we are encompassed by so great a multitude of witnesses; i. e. by so great a multitude of spectators.* An allusion, as the sequel shows, is here made to the stadium of the Greeks and Romans, where the persons stood who were to engage in the exercises of their public games, surrounded by great multitudes of spectators. In a condition resembling this, the writer now places the Hebrew Christians whom he is addressing, and surrounds them with the multitude of worthies and martyrs, to whom he had been alluding in the preceding chapter. *Νέφος* is figuratively used for *multitude*. So the heathen writers also; e. g. Virg. *Æn.* VII. 793, *nimbus peditum*. Liv. XXXV. 49, *peditum equitumque nimbus*. Herod. VIII. 105, *νέφος τοσούτο ἀνθρώπων*. Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 1321, *νέφος πολέμιων*. Hec. 907, *ταῖνδε Ἑλλήνων νέφος*, where the Scholiast explains *νέφος* by *πλήθος*. Aristoph. *Avib.* *στρουθιῶν νέφος*. Hom. *Il.* ψ. 133, *νέφος πιζῶν*. Diod. Sic. III. 28, *νεφέλη [i. q. νέφος] ἀκρίδων*; comp. Sept. Ezek. xxxix. 9. Is. lx. 8.

The writer proceeds to exhort the combatants to prepare for the contest before them. *Ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα, laying aside every incumbrance.* *Ὅγκος* means *swelling, tumour, pride*; also *weight, weightiness*. The reference here is to those who ran in the stadium, and who laid aside all superfluous clothing and disencumbered themselves of every thing which could impede their pro-

gress. The simple word, *weight*, would not be of sufficient latitude to convey all which ὄγκος means in the passage before us. Every *impediment* or hinderance is to be laid aside, or every *incumbrance* is to be avoided.

Καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἁμαρτίαν, *especially the sin which easily besets us*. Καὶ before the phrase τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἁμαρτίαν is *explicative*, and is equivalent, in such a connexion, to the English words *specially* or *in particular*. Εὐπερίστατον is a ἁπαξ λεγόμενον, the meaning of which has been variously explained. In its composition, it is analogical with εὐπερίγραφος, εὐπερίπατος, εὐπερίχυτος, etc. Περίστημι means *to stand round, surround*. Hence Chrysostom explains εὐπερίστατον by ἡ εὐκλῶς περιϊσταμένη ἡμᾶς, *which easily comes or stands around us*. And thus many modern interpreters understand the word; which, on the whole, gives an apposite sense. The ἁμαρτία which most easily beset the Hebrews, was undoubtedly *apostasy* or defection from their Christian profession; against which the whole epistle is directed. They were under peculiar temptations to this sin, in consequence of the persecutions which they endured, and of their former prejudices in favour of Judaism.

But other critics, ancient and modern, explain εὐπερίστατον in a somewhat different manner. Περίστασις, among other things, denotes, as Hesychius affirms, θλίψις, ἀνάγκη, μέριμνα. Hence Theodoret explains εὐπερίστατον, by δι' ἣν εὐκλῶς τις εἰς περιστάσεις ἐμπίπτει, *by which one easily falls into troubles or afflictions*. That is: 'Lay aside the sin, which will easily bring you into a state of punishment or distress.' So some of the modern critics also explain the word; especially as the Greek ἀπερίστατον means *not dangerous, free from vexation*. Hence they conclude, εὐπερίστατον must mean the opposite of this, viz., *full of danger or trouble*; εὐ being intensive, as in εὐμεγέθης, εὐμήκης, etc. This seems to be a good sense, and pretty well supported by analogy.

Others, Ernesti, Doederlein, et alibi, prefer to render εὐπερίστατος by *quod patronos habet, quod homines favent*; i. e. εὐπερίστατον means according to them, *well surrounded*, viz., by applauding multitudes. But the preceding senses are better supported than this, by analogy. Kuinoel says that περίστασις sometimes means *impediment*, and so he renders εὐπερίστατον here by *quod cum maxime cursum impedit*. But the passage from Max. Tyrius, which he adduces to support this, is not decisive. I find nothing to support this exegesis in Passow's lexicon. Besides, the sense thus constituted would be thus; 'Lay

aside every impediment, and particularly special impediments;’ a possible sense indeed, but hardly a probable one.

Δι’ ὑπομενῆς ἀγῶνα *let us run with perseverance the race set before us.* Ὑπομενῆς refers, here, not so much to enduring patiently evils which might befall them, as to *holding out* in the race, *persevering* in their efforts until it was completed and the reward secured. Ἀγών means *any kind of contest*, any gymnastic exercise which was a trial of skill or in which there was a competition. Here, plainly, it is limited to designate *a race* by the accompanying τρέχωμεν.—Πρόκειμαι is employed by the classical writers in the same way as here, viz., to designate the proposal of this or that ἀγών to the ἀγωνίσται.

The simple meaning of the whole verse, divested of metaphor, is: ‘Since so many illustrious patriarchs, prophets, and martyrs, who preceded us, have exercised faith, persevered in it, and obtained the rewards consequent upon it, let us, in like manner, rejecting every solicitation to renounce our hopes and our holy religion, persevere in the belief and in the duties which the gospel requires.’

Ver. 2. That they may be excited to do this, he now refers them to the example of Christ himself. Ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, *looking to Jesus the author and perfecter of our faith.* Ἀρχηγόν, *author, leader, or pattern, example;* here it means, ‘Jesus who introduced the new religion or the Christian faith, who first taught it and led the way in it;’ see on ii. 10. Τελειωτήν, *he who completed* the system of faith or religion which he had introduced. So it is commonly explained. But there is another view of the term here which seems to be more probable. This is, that it here signifies the same as βραβευτής i. e. *the distributor of the prize.* This meaning would be quite analogical, when traced from the meaning that τελειῶω and τέλειος sometimes have. The βραβευτής was commonly a person who had himself been a victor in the games. Hence ἀρχηγός would here mean, one who was by his own example a leader, and τελειωτής he who now distributed the prize. Hence we may render ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτήν, *the pattern and rewarder.* In this way the figure which the writer had begun, is carried through.

That πίστις often signifies *the Christian faith or religion*, hardly needs to be mentioned.

Ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, *who, on account of the joy that was set before him.* This χαρὰ προκειμένη, was exaltation to the right hand of God in the world above, and the glorious reign which was to fol-

low; as the last part of the verse shows. *The joy that was set before him*, was given him when he had finished his course. In *προκειμένη* there is an allusion again to the method of proposing the prizes at the public games.

Ἰπτάμενοι σταυρὸν . . . κακάθηκε, *endured the cross, disregarding ignominy, and has sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.* Ἐν δεξιᾷ τε, κ. τ. λ., see on i. 3. Δισχυνή means *the shame* which others might heap upon him, i. e. *ignominy, disgrace*, or the ignominious punishment of the cross.

Sentiment: 'Do as Christ the author of our holy religion did. For the heavenly reward proposed, he with patience and perseverance endured every kind of indignity and suffering, and has, in consequence of it, received a glorious reward. Follow in his steps, and participate in his glory.'

Ver. 3. Ἀναλογίσασθε . . . ἀντιλογίαν, *consider him, now, who endured such opposition against himself from sinners.* Ἀναλογίσασθε means *reflect on his example, take his case into consideration.* Ἀμαρτωλῶν refers here to the persecuting Jews of the Saviour's time, who thus evil entreated Jesus. Ἀντιλογίαν, רִיב, מִרְיָבָה, *opposition, rebellion, contest against, contumely.* Contradiction is a term too soft to reach the full meaning.

Ἴνα μὴ κάμνητε . . . ἐκλύομενοι, *lest becoming discouraged in your mind ye grow weary.* Ἐκλύομαι means *to become discouraged or despondent.* I join the participle ἐκλύομενοι with ταῖς ψυχαῖς. So Wahl, on ἐκλύομαι; and so Kuinoel. The verb ἐκλύω has the same signification, if the noun be omitted; e. g. vr. 5.

Κάμνω means *to become wearied, to be tired out.* The first step toward forsaking the Christian course, is to become *disheartened* in the pursuit of it. Next follows *weariness* in pursuing that, from which we do not hope or expect any certain good. This leads of course to an abandonment of the pursuit. The reader will not fail to note, that in the choice of the word κάμνητε, the writer still alludes to the contest in the games; for it is a word *ἐ'palæstrá*.

Ver. 4. Οὐπω μέχρις . . . ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, *ye have not resisted unto blood in your contest against sin.* We must not understand the phrase, *ye have not resisted unto blood*, to represent the Hebrew Christians as making, or preparing to make, active and hostile resistance to their aggressors or persecutors. This is not the meaning of the writer. It was *figuratively* a contest, in which the Hebrews were engaged; just as in vs. 1—3, he had represented it as a race, ἀγών. It was a contest with trial, temptation, affliction; the result

of being persecuted by the enemies of the Christian religion. But the struggle had not yet proceeded so far that they were called to martyrdom, as others in ancient times had been. Many vexations had been suffered by them; but the shedding of their blood had not yet commenced. This could hardly be said, indeed, in respect to the churches at Jerusalem; at least not without limitation; for there James and Stephen had actually suffered martyrdom, and others had been severely treated. Still, it might be said of the generation of Christians then living in that place.

Πρὸς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, a controverted phrase. I understand it, simply in accordance with the nature of the context, as an *abstract* noun put for a *concrete*, i. e. ἀμαρτία for ἀμαρτωλούς; an *usus loquendi* very common in both the Old and the New Testaments. Ἀμαρτίαν, if explained thus, means *persecutors*, viz., those who inflicted injuries upon the Hebrew Christians; and probably these were their own countrymen or nation, i. e. the Jews. Why Dr Bloomfield should call such a method of exegesis “arbitrary and unauthorized” I do not see. Is it then a new thing in exegesis, that *abstract* is put for *concrete*? And even if there be a prosopopœia here of ἀμαρτία, as Kuinoel and Boehme assume, the sense comes after all to the same point. Nothing more is won. Carpzoff, Bolten, Heinrichs, and others, have construed it as I have done above.

Ver. 5. Καὶ ἐκλείησθε . . . διαλέγεται, *and have ye forgotten the exhortation, which is addressed to you as to children.* Most interpreters render καὶ ἐκλείησθε without interrogation, *and ye have forgotten, ye must needs have forgotten*, etc. It seems to me more congruous with the apostle’s manner of address in this hortatory part of his epistle, to render it, as Ernesti has done, *interrogatively*. It loses nothing of its force, and gains in respect to the manner of address.

Υἱέ μου . . . ἐλεγχόμενος, *my son, do not slight the chastening of the Lord, nor be disheartened when reproved by him.* Ὀλιγώρει, Hebrew דָּנַדְּנָה, *contemn, slight, despise, disregard.* Παιδείας, in the sense of the Hebrew נָדָה, *chastening, rebuke.* Classic usage employs παιδεία in the sense of *instruction, discipline.* Ἐκλύου, Hebrew יָרִיב from יָרָה, *fastidire* and also *metuere*, i. e. μὴ ἐκλύου, *be not timid, be not disheartened*, viz., as to going forward in your Christian course; forsake it not, because you experience trouble in pursuing it. The quotation is from Prov. iii. 11, 12, and in the words of the Septuagint.

Ver. 6. Ὁν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ . . . προσδέχεται, *for whom the Lord loveth*

he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. Μαριγώδεις, κ. τ. λ., is after the words of the Septuagint, Prov. iii. 12. The Hebrew, as now read, gives a somewhat different meaning. It is thus, וַיַּחֲמֹד אֶת־בְּנוֹ יִרְצֶה, *and as a father [chastens] the son whom he loves.* The Seventy appear to have read יִחַם, participle of חָמַד; or else חָמַד in Piel; or perhaps יִחַם in Hiphil. No example of a *transitive* sense of חָמַד in Kal, is to be found; it means only *to be afflicted, to feel pain.* Of the Piel form of this verb no instance is found in the Hebrew Scriptures; but the use of the Hiphil is common. In whatever way they read the Hebrew in order to make their version, as the version now is, and as the apostle has quoted it, it preserves the *spirit*, though not the *letter*, of the present Hebrew; or rather, we may say that it gives a preferable reading of it. That quotations are often made by the New Testament writers from the Old Testament, in a *general* way, *ad sensum* and not *ad literam*, I have had frequent occasion to remark before, in commenting on our epistle. No one who attentively studies the New Testament, can doubt this.

Ver. 7. Εἰ παιδείαν . . . ὁ Θεός, *if ye endure chastisement, God dealeth with you as children.* ὑπομένετε has the sense here of *enduring, undergoing, suffering*; and not that of *supporting, bearing up under, persevering.* Προσφέρεται, middle voice, means *tractare aliquem.* So the classical writers also employ it. See Schneider and Schleusner on the word.

Τίς γὰρ ἴσιν . . . πατήρ; *for what son is there, whom his father does not chasten?* That is: How can ye expect, although ye are *children*, not to receive any chastisement?

Ver. 8. Εἰ δὲ χωρὶς ἴσιν . . . υἱός; *but if ye are without chastisement, of which all children are made partakers, then are ye spurious and not [legitimate] children.* Νόθοι means *illegitimate* children.—ῥιός, which is here the antithesis, of course means *legitimate offspring.* The meaning is: ‘If ye are not dealt with as all legitimate children are, it would follow that ye are considered as not belonging to them.’ That is, if ye receive no chastening, then God does not acknowledge you as his spiritual children.

The design of the writer, in thus applying this text of Scripture, is plain. He means to tell the Hebrews, that so far from being disheartened by their trials and afflictions, on account of their Christian profession, they ought to regard it as matter of encouragement, and as an evidence that God is acknowledging by these their filial relation to him.

Ver. 9. Ἐτα τοὺς μὲν . . . ἐνταπεινώμεθα, *furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh who have chastised us, and we have yielded them reverence.* Τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν πατέρας, *fathers of our flesh*, i. e. of our natural bodies. The idea is, ‘fathers of our *physical* nature,’ in distinction from our *spiritual* one.

Οὐ πολλῶ μᾶλλον . . . ζήσομεν; *shall we not much rather yield subjection to the Father of [our] spirits, that we may live?* That is, when God chastens us for our good, in order that he may promote our final happiness, when he has so important an end in view, shall we not bow to his will with cheerful subjection? Πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων, an antithesis of τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν πατέρας, and therefore plainly ἡμῶν is implied after πνευμάτων. Num. xvi. 22, אֱלֹהֵי הָרִחוּת לְכָל בָּשָׂר, *the God of the spirits of all flesh*, is a parallel expression; comp. also Zech. xii. 1. Ζήσομεν has the sense here, as often elsewhere, of *being happy*; like the Latin *vivere*, in *dum vivimus vivamus*. I do not suppose that the apostle designs here to express his philosophical views respecting the metaphysical origin of the soul or of the body; but that he uses the terms *father of our flesh* and *father of spirits* in a popular way, to denote our natural parents and our spiritual Father. But that God is called the *Father of spirits* because he takes care of our minds or spirits, providing for them, etc., so Kuinoel is, as I apprehend, quite aside from the original meaning of this phrase.

Ver. 10. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐπαιδεύον, *for they chastened us a little while, according to their own pleasure.* The γὰρ here introduces a reason why we should submit to God when he chastises. Πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, i. e. during our childhood, our minority; which seems to me a much more natural sense than to say, with Heinrichs and Dindorf, “the fruit of their chastisement was only temporary.” Κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, *according to their own pleasure*, intimates that they sometimes erred in their chastisement, or that it was sometimes *arbitrary*; but it is not so with that which God inflicts.

Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον . . . αὐτοῦ, *but he, for our good, in order that we might be made partakers of his holiness.* That is, God never chastises *arbitrarily*, but always to promote the real good of his children, to make them more holy, and so more like himself. Comp. 2 Pet. i. 4. Lev. xi. 44. xix. 2. xx. 7, 26.

Ver. 11. Πᾶσα δὲ παιδεία . . . λύπης, *now all chastisement, for the present, seemeth not to be matter of joy but of grief.* Πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν, *during the present*, i. e. while it continues. Μὲν here corresponds to δὲ after ὕστερον in the next clause, i. e. there is a protasis and an apodosis.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ . . . δικαιοσύνης, *but afterwards, it yields the happy fruit of righteousness to those who are exercised thereby.* Καρπὸν εἰρηνικόν is a peculiar expression. Some resemblance to it may be found in James iii. 18. Is. xxxii. 17. Gen. xxxvii. 4. The meaning of εἰρηνικόν is to be gathered by a comparison of it with the Hebrew דִּלְשָׁ, which means *good, happiness, welfare.* Εἰρηνικός, then, is *that which bestows happiness or produces it.* This corresponds with the writer's design; who means to say, that afflictions rightly improved will be productive of *fruit that will confer happiness*, such fruit as *righteousness* always produces. So remote a position of δικαιοσύνης from καρπὸν seems to indicate almost the necessity of repeating this word before it.

Ver. 12. Διὸ τὰς παρειμένας . . . ἀνορθώσατε, *wherefore strengthen the weak hands and the feeble knees.* Ἀνορθώσατε is often employed by the Seventy in order to translate the Hebrew בָּנֵה, which means *to establish, to make firm, to strengthen.* Παρειμένας, from παρήμι, means *relaxed, let down; consequently, weak, enfeebled.* One might, as many interpreters have done, translate ἀνορθώσατε παρειμένας χεῖρας, *by lift up the hands that hang down.* But since the same verb applies to παραλειγμένα γόνατα, it is better so to render it as to make the application to both congruous; which may be done without transgressing Hellenistic usage. The quotation is from Is. xxxv. 3. where the Septuagint has ἰσχύσατε instead of ἀνορθώσατε.

The meaning of the verse is: 'Since all your afflictions are dispensed by fatherly kindness, be of good courage, do not indulge any despondency, but persevere in the course which you have begun.'

Ver. 13. Καὶ τροχιάς ὀρθὰς . . . ὑμῶν, *and make plain the paths for your feet.* In Hebrew, הַרְגֵּל מִצְעָדְךָ יָשָׁר, *make even or level the path of thy feet;* Septuagint ὀρθὰς τροχιάς ποίει σοῖς ποσί, Prov. iv. 26. If the apostle has quoted here, it is *ad sensum* not *ad verbum.* The meaning is: 'Remove all obstacles, or disregard all obstacles, to your progress in the Christian course.'

ἵνα μὴ τὸ χωλὸν . . . μᾶλλον, *that what is lame may not be sprained, but rather be healed.* Τὸ χωλόν is a neuter adjective, used for the abstract noun *lameness*, and therefore of a generic signification, designating *that which is lame* or *the members which are lamed.* Ἐκτραπή means *to turn aside;* which, applied to the lame, means *to dislocate, distort, sprain, wrench*, the limbs which are *lamed.* Ἰαθῇ δὲ μᾶλλον, i. e. it is better to make the paths smooth and plain, so that those who are lamed may walk with ease and safety, than to let them be rough and uneven, so as to endanger an increase of

their malady. The whole is a figurative expression, used by our author to convey the idea, that to go straight forward in their Christian course, regardless of any afflictions to which this may subject them, is the only way of safety for those who are in danger of halting.

Ver. 14. *Εἰρήνην διώκετε ἁγιασμόν, studiously cultivate peace with all men, and holiness.* *Εἰρήνην* means here a *state of concord and amity*, the opposite of contention and broils. To contentions the Hebrew Christians must have been much exposed at this time, in consequence of the frequent injuries inflicted upon them by their persecutors. *Διώκετε, pursue with zeal or engagedness.* *Ἁγιασμόν, holiness*, i. e. a pious upright life, or a life of consecration to God.

Οὐ χωρὶς κύριον, without which no one shall see the Lord. *Ὅπρ᾽ εἶδαι τὸν κύριον, to see the Lord*, denotes *to come before him, to enjoy his presence, to be admitted to his favour.* Compare Matt. v. 8, and Wahl on ὁπτομαι, 2. b. See also 1 Thess. iv. 17. 2 Cor. v. 8. Phil. i. 23. John xiv. 3, 4. xvii. 24.

Ver. 15. *Ἐπισκοποῦντες μή τις Θεοῦ, see to it that no one fail of the favour of God.* *Ἐπισκοποῦντες*, lit. *seeing*; but the sense is the same, and the translation more perspicuous, if a new sentence be made here by adopting, as I have done, the imperative form of the verb *to see*. *Μή τις*, i. e. *μή τις ἦ*, the verb of existence being implied. *Ὑστερῶν* is differently rendered by different interpreters. *Ὑστερίω* means *to come late, to arrive after the proper or favourable time*, and is so rendered here by some. But *ὕστερῶν ἀπὸ . . .* is hardly capable of such a meaning, and plainly should be rendered, *be wanting in respect to, fail of, come short of, lack*. But what is *χάριτος*? Some answer, *the Christian religion*; and construe the whole phrase thus, ‘Guard well against the apostasy of any one from Christianity.’ But this warning has been so often repeated, and in terms so awful, it may well be doubted whether *χάριτος* has the sense thus put upon it; and specially so, as the writer appears, in vr. 14, to make a transition from his great subject to the consideration of other things particularly important to the Hebrew Christians. The writer had just said, that holiness is indispensable to that happiness which God bestows. I understand him as now saying, ‘See well to it, that no one fail of obtaining that divine favour which is the result of holiness;’ and so I connect it, as a hortatory adjunct, with the preceding sentiment.

Μή τις ῥίζα ἐνοχλῇ, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, i. e. see to it, lest any person of vicious life and example

should rise up among you. Many commentators refer this to *apostates*. They are the more inclined to this, because a similar expression is found in Deut. xxix. 17, which there characterizes those who turn from the worship of the true God to that of idols. But as it is not certain that our author designs to make a direct quotation in the present case, I should not consider this reason as in itself of any considerable weight. Even if the *form* of expression be quoted, the application of it must depend of course upon the context. This respects not apostasy in particular, as we have already seen, but other sins to which the Hebrews might be particularly exposed. No doubt the expression ῥίζα πικρίας comes from the Hebrew, פֶּן יִשׁ בְּכֶם שָׂרֵשׁ פִּרְיָהּ רָאשׁ וְלַעֲנָה, *lest there be among you any root springing up, [which is] poison and wormwood*, Deut. xxix. 17. The expression there used to describe an idolater, viz., *root of poison and wormwood*, is here applied to any person of an unholy life and deleterious example, who is called ῥίζα πικρίας.

The consequence is next described. Καὶ διὰ ταύτης μιανθῶσι πολλοί, *and by this many be polluted*. That is, the bad example of some, will have a pernicious and polluting influence on many. Guard well against it; for ἐπισκοποῦντες is implied before μὴ τις ῥίζα, κ. τ. λ.

Ver. 16. Μὴ τις πόρνος . . . αὐτοῦ, *let there be no fornicator nor profane person, like Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birth-right*. Πόρνος is explained as meaning *apostate, one making defection from the true religion to a false one*, by those who construe the whole of our context as relating only to apostasy. God often taxes his ancient people with adultery and fornication, in consequence of their having turned to the worship of idols. The meaning thus given to πόρνος may, no doubt, be philologically supported; i. e. the word is capable of such an explanation. But as I interpret the context in a different way, it appears to be more consonant with it, to take πόρνος as designating *any person who indulges in gross and sensual pleasures, or who is of an abandoned character*. So our Saviour often speaks of the Jews as a *wicked and adulterous* generation; not literally adulterous, although doubtless this was true of some, but adulterous in the *figurative* sense of the word, viz., sensual, vicious, abandoned, profligate.

Βίβηλος is one *who scoffs at religion or sacred things, who disregards what is sacred* in the view of heaven. The appellation πόρνος and βίβηλος may both be applied to Esau here, and probably are so. As to the application of πόρνος, see Gen. xxvi. 34, 35 and Gen. xxxvi. 2. In regard to βίβηλος, see Gen. xxv. 29—34. His birthright

was not, indeed, a thing of religion; but it was, in those days, a matter of great personal importance and advantage. The argument is from analogy. 'Let no one give up himself to the gratification of his lusts, as did Esau to the great grief of his father, Gen. xxvi. 35: let no one despise the distinguished privileges which Christianity confers upon him, like Esau who despised the privileges of his birthright, and parted with them for a mere morsel of food.' In the case of Esau, folly and unbelief were very conspicuous; for the land of Canaan, as he well knew, had been promised to his ancestors for a possession; and as the first-born son, he must, according to the custom of those days, have a peculiar title to it. So those who reject the proffer of the heavenly inheritance, and renounce their duty as Christians, may with more propriety still be called βέηλοι.

Ver. 17. Those who conduct in such a manner, will hereafter weep with bitter lamentations, when it is beyond their power to recover what has been lost. Thus was it with Esau. *Ἰστε γάρ . . . ἀπιδουμάσθη, for ye know that when he was afterwards desirous to obtain the blessing, it was refused.* See Gen. xxvii. 34—40. *Εὐλογία*, viz., the blessing of his father Isaac.

Μετανοίας γάρ . . . αὐτήν, yea, he found no place for a change of mind [in his father], although he sought for it with tears. See Gen. xxvii. 35, 38, 40. *Μετανοίας*, here refers to a *change of mind* in Isaac, who had given the blessing appropriate to primogeniture, to Jacob. The writer evidently does not mean to say, that Esau found no place for repentance in himself. *Αὐτήν*, sc. *μετάνοιαν*.

The sentiment of the whole is: 'Guard well against indulging any fleshly appetites; above all, against slighting the blessings and privileges which Christianity proffers; lest having done this, you come at last, when it is for ever too late, bitterly to mourn over your folly and wickedness.'

Ver. 18. *Οὐ γὰρ προσεληλύθατε . . . ὄρει, moreover, ye are not come to the mount which could be touched.* He means mount Sinai, which was an object palpable to the senses. *Ψηλαφωμένῳ, contrectabile, quod tangendum sit*, i. q. *αἰσθητόν, quicquid sensu percipitur*. So Tacitus, Ann. III. 12, *oculis contrectare*; and Cicero, Tusc. III. 15, *mente contrectare*. The idea of *de cælo tactus, thunderstruck*, is here assigned by some respectable expositors to *ψηλαφωμένῳ*; but without any good philological support. The Greeks use *θίγειν* and *θιγγάνειν* to denote *the striking of thunder*. The Hebrews employ *גַּלְגַּל*, which the Seventy translate by *ἀπνισθαί*. But *ψηλαφάω* answers to the

Hebrew שֶׁמֶן and שֶׁמֶן. Particularly in Talmudic and Rabbinic Hebrew, are שֶׁמֶן and שֶׁמֶן used to designate *quod contrectabile est, quicquid sensu cognoscitur*. But, philology apart, the object of the writer in the antithesis between Sinai and Sion plainly shows, that he means to designate the former as *corporeal, material*; the latter as *spiritual, invisible*, the object of faith, but not of the senses. Chrysostom has well drawn the comparison, when he says of Sinai, πάντα τοῖς αἰσθητὰ, καὶ ὄψεις, καὶ φωναί; of Sion, πάντα νοητὰ καὶ ἀόρατα νῦν. If the reader has any difficulty about the above explanation of ψηλαφωμένῳ, a comparison of Ex. xix. 12, 13 with it, will hardly leave any doubt as to the meaning of our author, who seems plainly to have had in his mind the strict injunction then made, *not to touch* the mountain.

Καὶ κεκαυμένῳ πυρὶ . . . θυέλλῃ, *and to flaming fire, and to thick clouds, and darkness, and tempest*. As to the particulars of the appearance at Sinai here mentioned, see Ex. xix. 16—18. xx. 18. Deut. v. 22. 26.

Κεκαυμένῳ πυρὶ means not simply *fire*, but the burning of it, i. e. *flame*; see Deut. v. 23, 25. It may also be translated in connexion with ὄρει, sc. *the mount that burneth with fire*. But probably it was not the design of the writer that it should be so taken; for he has arranged ψηλαφωμένῳ before ὄρει while it qualifies it, in like manner he has arranged κεκαυμένῳ before πυρὶ which it also qualifies. I do not perceive the *absurdity* which Kuinoel charges upon the expression *flaming fire*; and therefore I cannot accede to this arrangement of the words.

Γνόφῳ is probably the Æolic form of νόφος, for which the Æolians use νόφος or γνόφος. The Seventy use it to translate יָגֵן, in Deut. iv. 11, et alibi. It is doubtless used by the Seventy and by the writer of our epistle, to designate *the thick dark cloud* that surrounded mount Sinai when God appeared there. The word often means *tenebræ*. Here it means *the cause of darkness*, i. e. thick black clouds.

Σκότῳ, Hebrew שֶׁמֶן or שֶׁמֶן, the darkness or gloom itself, occasioned by the cloud upon Sinai and around it. Θυέλλῃ is designed, perhaps, to correspond to the Hebrew שֶׁמֶן. If not, it is descriptive of the tempest that accompanied the dark cloud, the thunder and lightning of Sinai, Ex. xix. 16, 18. xx. 18.

Ver. 19. Καὶ σάλπιγγος ἤχῳ, *and to the sound of the trumpet*. See Ex. xix. 16, 19. Probably the meaning is, *a voice like that of a*

trumpet, i. e. very loud. In Deut. v. 22, it is called *a great voice*; in Deut. iv. 12, it is called *the voice of words*, i. e. articulate sounds; and in Deut. iv. 33, *the voice of God*. From comparing all these passages together it seems evident that the meaning is, 'an articulate voice loud like that of a trumpet.'

Καὶ φωνῇ ἐημάτων . . . λόγον, *and the voice of commands, the hearers of which refused that another word should be added to them*. Compare Ex. xix. 16, 19 and xx. 18, 19.

Ἐημάτων, lit. *things uttered or said*. But it applies to any sort of speech, and among other significations, it has that of *command*; see Luke iii. 2. Acts x. 2. xi. 14. Heb. i. 3. xi. 3. So קִצְּף in Hebrew, e. g. Est. i. 19. Josh. i. 13. 1 Sam. xvii. 29. Is. viii. 10. Ex. xxxiv. 28. So also קִצְּף, *to command*, Est. i. 17. iv. 13. ix. 14. 1 Chron. xxi. 7. See Wahl on ἔημα.

Ἦς οἱ ἀκούσαντες, κ. τ. λ. The exact shade of the writer's meaning is, 'The hearers of which [voice] refused that a word should be added to *them*, viz., αὐτοῖς ἐήμασι, to those commands.' In other words, the exceeding loud sound of the voice inspired them with such terror, that they declined having any more commands addressed to them in this manner.

Ver. 20. Οὐκ ἔφερον γὰρ . . . λιθοβοληθήσεται, *for they could not endure the injunction, "Even if a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned;"* see Ex. xix. 13. The vulgate edition of the New Testaments adds to this clause, ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται. But no manuscript of any authority exhibits this phrase; nor any ancient version; nor any of the ecclesiastical Greek writers, Œcumenius excepted. Beyond all doubt it is an addition of later times, taken from the Septuagint of Ex. xix. 13. Οὐκ ἔφερον, *they could not endure*, means, 'they were greatly affected with the severity of this command, viz., so that they could not bear it without awe and terror.'

Ver. 21. Καὶ—οὕτω φοβερόν . . . ἔντρομος, *and—so terrible was the sight—even Moses said, "I fear and tremble."* Οὕτω φοβερόν ἦν τὸ φανταζόμενον seems to me, plainly, an expression thrown in by the writer, in order to augment the description of the scene, which interrupts the regular narration, and is therefore to be construed as if included in a parenthesis. But as the whole of vs. 20, 21, is evidently a parenthesis, I have avoided the insertion of the parenthetic marks a second time, and noted the words included within the inner parenthesis, by a dash at each extremity. Καί, which introduces the last clause here, καὶ . . . Μωϋσῆς, has the force of *and even*.

But where is the history of Moses's trembling? No where in the Old Testament is it expressly mentioned. It is implied, however, in Ex. xix. 16, where it is said that "all the people in the camp trembled;" and Moses was with them, compare, vr. 14. The fear mentioned Deut. ix. 19, was on a different occasion, though this passage has often been adduced as supporting the affirmation now in question. Boehme says: "The writer has transferred to his present subject, a passage, from Deut. ix. 19, which does not belong to it, so that, by a *rhetorical artifice*, he might show, that the Mosaic dispensation was full of terror." "Cui sententiæ," says Kuinoel, "subscribo." But it seems to me a very shallow artifice which would undertake to mislead Jewish readers, in regard to parts of their Scriptures so conspicuous as those which respect Moses and the legislation at mount Sinai. I should hardly know, however, which to wonder at most, the *artifice*, or the *exegesis* of those who impute it to the author of our epistle. The particular history to which our author here alludes, was doubtless a matter of tradition among the Jews of his day; marks of which are still extant in the Rabbinical writings. See Wetstein on Gal. iii. 19, and L. Cappell on Heb. xii. 21. Ἐκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος means, *I am greatly afraid*.

Τὸ φανταζόμενον (the neuter participle being used like a neuter adjective) is to be construed as an abstract noun, sc. *species, appearance, sight*. This idiom is very common in the writings of Paul.

Ver. 22. Next follows the antithesis of all this scene of terror, which accompanied the introduction of the ancient law. Worshipers under the new dispensation approach a scene of a very different nature. Ἀλλὰ προσελθόντες Σιών ὄρει, *but ye are come to mount Zion*. Not the literal mount Zion, but the figurative, i. e. heavenly, one. This is made plain by the additional description which follows. Καὶ πόλει θεοῦ ζώντος, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἰουδαϊνίῳ, *and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem*. The epithet ἰουδαϊνίῳ here determines, of course, that a *spiritual Jerusalem, a heavenly city* is meant. Compare Heb. xi. 14—16. xii. 28. xiii. 14. Gal. iv. 26. Rev. iii. 12. xxi. 2, 10.

Καὶ μυριάσιν, ἀγγέλων πανηγύρεσι, *and to myriads, the joyful company of angels*. So, beyond all reasonable doubt, this clause is to be pointed and translated; for πανήγυρις is not to be joined, as some later critics have joined it, with ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c. &c. The structure of the whole paragraph denotes this; for each separate clause of it, in vs. 18, 19, 22—24, is commenced by καὶ, and continued, where any addition is made to it, by nouns in apposition, without any

conjunctive particle between them. E. g. *καὶ πόλει . . . Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἰπουργανίῳ*—*καὶ κριτῇ, θεῷ πάντων*, etc. The same construction, therefore, beyond any good ground of doubt, is to be adopted in the clause under examination. Dr Knapp has arranged it in this manner, in his able dissertation on Heb. xii. 18—24, in his *Scripta varii Argumenti*.

Μυριάσι, lit. *myriads*, i. e. ten thousands, used by the Greeks to signify a great and indefinite number. In respect to the number of angels, compare Rev. v. 11. Matt. xxvi. 53. Luke ii. 13. Dan. vii. 10. *Πανήγυρις*, among the Greeks, meant an assembly of men convened on a joyous and solemn occasion; e. g. on the occasions of their public feasts, etc. The mention of such an assembly of angels, shows that the writer intends to describe the objects of the *invisible* world as seen with the eye of faith, not things palpable, not the objects of sense. He has, moreover, a design to contrast this *joyful* solemn assembly of the angels, with that *awful* one who were present at the giving of the law upon Sinai. In respect to the presence of angels on that occasion, compare Ps. lxviii. 17 [18]. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Septuagint. Joseph. Ant. XV. 3, 5. Gal. iii. 19. Acts vii. 53. Heb. ii. 2, with the note upon it.

Our English version joins *μυριάσι* with *ἀγγέλων*, and renders, “to an innumerable company of angels.” It also joins *πανηγύρει* with *ἐκκλησίᾳ*, and renders, “to the general assembly and church,” etc. But the latter is not permitted, on account of the manner in which the author has constructed the whole of his enumeration of particulars, in vs. 18, 19, 22, 23; which, as I have already observed, are each separated from the preceding one by *καί*. If it be said that ‘*πανηγύρει*, in order to be constructed with *ἀγγέλων*, ought to *precede* it;’ the answer is, that in vr. 19 *σάλαπιγγος ἦχῳ* is constructed in the same manner as *ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει* here; as is also *διαθήκης μυστήριον* in vr. 24. The Greek admits no other correct grammatical mode of construction, but that which is given in the translation.

Ver. 23. *Καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, and to the assembly or church of the first-born, enrolled in heaven. *Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, *conventus*, a *concourse* or *assembly of the people*. It is not a mere ecclesiastical word, but designates, by usage, any kind of assembly, *sacred* or *civil*. Here it designates either the sacred assembly or church of the upper world, or else that upon earth. *Πρωτοτόκων* must not be literally understood here, but figuratively. Among the Hebrews, primogeniture conferred distinguished rights and privileges. Hence, figuratively taken, *πρωτοτόκος* means *any one who enjoys distinguished*

rights and privileges, whether he is first-born in a literal respect or not. Thus Israel, as beloved of God and highly valued, is called his *first-born*, Ex. iv. 22. In like manner Ephraim is named, Jer. xxxi. 9. So the Son of Sirach, xxxvi. 12, calls Israel. The same appellation of endearment is given to the predicted Messiah, in Ps. lxxxix. 27. In a similar sense ἀπαρχή is used, in James i. 18. I understand it here of those who had been most distinguished for piety and usefulness, such as patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, etc. Storr understands it as referring to the angels, and as descriptive of them; but without any good support from the *usus loquendi* of Scripture.

Ἀπογεγραμμένων, *enrolled*, a word employed by the Greeks to signify the inscribing of a person's name in a record as a citizen, as a free man entitled to all the rights of citizenship. It here marks citizenship in the New Jerusalem or the heavenly Zion. The ἐκκλησία here is that with which Christians are to mingle, in the full and final enjoyment of their privileges. Saints, while on earth, are usually spoken of as having their names *written* (γεγραμμένα, ἑγγραφή, not ἀπογεγραμμένα) in the book of life; e. g. Luke x. 20. Phil. iv. 3. Rev. iii. 5. xiii. 8. xvii. 8. xx. 15. xxi. 27. xxii. 19; and Dr Knapp and others interpret our text, as speaking of the saints on earth. They appear not to have noticed the difference of the phraseology employed in reference to such; and certain it is, that the general tenor of the passage before us has respect only to the *heavenly* city and assembly. Still, I would not object to the exegesis which is grounded on the supposition, that the writer here means to speak of the church on earth in distinction from the inhabitants of the heavenly world. It has this advantage, viz., that it does not interfere with the πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων in the latter part of the verse. *To be enrolled in heaven*, is to be entitled to all the privileges of a member of the heavenly city.

Καὶ κριτῇ, θεῷ πάντων, *and to the judge, the God of all*. Κριτῇ designates him before whose tribunal all must appear that enter a future world. But to Christians he is a merciful, not a condemning judge; and the design here doubtless is, to represent the judge as the βραβευτής, *the awardee of the prize*, to those who have successfully fought the battles of the Lord. *God of all* means here, God of all the πρωτοβόλων, i. e. that God who acknowledges them with favour and approbation; compare Eph. iv. 6. Rom. iii. 29. Heb. viii. 10. xi. 16. Acts vii. 32. Ex. iii. 6. Zech. viii. 8. Rev. xxi. 37. In entering a future world, Christians must, indeed, present themselves before

the tribunal of the eternal judge; but he is not a judge severe and rigid; he is in an appropriate sense *their God*; he will regard them with favour, he will treat them with kindness. Thus all is *inviting* with respect to the heavenly Zion. The transposition made by our English version, *to God the judge of all*, is against the arrangement of the text, and fails to give the appropriate sense of the words. The meaning of ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, Rom. ix. 5, is different from Θεός πάντων here, the former being “supreme God.”

Καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων, *and to the spirits of the just made perfect*, i. e. exalted to a state of final reward. Τετελειωμένων, having completed their probation, and arrived at their mature state, viz., a final state of glory; see on Heb. ii. 10.

Ver. 24. Καὶ διαθήκης Ἰησοῦ, *and to the mediator of the new covenant, Jesus*. See on viii. 6. vii. 22, where the same idea is exhibited.

Καὶ αἵματι Ἄβελ, *and to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better [things] than [the blood of] Abel*. Respecting the blood of Christ offered in the eternal sanctuary, see Heb. ix. 11—14, 23. In respect to sprinkling, see ix. 13, 19. *Figuratively or spiritually*, no doubt, this is to be understood. Sprinkled with Jesus's blood, the worshippers in the sanctuary above may approach the presence of God, i. e. the inner sanctuary, confident of a gracious reception. As the text now is, the literal version would be: *speaketh something better than Abel*, i. e. than Abel speaks. But the sense is plainly as given above.

Κριττον λαλοῦντι, instead of κριττονα λαλοῦντι, for the weight of authority is beyond all doubt on the side of κριττον. Literally rendered, κριττον would mean *something better*. But this is less grateful to the English ear, than the form of expression in the version. The meaning of the phrase seems to me quite simple and easy. The blood of Christ proclaims pardon and peace; the blood of Abel cried to God from the ground, Gen. iv. 10, for the infliction of punishment upon his murderer. Παρὰ τὸν, not τὸ, Ἄβελ, may be regarded as an elliptical expression for παρὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἄβελ. That the verb λαλεῖ is *understood*, in order to complete the grammatical sense of the phrase, is quite plain. The form of the sentence, however, must be varied in order to *express* this verb. It would be thus, ἢ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἄβελ λαλεῖ.

Such is the contrast between the former and latter dispensation. *There* all is awful, terrible, and threatening; *here* all is alluring, gracious, and animating. Who now can adhere to the former, and

renounce the latter? Such is the nature of the argument presented by the writer. He next proceeds to warn the Hebrews in the most solemn and affectionate manner, against a renunciation of their Christian faith.

Ver. 25. *Βλέπτε, μὴ . . . λαλοῦντα, take heed that ye turn not away from him who addresses you.* Παραϊτίομαι means *to deprecate, to decline, to endeavour to avoid, aversari, respuere, repudiare*. But who is τὸν λαλοῦντα? The sequel of the verse clearly shows that Christ is meant, who came from heaven to instruct men and warn them of their danger, or rather, with reference to the preceding verse, ‘who speaks to men by his blood.’

To give efficacy to this warning, he adds an example. *Εἰ γὰρ ἔκλυον . . . χρεματίζοντα, for if they did not escape [punishment], who rejected him that warned them upon earth.* That after ἔφυγον, either δίκην, ἀπόλειαν, or some such word, is to be supplied by the mind of the reader, is plain from the nature of the subject and of the context. But who is τὸν χρεματίζοντα? *Moses*, I answer. The two dispensations are here compared, in respect to the penalty to be inflicted on the contemptuous and refractory. The legislator or head of each dispensation, is introduced as the person who addresses the laws or warnings of God to men. See the same sentiment, in Heb. x. 28, 29.

Πολλῷ μᾶλλον . . . ἀποστρεφόμενοι, *much more shall we [not escape], if we turn away from him [who warns us] from heaven.* See a similar commination, in ii. 1—3. x. 28, 29. That χρεματίζοντα is implied after τὸν, results from common grammatical usage. ‘Απ’ οὐρανῶν is meant to represent, either that Christ came from heaven and warned them, or that being in heaven he now warns them, viz., by his messengers. It is possible, however, that God is here meant by the writer, as the one who warns them. But the antithesis between the head of the old dispensation and the new, hardly admits of this construction.

The ellipsis of οὐ φευξόμεθα after ἡμεῖς, is sufficiently plain from the nature of the sentence.

Ver. 26. *Οὗ ἡ φωνὴ . . . τότε, whose voice then shook the earth; viz., when, as with the sound of a mighty trumpet waxing louder and louder, he spake on mount Sinai so that the earth trembled; see on vs. 19 seq.* *Whose voice*, i. e. the voice of Christ; so Michaelis, Storr, Cramer, Rosenmueller, Boehme, Kuinoel, and Bloomfield. It is one of the many passages in the New Testament, which ascribe to Christ the same things that are ascribed to Jehovah in the Old Testament.

Nūn δὲ . . . οὐρανόν, *but now he has promised, saying, "Yet once more will I shake not only the earth, but heaven also."* Ἐπήγγιλται, *has he promised*, the perfect passive often having an active sense, because it belongs also to the middle voice. Buttm. Gramm., sec. 89. 2. Ἐτι ἄπαξ corresponds to the Hebrew וְעַתָּה לְאַחַר כָּךְ, *yet once, after a little time*, Hag. ii. 6. The citation is from the Septuagint, but οὐ μόνον is an addition by the writer of our epistle, and is designed to give emphasis to the declaration. That the passage has respect to the changes which would be introduced by the coming of the Messiah, and the new dispensation which he would commence, is evident from Hag. ii. 7—9. Such figurative language is frequent in the Scriptures, and denotes great changes which are to take place. So the apostle explains it here, in the very next verse. Comp. Is. xiii. 13. Hag. ii. 21, 22. Joel iii. 16. ii. 10, 31. Matt. xxiv. 29—31, comp. vr. 34.

Ver. 27. Τὸ δὲ, ἔτι ἄπαξ . . . σαλευόμενα, *now this "yet once more," signifies a removing of the things which are shaken, as so made that they might await things which are not shaken.* The manner in which the writer understood the figurative expression in question, viz., the shaking of the heavens and the earth, is here plainly declared. It denotes a great change, a μετάρθσις, *removal* or *abolition* of the things changed, i. e. of the Jewish dispensation. The language which had been literally applied to the quaking of Sinai, when the law was given, is now figuratively applied, in the usual scriptural way, in order to denote a great change of a moral nature.

Ὡς πεποιημένων is a *locus vexatissimus*. It would be of little use to detail the various opinions upon it; most of which seem to have sprung from a misapprehension of the meaning of the paragraph in which it stands. Even Michaelis and Storr interpret the passage as referring to changes in the *natural* world at the end of time; most evidently against the meaning of the writer. I understand πεποιημένων to designate either simply *things made* or *created*, χυροποίητα, *caduca mutabilia*, ideas necessarily implied by a term which designates *things of a corporeal and created nature*; or else I must construe the whole thus: *so made that they should wait for the things that will not be shaken.* It is clear that the writer means to say, that the ancient order of things, viz., the Jewish dispensation, will be *changed, removed, abolished*, in like manner as the objects of the natural creation. Either of the methods of interpretation just proposed, would convey this sentiment. According to the last mode of explanation, μείνη has a sense like the Hebrew נָשָׁבַת, נָשָׁבַת, or נָשָׁבַת; i. e. it means that the former things should be so circum-

stanced as to wait for or expect a change or removing. All this change or abolition of the *old* dispensation was to take place, in order that a *new* one might be introduced, which should undergo no change; *ἵνα μείνῃ τὰ μὴ σαλευόμενα*.

Ver. 28. *Διὸ βασιλείαν . . . παραλαμβάνοντες, wherefore, having obtained a kingdom which cannot be shaken*, i. e. the gospel dispensation, the *βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* or *τοῦ χριστοῦ* or *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, a *regnum immutabile*. Plainly the *βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον* here, is the opposite or antithesis of *σαλευομένων* in the clause above, which must therefore mean, in such a connexion, *the Jewish dispensation*. The new dispensation is not mutable, caducous, but *ἀσάλευτον*, *immutable, not to be shaken, not to be changed*.

**Ἐχωμεν χάριν . . . εὐλασίᾳς*, either *let us manifest our gratitude, by which we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and fear*, or else we must translate as below. In the first case *ἔχωμεν χάριν* means *gratiam habeamus*, i. e. *let us express, manifest, exhibit gratitude*, viz., for the *unshaken kingdom* which we have received, with all its privileges, preferences, and blessings; and in the second, *let us hold fast that grace*, i. e. the grace bestowed under the new dispensation, under 'the kingdom that cannot be shaken.' For such a sense of *ἔχωμεν*, see 1 Cor. xi. 16. Rev. xii. 17. John xiv. 21. Phil. i. 7. 1 Tim. i. 19. iii. 9. 2 Tim. i. 13. Heb. vi. 19. I have, on reviewing my work, preferred this latter sense, as the version will show; but I have some doubts whether *τήν* would not be necessary before *χάριν* in order to support this interpretation. *Εὐαρίστως*, *acceptably*, i. e. we must serve God in the way of holding fast this *χάρις*, in order to render our services well-pleasing in his sight.

Μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλασίᾳς, *with pious reverence*, i. e. let us exhibit, in our service, *pious reverence* for his spotless and awful perfections. **Ευλάβεια* means *piety, pious devotedness, the spirit of religious devotion*; and *αἰδώς* means *reverence*. I take the two words as designed to convey an idea of the *intense* pious reverence, which ought to be paid to the great God whom the gospel exhibits. The principle, that one of two synonymous nouns in such cases may be employed for the sake of *intensity*, hardly needs to be again stated; and that one of them may be employed in the room of an adjective is equally plain; so that, if we choose, we may translate, *with profound reverence*.

Ver. 29. *Καὶ γὰρ . . . καταναλίσκειν*, *for our God is a consuming fire*. If this be not a quotation, the image is drawn from the description of Sinai, vr. 18, which was still in the writer's mind.—

The idea is, that God, if called to punish unbelief, is not only surrounded by flaming fire as he was on mount Sinai, but this is also *πῦρ καταναλίσκον, devouring, destructive, tormenting fire*. The awful punishment of unbelievers and apostates is set forth by the expression in question, in a very striking manner. But probably the expression is a quotation of Deut. iv. 24, where it is employed by way of commination.

CONTENTS.

The writer now concludes his epistle, by various practical exhortations, adapted to the state and circumstances of his readers ; and to the wants of the church in every age, where the circumstances are like those of the persons here addressed.

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. Ἡ φιλαδελφία μείνω, *let brotherly love continue*, i. e. let it be constant, let it remain in exercise. I am on the whole disposed to believe that the writer means to say: 'Let it continue to be as it has hitherto been;' for he has repeatedly commended them, in our epistle, for their social sympathies and brotherly feeling. Φιλαδελφία is the mutual love of Christians as such.

Ver. 2. Τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, *cease not to practise hospitality, or forget not hospitality*. This was peculiarly a duty in those times of persecution and distress, when many were suffering the loss of their means of subsistence, and were obliged to cast themselves on the charity of their brethren.

Διὰ ταύτης γὰρ . . . ἀγγέλους, *for by this, some have entertained angels unawares*. Ἐλαθον ξενίσαντες, a truly Attic mode of expression; for the Greeks were wont to join the verb λανθάνω with the participle of another verb, when they wished to express the idea, that the action indicated by that other verb was done *unconsciously, undesignedly, without foresight*. Literally the phrase may be translated, *some entertaining angels were ignorant*, viz., that they were doing so. See examples of the kind referred to in Gen. xviii. 2 seq. and Gen. xix. 1 seq. The meaning of the whole is: 'Continue to practise hospitality, since greater honour and reward is consequent upon it, than you might be ready to suppose.'

Ver. 3. Μιμνήσκεσθε . . . συνδιδόμενοι, *remember those who are in bonds, as if ye yourselves were fellow-prisoners*. The writer had before adverted to their past sufferings under persecution, x. 32—34; and also to their present trials, x. 36. xii. 3—5. Here he ex-

horts them *to sympathize with those who are in bonds*, as if they themselves were in the like condition, because they were continually exposed to be thrown into prison. A high degree of sympathy is designated by the expression, ὡς συνδεδυμένοι.

Τῶν κακουχουμένων σώματι, [remember] *those who are injuriously treated, as [it becomes] those who are themselves still in the body.* Ὅντις ἐν τῷ σώματι, i. e. daily exposed themselves to persecution and suffering, and therefore liable to need commiseration from others.

Ver. 4. Τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἀμίαντος, *let marriage be honoured among all, and the bed undefiled.* So it should be rendered, because the whole strain is hortatory. So Schulz: "Ehrenwerth sei allen die Ehe." It is capable of another version, viz., *marriage is honourable for all*, etc. Ἐν πᾶσι τίμιος may also be translated, *is altogether honourable.* The first method however of rendering the phrase, seems to me preferable; as it is then made to be congruous with the context.

The fact that such an exhortation is here addressed to the Hebrews, shows, either that some of them were chargeable with a breach of the precept respecting chastity, or that they were in danger of becoming so. Polygamy and concubinage were practised by all around them, and had been for time immemorial. The demands of Christianity, then, in respect to these practices, might seem a grievance to some of the Hebrew Christians, and probably they were tempted not to regard them, and therefore needed caution.

Πόρνους δὲ θείας, *but whoremongers and adulterers God will punish or judge*; i. e. those who live in fornication while unmarried, or commit adultery after marriage, will not escape divine indignation.

Ver. 5. Ἀφιλάργυρος παροῦσι, *let your conduct be free from covetousness, and be content with what ye have.* Ἔστω is understood after ὁ τρόπος, for the sentence is hortatory. Τρόπος means *behaviour*, the same as ἥθος, *manner of life.* Ἀρκεύμενοι τοῖς παροῦσι, i. e. indulge no greedy desires for earthly possessions, but cheerfully submit to the allotment of providence in respect to these things.

Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἰγκαταλίπω, *for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee*; i. e. God hath promised to provide for you in the best manner, and you should put your trust in him. The phrase here quoted, may come either from Deut. xxxi. 6. Josh. i. 5, or 1 Chron. xxviii. 20.

Ver. 6. Ὡς θάρσυντας ἀνθρώπος, *so that we may boldly say, "The Lord is my helper and I will not fear; what can man do to*

me?" The quotation is from Ps. cxviii. 6; where the Hebrew, which corresponds to κύριος ἰμοὶ βοηθός, is יְיָ יְהִי, *Jehovah is for me*. The verse is divided by the accents in Hebrew, as the translation above divides it. The apostle has given the sense exactly. Ὡςτις ἀσπασσάμενοι ἡμᾶς, sc. εἶπαι, which is implied after ὥςτις. The meaning of the verse is: 'Under whatever trials and difficulties we may be placed, we need not be filled with terror or painful apprehension, for God will help us.'

Ver. 7. Μνημονεύετε τοῦ, *remember your leaders, who have spoken unto you the word of God*. Ἐγούμενοι, *duces, præsides, leaders, guides, directors*, which here means *teachers*, as the explanatory clause that follows clearly shows. Ἀγὼν τοῦ τοῦ, *the gospel*.

Ὡς ἀναστρωποῦντες πίστιν, *and attentively considering the end of their manner of life, imitate their faith*. That is, calling to mind the peaceful and happy death of those religious teachers among you, who gave you instruction respecting the word of life, imitate their faith, i. e. persevere in your Christian profession, as they did, to the very end of life.

Storr and others refer ἔκτασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς, to *the sequel or reward* that ensued, in consequence of the manner of life which these teachers had led. But I cannot find reason enough to believe that ἔκτασιν may be properly understood in such a sense. It is not improbable that the writer refers here to the triumphant death of Stephen, Acts vii., and of James, Acts xii. He exhorts his readers to follow the example of those faithful Christian teachers, who had died a peaceful and happy death, although perhaps a premature one.

Ver. 8. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς αἰῶνας, *Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever*. That is, Christ is always the same, always ready and willing to aid you in all your trials; comp. vii. 3, 15—17, 21, 25, 28; also v. 6, 9, ii. 18. ix. 24. x. 12—14, 23. Ὁ αὐτός corresponds with οὗ ὁ αὐτός εἰ, Ps. cii. 28 [Sept. ci. 27], in Hebrew אֲנִי הָאֵל, which there designates *immutability or eternity*; for the parallel distich is, *Thy years shall not come to an end*. The absolute eternity of Christ (*a parte ante et a parte post*,) is not here directly asserted; but the simple object of the writer is, to show that 'he ever liveth to aid his disciples. To refer the expression to Christian doctrine, and unite this verse with the one which follows, seems to me plainly a deserting of the obvious intention of the writer. Dr Schulz construes the passage as I have done. Χθες, καὶ σήμερον, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, is a Hebraism, used to express the *past*,

the *present*, and the *future*; and ὁ αὐτός, joined with these, denotes *immutability*.

Ver. 9. Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις παραφύρισθι, *be not carried hither and thither, by diverse and strange doctrines*. Ποικίλαις καὶ ξέναις designates doctrines *different, diverse* from true Christian doctrine, and *foreign* (strangers) to it. Such were the doctrines of the Judaizing teachers respecting many of their ceremonial observances and traditionary rites; and to these the writer here adverts, as appears by the sequel. For παραφύρισθι some manuscripts and editions have περιφύρισθι, which Ernesti and some other critics prefer; but it is not supported by equal authority.

Καλὸν γὰρ χάριτι περιπατήσαντες, *for it is good that the heart should be confirmed by grace, not by meats, by which those have not been profited who have been occupied therewith*. A difficult expression, about which there has been a great variety of opinion and conjecture. Χάριτι seems to me plainly to refer here to the *gracious truth* or *doctrine* of the Christian religion. The writer had just said: "Be not tossed to and fro by doctrines diverse and alien from Christianity." Next follows the assertion, "It is good to be established, [settled, confirmed,] in the *gracious doctrines* of the gospel, rather than to put confidence in *meats*," etc. Construed in this way, all is plain and congruous. Βρώμασι indicates the various kinds of meats, which were distinguished by the Judaizing Christians into clean and unclean; the first of which might be safely and properly eaten, but the second must be avoided, on peril of losing one's character for piety and incurring the displeasure of God. All attention to this subject the writer regards as useless, and avers that those who have been sedulously attentive to it, have reaped no spiritual profit from it. Περιπατήσαντες, like the Hebrew לָקַחְתָּ, means *to be concerned with, to be occupied with, to bestow one's attention upon*. In regard to the *unprofitableness* of such an attention to meats, comp. Heb. vii. 18.

Ver. 10. Ἐχομεν λατρεύοντες, *we have an altar, of which those have no right to eat who render their service to the tabernacle*. A figurative expression, borrowed from the Jewish ritual, and accommodated to express the privileges of Christians. According to the usages of sacrifice, in most cases, some part or parts of the victims offered were reserved for the use of the priests, and in some cases were to be eaten also by the offerer; see Lev. vi. 26. Num. xviii. 9, 10. Lev. vii. 33, 34. Num. vi. 19. Lev. vii. 15. xix. 6. But the הֶחָדָשׁ was a *holocaust*, i. e. an offering which was to be *entirely* con-

sumed by fire; particularly, the לֵילֵךְ offered on the great day of atonement, Lev. xvi. 14—16, 27. Lev. iv. 3—12. The reference in our text is to those sacrifices, a part of which were eaten by the priests and the offerers, in so far as the writer alludes to *partaking* of them. But when he says that ‘Christians have a sacrifice, of which those who pay their service to the altar have no right to partake,’ he means, that the benefits procured by the atoning sacrifice of Christ, do not belong, or will not be granted, to such as rest their hopes of salvation on the ritual sacrifices of the Jewish law, i. e. to such as continue to be disciples of Judaism, or turn back from Christianity to Judaism, and thus renounce the blessings procured for believers by the death of Christ.

Ver. 11. *Ὡν γὰρ εἰσφέρεται . . . παρεμβολῆς, moreover the bodies of those animals, whose blood was carried into the sanctuary as a sin-offering by the high-priest, were burned without the camp.* The *γὰρ* here introduces a second reason why Christians should not be carried hither and thither by divers doctrines, vr. 9. The first reason begins with *καλὸν γὰρ*; the second with *ὧν γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.* I have translated it *moreover*, not because *γὰρ* strictly considered has this meaning, but because the connexion of the discourse in this way becomes more facile in English. As to the offerings here alluded to, see Lev. xvi. 11, 14—16, 27. The construction of the verse is peculiar, and literally translated it would run thus: “The blood of which animals was brought into the sanctuary . . . the bodies of the same were burned,” etc. To make the verse plain, the *arrangement* has been altered in the translation. *Ἀμαρτίας, sin-offering*, or *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, [offering] *on account of sin*, which conveys the same idea. The object in offering the blood of goats and bullocks in the most holy place, was to make atonement for sin. *Παρεμβολῆς, camp*, refers to the time when the Israelites were in the wilderness, and lived in encampments.

Ver. 12. *Διὸ καὶ Ἰησοῦς . . . ἵπαθει, wherefore Jesus also, in order that he might make expiation for the people by his own blood, suffered without the gate.* *Ἀγιάσῃ, might make expiation*; see on ii. 11. *Διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*, comp. ix. 12, 14, 25, 26. x. 19. Acts xx. 28. Eph. i. 7. 1 Pet. i. 19. Rev. i. 5. v. 19. *Ἐξω τῆς πόλεως*, viz., the gates of Jerusalem; for he was crucified on Calvary, which was then *without* the walls of the city, although it is now *within* them.

Vs. 11, 12, are designed as a comparison between the sacrifice on the great day of atonement, and the expiatory sacrifice of Christ. The blood of the former was presented before God, in the most

holy place; the blood of the latter, in the eternal sanctuary above, ix. 12, 23, 24. The bodies of the beasts used for the former sacrifice, were consumed or destroyed, without the camp; the body of Jesus was sacrificed, or destroyed, without the gate of Jerusalem. The atoning sacrifice of Christians is analogous, then, to that of the Jews, but of infinitely higher efficacy; comp. ix. 13, 14. x. 4, 12. The particular object however of vs. 11, 12, is to introduce Christ as an example of suffering, in order to impress upon the Hebrews the necessity of perseverance in their Christian profession, amidst all their trials and difficulties. But the manner of introducing this example, is altogether in unison with the analogies which are so often repeated in other parts of our epistle.

Ver. 13. *Τόλυν ἰξερχώμεθα . . . φέροντες, let us then go forth to him without the camp, bearing reproach like his.* That is: 'Since Jesus suffered persecution and ignominy and distress, let us follow him, even if we endure reproaches like those which he endured. Let us adhere to the profession of Christianity, although it be counted as ignominious and worthy of reproach.' In respect to suffering *with* Christ, comp. Rom. viii. 17. 2 Tim. ii. 10, 11. 1 Pet. iv. 13. 2 Cor. iv. 10. Rev. i. 9. That *ὀνειδισμόν αὐτοῦ* means *reproach such as Christ suffered*, is plain from the object of the writer. Comp. Col. i. 24, which is exactly in point; and see on Heb. xi. 26. The same sentiment that this verse contains, is inculcated in Matt. x. 38, where it is expressed by *λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ*.

Ver. 14. *Οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν . . . ἰπιζητοῦμεν, for here we have no permanent city, but we seek for one yet future.* *Γάρ* introduces a reason why Christians ought willingly to bear with reproaches and sorrows.—In xi. 14 the writer calls the heavenly inheritance which the patriarchs sought, *πατρίδα*; and afterwards, vr. 16, *πόλις*. Here the appellation *πόλις* is used, because the writer had just been alluding to Christians being thrust out or going out of the city, viz., out of Jerusalem, to suffer ignominy as Christ did. The design of our verse is, to show the Hebrews that it could not be of any great importance, should they be exiled from their dwelling-places and the habitations of their Jewish kindred; for in this world, no habitation, no place of abode, can be *μείνουσα, permanent, lasting*. By profession, Christians, like the patriarchs, are seeking *πατρίδα ἰπουράμιον*; and consequently *πόλιν μέλλουσαν, an abode yet future, a residence in the world to come*.

Ver. 15. *Δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν . . . θιῶ, by him, therefore, let us continually present to God the sacrifice of praise.* *Δι' αὐτοῦ*, viz., by Christ, i. e. let us present such an offering, by him who is our great high-

priest; not a sacrifice of goats or bullocks, but a *sacrifice of praise*. In other words: 'Let us, as Christians, offer praises to God for the blessings of the gospel vouchsafed to us.'

Τοῦτ' ἔστι καρπὸν . . . ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, *that is, the fruit of our lips ascribing praise to him*. The expression *sacrifice of praise* (קָרְבַּן תְּהִלָּה), is found in Lev. vii. 12. A phrase similar to *fruit of the lips*, as used by Hosea xiv. 3, Hebrew נִשְׁלֶכְחָה פִּי שִׁפְתָּיו, where the Septuagint render it, καρπὸν χειλέων. The meaning of our phrase is, *what the lips utter*, viz., when they ascribe praise (ὁμολογούντων) to God. So Prov. xviii. 20, פִּי פִּי, *the fruit of the mouth*, i. e. what a man says, or his words.

Ὁμολογούντων, like the Hebrew תְּהִלָּה, means *to praise, celebrate, publicly acknowledge*. Ὀνόματι is here, as commonly, a periphrasis for the agent to whom the name belongs, viz., God; so that the sense is the same as τῷ Θεῷ.—What follows τοῦτ' ἔστι, is added by the writer, in order to guard against the apprehension of any one, that he was exhorting them to offer the *ritual* sacrifices prescribed by the law.

Ver. 16. Τῇς δὲ εὐποιίας . . . Δίς, *forget not, moreover, kindness and liberality; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased*. Ἐπιλανθάνω governs the genitive εὐποιίας and κοινωνίας. It was usual for the Jews, after making their thank-offerings, to invite the poor to the feast which followed; Jahn, Archæol. III. p. 396. So here, kindness and liberality are to follow the thank-offering of Christians; *kindness* toward the suffering and *liberality* toward the needy are *acceptable sacrifices, or such as God is pleased with*. The sentiment is; 'Duties like these Christianity requires; not the blood of bullocks and goats.' As to δὲ at the beginning of the verse, it is a sign of transition in the discourse, and may well be rendered *moreover*.

Ver. 17. Πείθεσθε . . . ὑπαίχετε, *obey your leaders, and be subject to them*. Ἐγούμενοις, in vr. 7 above, is clearly used in the sense of *teachers*, who were in fact the *guides* or *leaders* of the Christian community. If there be any difference between πείθεσθε in this case and ὑπαίχετε, the first has reference to positive obedience in regard to any directions given them; the second prohibits any opposition to the teachers, in the measures which they might adopt to promote the improvement and the order of their religious community.

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ἀποδώσοντις, *for they watch over your souls, as those who must render an account*. The γὰρ here introduces a clause which shows the gravity and importance of the office of the

ἡγούμενοι; which was a reason why cheerful obedience should be yielded to them. Ἀγρυπνοῦσι, *watch*; the image seems to be taken from the practice of shepherds, who watch with solicitude over their flocks in order that they may preserve them from the ravages of wild beasts. See the like imagery employed respecting the prophet Ezekiel, Ezek. iii. 17.—Ἵπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, i. e. for you, לְנַפְשֵׁיכֶם. Ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσετε, viz., to God, to whom “every one must give an account of himself;” particularly, every one put in a place of trust with regard to spiritual duties.

Ἵνα μετὰ χαρᾶς . . . τοῦτο, [so obey] *that they may do this with joy, and not with grief; for this would be unprofitable to you.* The meaning, I now think after revision, is: ‘Obey them that they may perform their duty of watching with joy, and not be grieved by perverseness and disobedience.’ The *watching* seems to be the main thing, in the clause which precedes Ἵνα μετὰ, κ. τ. λ.

Μὴ στυγάζετε, literally, *not groaning*, i. e. not grieving, the effect being put for the cause. It is only a *negative* form of expression here, designed to repeat the same idea as is conveyed by μετὰ χαρᾶς, and to render it more intense. Ἀλυσίτιλές γάρ, another negative expression, which means as much as to say: ‘This would be very hurtful or noxious to you;’ i. e. should their Christian teachers be compelled to groan on account of unbelief and want of subjection in them, the consequences would be distressing to themselves as well as to their teachers.

Ver. 18. Προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν . . . ἀνυστρέφισθαι, *pray for us; for we trust that we have a good conscience, being desirous in all things to conduct ourselves uprightly.* The request of the writer, that he may have an interest in their prayers, shows the friendly feelings and confidence which he entertained respecting them. He appeals to the sincerity and uprightness of his Christian deportment, as an evidence that he might claim a Christian sympathy for himself. Probably he has special reference, in what he says respecting a *good conscience*, to the accusations of Judaizers, who looked on those Jews as having violated their conscience, who had ceased to obey the *ritual* law. Ἐν παντί, κ. τ. λ., augments, or renders intensive, the idea contained in the preceding clause.

Ver. 19. Περισσότερος δὲ . . . ὑμῶν, *and I the more earnestly request you to do this, in order that I may be speedily restored to you.* This seems plainly to imply, that the writer was deterred from paying those a visit whom he addressed, by some adverse circumstances, viz., either by imprisonment, sickness, or some like cause. It also

implies, that he is known to them, and they to him; for it indicates that he had formerly been among them.

Ver. 20. 'Ο δὲ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦν, *now may the God of peace, that raised from the dead our Lord Jesus, who by the blood of an everlasting covenant has become the great Shepherd of the sheep.* 'Ο Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, *the God of peace*, i. e. the God who bestows happiness, auctor salutis. The Greek εἰρήνη, in the New Testament, like the Hebrew בְּרָכָה, means *every kind of blessing or happiness.* 'Ο ἀναγαγών, *who brought up, raised up, restored.* Τὸν ποιμένα τὸν μέγαν, comp. John x. 11, 14—18.

Ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου some join with ἀναγαγών. But what can be the sense of *raising Christ from the dead by the blood of the everlasting covenant?* Almighty power raised him from the dead; not the blood of the covenant. Beyond all reasonable doubt, then, ἐν αἵματι, κ. τ. λ., characterizes the great Shepherd, who "laid down his life for the sheep," John x. 15. 1 Pet. iii. 25; and who sanctioned a new testament or covenant by his blood, Heb. ix. 15—23. Matt. xxvi. 28. The meaning is, that 'the great Shepherd is provided with, or, so to speak, carries along with him, *blood* sanctioning a covenant which is of perpetual force.' So in Heb. ix. 25. the high-priest is said to have entered yearly into the most holy place ἐν ἄλλοτρίῳ αἵματι, i. e. carrying with him the blood of bullocks and goats. See also Wahl's Lex. i. No. 2. The phrase is plainly an allusion to the preceding discussion in chap. ix. I have rendered it so as to prevent a mistake, in regard to its meaning.

Ver. 21. Καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ, *perfect you in every good work*, i. e. make you in all respects to act worthily of the Christian name, enable you in all respects as Christians to discharge your duties. Εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, *so that you may do his will*, i. e. perform all he requires.

Ποιῶν ἐν ὑμῖν Χριστοῦ, *working in you that which is pleasing to him, through Jesus Christ.* That is, enabling you to perform all your Christian duties, which will be *acceptable*, εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, *pleasing in his sight*, שֶׂפָּעַי לְפָנָיו. Διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, i. e. may he do this *for Christ's sake* or *through Christ.*

ᾧ ἡ δόξα Ἀμήν, *to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.* The nearest antecedent to ᾧ, is Ἰ. Χριστοῦ; and to him, it seems to me, the doxology plainly belongs. Other examples of a similar nature may be easily shown; e. g. Rev. i. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 11. 2 Pet. iii. 18. Doxologies introduced into the midst of a letter, in this way, are characteristic of the writings of Paul.

Ver. 22. Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς παρακλήσιως, *now I beseech you, brethren, to bear with this word of exhortation; for I have written briefly to you.* Ἀνέχω means, *to bear patiently with, to receive or permit with kind feelings, to put up with.* Λόγον παρακλήσιως is simply, *exhortation.* Some refer this only to the last part of the epistle; but the whole is intermixed with hortatory admonitions. The writer, after speaking so plainly, and giving warnings so awful, endeavours to win those whom he addresses, to a patient toleration of his plain dealing.

Διὰ βραχείων, a usual Greek expression for *briefly, within a short compass.* “But how,” it is asked, “could Paul say this, when this epistle is longer than any one of his, that to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians excepted?” But is it to be supposed that those whom the apostle now addressed, were acquainted with all of his other epistles, and that they would estimate the force of διὰ βραχείων by a comparison of our epistle with them? It is much more reasonable to suppose that the writer means to say, that he had written *briefly*, considering the importance and difficulty of the subjects of which he had treated. And who will deny this?

Ver. 23. Γινώσκετε ἀπολειυμένον, *know ye that [our] brother Timothy is sent away.* See on the meaning of this, Introduction, sect. 19.

Μεθ' οὗ ὑμᾶς, *with whom, if he speedily return I shall visit you.* Μεθ' οὗ, *in company with whom.* Ἐὰν τάχιον ἔρχηται implies that Timothy was then *absent.* Of course, ἀπολειυμένον cannot well mean *set at liberty.* But if the meaning be as I have rendered it, then is the reason plain why Paul should say *εἰάν ἔρχηται.* If Timothy was imprisoned at Rome, and *set at liberty* there, why should the writer, at Rome, speak of his *coming to him?* If in some other place, how should he know of his liberation sooner than those could whom he addressed?

Ver. 24. Ἀσπάζασθε πάντας ἁγίους, *salute all your leaders and all the saints.* Ἀσπάζασθε means: ‘Present them with my kind wishes, and my regard for their welfare.’ Ἀγίους, *those who are consecrated to Christ, professing Christians, saints.*

Ἀσπάζονται Ἰταλίας, *they of Italy salute you;* viz., the *Italians,* see Introduction, sect. 19. pp. 127, seq. This shows that the writer was in Italy, from which country he sends the kind greeting of Christians there.

Ver. 25. Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, Ἀμήν, *grace be with you all,*

Amen; a frequent form of benediction in the apostolic epistles. *Χάρις* means *favour* or *blessing*.

The subscription to this epistle runs thus: Πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐγγράφη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Τιμοθέου. Like most of the other subscriptions to the epistles, it is of no authority. It is demonstrably erroneous here; for how could Timothy write this epistle, when the author says, at its very close, that Timothy was *then absent*? The author of this subscription, one is tempted to think, had either read the epistle with very little care, or with very little understanding of its contents.

EXCURSUS I.

Heb. i. 2. Δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε.

There still remains a difficulty in this passage (in common with Eph. iii. 9), as to the *form* of expression, or rather as to the *object* of the assertion.

In John i. 3 it is said πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ [λόγου] ἐγένετο; in 1 Cor. viii. 6, δι' οὗ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] τὰ πάντα; in Col. i. 15, ἐν αὐτῷ [Χριστῷ] ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα; in Col. i. 16, τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ [Χριστοῦ] . . . ἐκτίσται; and in Heb. i. 10—12, σὺ κατ' ἐρχάς . . . τὴν γῆν ἐδεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί. In all these passages, the creation of all things is simply ascribed to Christ; just in the same manner as in Gen. i. 1, God is said to have created the heavens and the earth.

The reader is desired specially to mark the *mode* of expression, in the passages above quoted; as it is important for him to have a distinct cognizance of it, in order that he may perceive the difficulty which I am about to state. If the Scriptures had no where ascribed the creation to any other than to the Logos or Christ, and had employed in ascribing it to him only such language as that just quoted above, I cannot perceive that any interpreter of the sacred writings would have ever thought of ascribing creation to any other than to the Logos simply; I mean, that so far as the *Scriptures* are concerned, he never would have thought of ascribing any sentiment to them, in respect to this subject, but that which assigns creatorship simply and solely to Christ or the Logos. There is, plainly, no difference in the *mode* of expression in the Bible, which asserts creatorship of God, or which asserts it of Christ. I must be understood of course to affirm this here, only of that class of texts which has just been quoted above.

But there is another view of this subject which presents difficulties that cannot be surmounted without some effort. The Scriptures do indeed ascribe creatorship to the Logos; as we have seen. But do the sacred writers mean to ascribe it to him *absolutely*, in the *highest* sense, as his *sole* and *independent* act? Or do they represent him as creating by *direction* of the supreme God, and under his *superintendence*? In other words: Was the Logos the original *author* of the universe, or was he only the *instrument* by which the original author brought it into being?

Questions easily asked; but not answered without more difficulty than unreflecting minds may at first imagine. All is to be resolved by what the Scriptures have taught us. So one and all who profess any sacred regard for

the Scriptures, must concede. What then do the Scriptures say, on this point of all points with respect to the great question about the real nature of Christ? Is he Creator by virtue of his *own*, or by virtue of a *delegated* power?

One thing it appears somewhat important to consider, before we advance any farther in the investigation of this subject. If Christ were only the *instrument*, employed by the supreme God to bring the creation into existence, and to arrange it in its present order, the sacred writers might assert, and might truly assert, that πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, or ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα. It may be said with equal truth, that the church of St Paul's in London was built by Christopher Wren, and that it was built by the monarch who was the efficient cause or author of the structure, and by whose direction and at whose expense it was reared. Every day men familiarly employ language in this manner, ascribing the building of a structure either to the *owner* or to the *architect*, just as the nature of the case may require.

Do the Scriptures ascribe creation then to Christ as *architect merely*, or as *original author* and *deviser* of the whole? In other words: Is that class of texts which ascribe creation to Christ, to be *modified* by admitting the idea, that creating by *delegated* power, i. e. (so to speak) as *architect only*, is meant; or are these texts to be understood in their *highest* sense, viz. in the sense of ascribing to Christ or the Logos *original* authorship, creating in the *highest* sense?

To prepare the way for an answer to this question, we must make inquiry respecting a second class of texts, such as those which I shall now subjoin.

In Heb. i. 2, the writer asserts, that God *made all things* BY HIS SON; and in Eph. iii. 9, τῷ [Θεῷ] τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, God *created all things* BY JESUS CHRIST. The latter clause, διὰ Ἰ. Χριστοῦ, is indeed wanting in some codices of good estimation, and is rejected by Griesbach from the text. But Knapp and Tittmann have inserted it, and the weight of authority seems to favour the admission of it. That the sentiment is not without a parallel, is clear from Heb. i. 2.

In these two cases, then, the assertion of the apostle is, that God *made all things* BY his Son, or BY Jesus Christ.

Are these expressions, now, to be interpreted in such a way as to qualify all the first class of expressions ascribing creatorship to Christ, so that they must be understood as asserting nothing more than that he performed an *instrumental* or *ministerial* work only, and did not act as *original author* in bringing the universe into being? This is the simple question before us, divested of all extraneous constructions put upon either class of texts by opinions previously formed, or views adopted in consequence of reasoning *à priori*.

Whatever may be the answer to this question, it is evident that nothing of importance can depend, either in respect to Heb. i. 2, or Eph. iii. 9, on the word διὰ. It has often been asserted, that this preposition is employed before the genitive case, only to designate a *secondary* or *instrumental* cause. But this is altogether incorrect, both in respect to sacred and classical usage; as even the common lexicons of the New Testament will show. The cause, whether principal or instrumental, may be, and often is, designated by διὰ before the genitive.

Δι' αὐτοῦ, then, might designate (by itself considered) the *principal cause* or *original author* of the worlds. This expression, however, does not involve the *nodus* of the difficulty in the case before us. The assertion is not here,

that *all things were made* BY (διὰ) the Son, but that GOD made all things BY him. In what manner now ought we to interpret this?

How the most noted commentators of the Greek church understood this difficult passage, is worth a serious inquiry. Chrysostom in explaining it says: "As the Father judgeth no one, but is said to judge by his Son, because he hath begotten him who is judge; so also he is said δημιουργῆσαι δι' αὐτοῦ ὅτι δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν ἐγέννησεν, *to create by him, because he hath begotten him who is the Creator.*" He then proceeds: "Εἰ γὰρ αὐτοῦ αἴτιος ὁ πατήρ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενημένων, *for if the Father is the cause of him, much more of the things made by him,*" Hom. I. in Epist. ad Heb. p. 15. Vol. XII. Ed. Montfaucon. To the same purpose Theophylact: "Ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἴτιος ὁ πατήρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐκόντως καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων, *seeing the Father is the cause of the Son, he must surely be of the things made by him,*" Comm. in Heb. Tom. II. p. 650. edit. Venet. 1755. Here also the generation of the *divine substance* of the Son is asserted, and the appeal is made to this doctrine as solving the difficulty of our text. But as the idea of SELF-EXISTENCE, EXISTENCE UNCAUSED, and INDEPENDENCE, enters *essentially* into all our conceptions respecting a nature TRULY DIVINE, and is a *sine qua non* in all our apprehensions of a CREATOR, it is difficult for us to concede that the Father can be the *cause* (αἴτιος) of the Son in his *divine* nature, without of course admitting that the Son (as *divine*) must be a *dependent* being; a δεύτερος Θεός only, as many have called him. The explanation of these fathers, (who accord with most of the ancient ecclesiastical writers,) seems then only to remove one difficulty by bringing forward another still greater. This explanation also is forced upon the text. The writer of our epistle does not say, nor intimate, that 'God created all things by his Son, inasmuch as he is *the cause* (αἴτιος, ἀρχή, as Chrysostom calls him) of the Son.' Can it be proper to force on the sacred writer a mode of metaphysical explanation, drawn from the philosophy of later ages, and foreign to the simplicity of the Scriptures?

In modern times, the mode of explaining our text is founded on what the systems of theology denominate, "*subordination* in respect to the persons of the Godhead." Thus Owen, on Heb. i. 2, says: "The joint working of the Father and Son doth not infer any other subordination but that of *subsistence* and *order*;" he means the hypostatical subordination of persons, or order of their existence in the Godhead. The amount of the explanation adopted by him and many others, is, if I rightly understand it, that God the Father, in the order of *subsistence* (not of time) preceding the Son, did, by the Son, create the worlds. But whether this explanation renders the text any more *intelligible*, may perhaps be well doubted. Especially so, as Owen, on the same passage, says: "The *same individual creating act*, is the work of the *Father* and the *Son*; whose power and wisdom being *one and the same undivided*, so also are the works which proceed outwardly from them." But if the power and wisdom of the Father and Son are not only *one* but the SAME UNDIVIDED; on what, it may be asked, is founded the evidence, that a SUBORDINATION of *subsistence* and *order* exists in the Godhead? If the *attributes* of the Godhead are *one and the same undivided*, how can we come at the *evidence* of a physical or metaphysical SUBORDINATION of *subsistence* or *hypostasis*? Can such a subordination of subsistence be in any way known to us, except through the medium of the divine attributes? But these are affirmed to be *one and the same undivided*. Are we able, then, to show what the distinction in *divine essence* is; or to define the *mode* in which the metaphysical *essence* of the *uncreated Being* exists? Where is the passage

of Scripture which does this? I am aware that an appeal is here made to those texts which mention Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in *connexion*; and particularly to the *order* in which they are mentioned. But of these texts there are only three. The first is in Matt. xxviii. 19, where the order just presented is observed. The second is in 2 Cor. xiii. 13, where the Lord Jesus Christ is placed *first*. The third is in 1 John v. 7, a text which, if not proved to be spurious, is at least thrown into a state so doubtful, that no considerate inquirer would at present think of appealing to it as authority. Consequently, if the *order* in which Father, Son, and Spirit are mentioned in Matt. xxviii. 19, proves that the Son and Spirit are *subordinate* to the Father, then the manner in which they are mentioned in 2 Cor. xiii. 13, will prove that the Father and Spirit are *subordinate* to the Son. How can that proof be valid, which establishes a contradiction?

Is then, we may well ask, *the order of subsistence or hypostasis*, (which is so much insisted on and so often appealed to by the schoolmen,) a doctrine taught by the sacred writers? Or rather, is it not one of the inventions of metaphysical philosophy, in order to remove apparent difficulties in the sacred text? Can any one point out the text of Scripture, in which God is presented in a *physical* or *metaphysical* manner, so that his essence or mode of subsistence, in itself considered, is offered to our consideration? If not; and if God only in his relations to us and the creation around us; God as developed by his attributes and not as he is in himself or considered in respect to his internal essence, be revealed to us in the Bible; why not be contented with what the Scriptures have taught without forcing sentiments upon the sacred writers which have been excogitated only by metaphysicians of later days?

Owen himself, after going through a protracted consideration of our text, with that good sense and humility for which he was so conspicuous, adds: "It is not for us to inquire much into or after the reason of this economy and dispensation. We cannot by searching find out God, we cannot find out the Almighty unto perfection." He means, that we cannot find out the economy of God's creating the worlds by his Son, and the doctrine of subordination which is implicated in this. Happy would it have been for the interest of humble and candid inquirers, had this sentiment produced a proper influence over all the writings of Owen himself, and of many other eminent and excellent men!

Will not most of the sober and intelligent inquirers of the present day agree in saying, that the *nature* or *modus* of the distinction in the Godhead is not an object of revelation, and that it is *beyond* the boundaries of human knowledge? Let those now who write or teach respecting this momentous and awful subject, act consistently with such an avowal, and very much of the perplexity which is still occasioned by incautious assertions in regard to it, will be saved.

The ground which Owen and so many others have taken to explain the phrase in Heb. i. 3, is not satisfactory; at least it is not so to me, because it is built on the assumption that we know what is beyond the boundaries of human knowledge, and which, after much examination, I am compelled to believe is not revealed in the Scriptures.

The difficulty of our text, then, still remains. It would be presumption in me to promise a solution of it that will be satisfactory. But as the subject is so deeply interesting to all sincere and humble inquirers after the simple meaning of the sacred writers, I will venture to suggest a few considerations for reflection.

Words are the signs of ideas. Words are human, i. e. they belong to men; they are employed by them; and employed to designate, of course, the ideas which men have in their own minds. All these ideas are derived from sensation, reflection, or consciousness. The perceptible objects without us, and the mental phenomena within us, are all the objects from which we can derive ideas through the medium of observation. Reflection or reasoning upon the knowledge derived from these, may lead us to many new ideas; all of which, however, have their basis in the perception of objects external or internal.

As words are merely *arbitrary* signs of ideas, so when employed in their original sense, they can never signify more than the things for which they stand. But words may be employed *figuratively*. When we come, by reasoning or reflection, to the knowledge and belief that there exists a Being who created the world; who is himself uncreated, eternal, and immutable; who is not the object of perception by any of our senses, and for the description of whom none of the words of our language were originally formed; we are then obliged, in order to describe this Being, to apply to him words already in existence. But these words, it is plain, must in such a case be used nearly always in a sense more or less qualified, and differing from their *original* and *literal* sense. Even in expressing our ideas of the *moral* attributes of the Supreme Being, where there is a particular resemblance between him and man formed in his image, we do not in reality apply to the Divinity the most common words, in exactly the same sense in all respects as we do to men. When we say, *He is wise*, we do not mean that he acquired his wisdom, or possesses it, or exercises it, just in the manner that men do. We mean, indeed, that there is in his wisdom something of the same nature as wisdom in men; something which selects the best ends, and chooses the best means of accomplishing them. But we do not mean to imply, that the acts of the Divinity in selecting and choosing them are in all respects analogous to our own.

We say, *God is omnipresent*. But we do not mean that he is present every where, in the same manner as human beings are present at any particular place. We do not mean that actual *physical* presence of body or of substance, is necessary to his being present; or in other words, we do not mean that he is *physically* diffused through the Universe. We mean that he is so present, that he can act any where or every where. Here is some analogy between him and us. But we must be *physically* present in order to act; he cannot be so, inasmuch as he is not material. As to the manner of presence, then, how exceedingly different is his from our own!

We say, *God is mighty*. But when we speak of *might* in him, we do not associate with it the idea of firm sinew, of vigorous muscle, of robust body, of mature age, of perfect health; all of which enter into our apprehensions of consummate strength in man. We content ourselves with one simple point of analogy. God has real power to do whatever he desires to do, i. e. he is almighty. In this respect his might or strength is like that in men, i. e. it is power to accomplish the objects which strength or might is adapted to accomplish. But the might of the Deity infinitely excels that of men in degree. Here is one point of dissimilarity. It depends, too, on very different causes for its exercise. Here is another. But still, we do and may speak of *power* in God; but who that has any reflection will say, that when we use this language in regard to God, we use it in *all* respects as we do when we apply it to men?

In the like manner we might proceed, in the consideration of every one of the divine attributes, whether natural or moral. In regard to them all we should find, that there is only some one main point of analogy on which our assertion rests when we apply human language to the description of God; and that the *manner* in which he possesses or exercises any of his attributes, *physiologically* considered, is utterly beyond the boundaries of human knowledge; and indeed that it was never meant to be an object of assertion, by any intelligent man who makes assertions in regard to the Supreme Being.

If all this is well understood, we are now prepared to advance a step farther, and see our way clear. Nothing can be more evident, (I might say self-evident) than that the eternal, uncreated, uncaused, independent, infinite, and self-existent God, must, as to his *mode* of essence and existence be unlike to temporary, created, caused, dependent, finite beings, with a derived existence. The very fact that God is as he has been just described, and man as he has been represented, necessarily forces this conviction upon us. Nothing can be plainer, then, than that all human language, formed at first merely to express human conceptions of finite and created objects, must in itself be altogether incompetent *fully* to describe the Divinity. Nor could any language be formed by created beings adequate to this purpose; for the plain reason, that no finite being could ever have a *full* conception of the infinite and uncreated-Being.

All our language, then, when used to describe God, must be considered rather as qualified in some respects, than as simply applied to him in its *full* and *usual* sense. Any description made by it, comes short of a *full* description of what is divine. This has been shown above. And could this be remembered and rightly applied in all our discussions respecting the nature of the Supreme Being, it would save much of the difficulty and darkness which now embarrass this great subject.

No assertion, indeed, can be made respecting God, which, if its language be understood and applied *altogether* in the *same* sense in which it is understood and applied when made of man, will not lead to contradiction or absurdity. This is evident from such plain cases as those already presented; viz. God is wise; God is omnipresent; God is mighty. If there is still any doubt here, take another case. *God has knowledge.* This is certainly true. But with us, knowledge can be obtained only through the medium of corporeal organs of sensation; it is acquired successively; in time; within a limited space; by the aid of memory, of comparison, of reasoning, of imagination; and when needed for use, it is summoned by recollection. When we say, 'A man has knowledge,' we insensibly connect all these things with these words. But if we say, 'God has knowledge,' do we mean to imply that he has corporeal organs of sense; that he gradually acquires ideas; that, limited by time and space, he does this; that he makes the *effort* of charging the memory with it; the *effort* of comparing, of reasoning, of imagination, of recollection, in any manner like us? Whoever says this is an *anthropomorphite* indeed; such an one, too, as is not to be often met with (I would fondly hope) in these days of better illumination respecting the exalted and spiritual nature of the Divinity.

From these obvious considerations, we may now proceed to examine the language of the sacred writers, in regard to the difficult point which suggested the subject of this *Excursus*. Two things seem to be equally the object of assertion in the holy Scriptures. The first, that *there is but one*

God; the second, that *the Logos or higher nature which dwelt in Christ, is truly divine, or is truly God*. Of the first, it would be superfluous to produce proofs here. The Old Testament is full of them; and the New as distinctly recognizes the same doctrine; see John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 4, 6. 1 John v. 20. Luke xviii. 19. Matt. xix. 17. A formal proof of the second point would be out of place, in an exegesis designed only for the explanation of a particular phrase. It must suffice merely to advert to John i. 1. Rom. ix. 5. Titus ii. 13. 1 John v. 20; the two former instances of which are so express, that no critical ingenuity can avoid the application of the term *God* to Christ; the third, when examined by the principles of grammar and of the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, is scarcely less certain; and the fourth has never, so far as I know, been *satisfactorily* explained away.

But how can the Logos be truly God, and yet be *with* God, and be the agent by which God made the worlds? Here lies, it must be confessed, the very essence of all the difficulty which embarrasses so many minds; and on this point we must now venture to dwell with some particularity.

In the first place, our minds are embarrassed with the difficulty which such a statement respecting the Logos makes, in regard to the divine unity. Let us see if the source of this embarrassment cannot be distinctly pointed out.

Trinitarians have been accustomed, for many centuries, to characterize the distinction in the Godhead by the word *person*. Whether this word was well or ill chosen, it is not my present object to inquire. Thus much is certain; many in Christian lands have incautiously attached to this word, when used in respect to the Godhead, a sense nearly (if not quite) the same as they attach to it in common usage. Not a few theologians and critics have, indeed, protested against such an application of the word; and some of those, who have been most eminent for their steadfast adherence to the belief that the Saviour possesses a nature truly divine, have raised their voice high against such an application of it; but unfortunately for the cause of truth, this voice has been listened to only by some of those who were friendly to a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. Others, with different views, have commonly thought proper to pay no attention to such a protest; but to take advantage, in their efforts to oppose the doctrine of the Trinity, of the arguments which might be put into their possession by taking the word *person* in its usual acceptation.

If now we speak of the Logos as a *person*; and of God the Father as a *person*; and attach to the word *person* the sense that is usual in common parlance; then it is certain, indeed, that the difficulty which lies in the way of supposing the Logos to be truly God, and yet consistently maintaining the divine unity is altogether insurmountable. "Person is an intelligent substance;" (if I may use the language of philosophy for the sake of definition.) "*Substance*" (as defined by Baumgarten, a divine of the old school, of high orthodoxy, and of great metaphysical acuteness) "is that which can exist by itself, or unassociated with another thing;" *Substantia est id, quod potest existere ita, ut ponatur extra alterum*, Metaphys. 191, 136, 231—233. As defined by another logician and philosopher, famous for nice distinctions of definition, "Substance is that which exists, or may be supposed to exist, although it is connected with nothing else;" *Substantia est id, quod est, aut esse posse putatur, etiamsi nulli alio sit junctum*, Ulrichs' Inst. Log. et Metaphys. § 316. To apply the word *person*, then, in the sense which such definitions necessarily afford, to the distinctions in the Godhead, inevitably leads to Tritheism, and of course to a *virtual* rejection of

the divine unity. We may say in *words* that we believe God is one, although we assert that there are three persons in the Godhead as just defined; but nothing is plainer, than that in such a case we believe merely in a *specific* unity, not in a *numerical* one. Specific unity, however, might admit three thousand or three million divine beings, and yet consistently maintain that there is but one God; that is, it might do so, provided we allow the advocates of it that there is a *γένος θεῶν*, *genus divinum*, or genus of divinities. Human nature, for example, is *one*; i. e. there is but *one* nature of man; yet the individuals of this genus are without number. That such is not the unity which the Scriptures assert of the Godhead, I need not stop to prove.

He who consistently holds the *numerical* unity of the Godhead, must, beyond all doubt, protest against the application of the word *person* to designate the distinctions of the divine nature, if that word is to be taken in its *logical* or *metaphysical* sense. For however one may hold to *words* and *forms* of expression, it is plain, that while he makes *such* an application of the word *person* to the Godhead, he in *fact* admits Tritheism, although he may be far from any design or any consciousness of doing so.

The views which have now been presented, may serve to explain the reason why many find it so difficult, or (as they think it) impossible, to admit the true divinity of the Logos. 'How can he,' say they, 'be the second *person* in the Godhead, and yet be *one* with the first? How can he be *with* God, and yet be *God himself*?'

And truly it must be confessed that this cannot be, provided the words in question are to be construed altogether *more humano*, i. e. in their *logical, common, usual* acceptance. But is it analogous, is it proper, to construe them thus? Does it develop a spirit of candid and fair inquiry, to insist that these terms shall be construed *altogether according to their common acceptance*, when there is not, as we have seen above, a single term significant of a divine attribute, which we ever construe in such a manner?

If this be correct, (and I may venture to say, it cannot be reasonably disputed,) then I see no very urgent reason why the use of the word *person*, in order to designate a distinction in the Godhead, should be rejected. It is true, it is not a word which is applied by the Scriptures to the Godhead, (for *ὑποστάσις* in Heb. i. 3 does not mean *person*;) it is also true, that many well-meaning individuals have been misled by it in regard to their conceptions respecting the Deity, and that those who reject the doctrine of the Trinity have made great use of this word in order to render the sentiments of Trinitarians obnoxious: so that one might almost wish the word had never been introduced into ecclesiastical usage. But when the matter is examined to the bottom, it will be found that objections of a similar nature might be urged against the application of any *anthropopathic* expressions to God. The simple and the untaught may be easily misled by them; and often are so. How many, for example, believe that God is really angry, repents, etc., *more humano*, because such expressions are found in the Scriptures? Shall all such expressions be laid aside, because they are misunderstood or perverted? And if so, where shall we stop? for we have seen that all language which is used in order to describe God, must be taken, of course and by necessity, in a *qualified* sense. The *abuse* of a thing is no valid argument against the *use* of it. Those then who believe in the existence of a real distinction in the Godhead, in case they are careful to protest against the *literal* application of the word *person* to designate this, may still continue to employ the word if they

think best; for it is exceedingly difficult (as all will confess who have thoroughly studied this subject) to exchange it for a better one, or for one that will so well correspond with the representations of the Bible in regard to such a distinction. Certainly no term can be substituted for it, which will not, in like manner, be obnoxious to more or less objections.

If those who reject all distinction in the Godhead, will persevere still in maintaining, that to say there are *three persons* in the Godhead necessarily involves the doctrine of *Tritheism*; and if they will thus continue, at all events, to explain the word *person* according to its *literal* and *common* meaning, and to charge upon those who believe in the doctrine of the Trinity the absurd consequences derivable from this; then they may indeed display their strength of attachment to their own views, and perhaps their skill in logomachy; but where are that candour and fairness toward those who differ from them, which are becoming in all who are earnestly seeking to know the simple doctrines of the Scriptures?

Suppose now, when one says that *God possesses knowledge*, he should be asked in the tone of reproof; 'What! Do you mean to assert that God has *physical* organs of perception; that he studies; that he charges his memory with ideas; that he compares; that he deduces conclusions; that he summons them up by the effort of recollection when he needs them? *Men* do *all* this, who have *knowledge*; but can all this be predicated of *God*? Would any considerate man think these questions very reasonable ones; or feel himself compelled by them to abandon his assertion, that God has knowledge?

Apply now the *principle* concerned in this case, to the idiom in question. The apostle John says, that the *Logos was with God; was with him in the beginning*; and repeats this asseveration, John i. 1, 2. Christ says of himself, that *he was with the Father* and partook of his glory, before the world had an existence, John xvii. 5. In another place, John asserts that the *Son was with the Father*, 1 John i. 2; and the Saviour speaks of the Father as *loving him before the foundation of the world*, John xvii. 24. He declares that *he came out from the Father*, when he came into the world, John xvi. 28. In accordance with this idiom Paul says, that *God created all things by Jesus Christ*, Eph. iii. 9; and that *he made the worlds by his Son*, Heb. i. 2. Now if such texts are to be considered as altogether *insulated*, and the principles of analogy in other cases are not to be applied to the language which they exhibit, then the conclusion that Christ or the Logos is a being *wholly distinct* from God the Father, is clear and inevitable. But are these texts to be construed in an *absolute* and *isolated* sense, and without any reference at all to others which relate to the same connexion between Father and Son? Certainly not, if we follow the analogy of exegesis in all other cases. When John says that *the Logos was with God*, he tells us at the very same time, as if to guard us against erroneously concluding that he is a distinct and separate and different substance,) that *he was God*. When the Saviour spake of the glory which he had with the Father before the world was, he had just been addressing the Father as the only true God, John xvii. 5, 3; so that no one could rationally suppose him to assert the existence of more than one true God. If Paul tells us that *God created all things by Jesus Christ*, and that *he made the worlds by his Son*, he also tells us, that Christ is *God over all and blessed for ever*, Rom. ix. 5; and that he is the eternal and immutable creator of the heavens and the earth, Heb. i. 10—12. Christ tells us that he who hath seen him hath seen the Father, John xiv. 9; that he is in

the Father, and the Father in him, xiv. 10; and that all which the Father hath is his, xvi. 15. Now, whatever diversity between the Father and Son the first class of texts above quoted may seem to imply, it is plain that it is not of such a nature as to destroy the unity of the Godhead. Whatever the *distinction* in the Godhead may be, it is *not* that which makes *plurality*; it is not that which makes *personality* in a logical or merely human sense. But can we say what it is? Plainly not. A positive description is no where given in Scripture; and surely it would ill become us to pretend that we understand, without revelation, the uncreated substance and *modus existendi* of the Godhead. All that we can understand by such expressions as *the Logos's being with God, becoming flesh and dwelling among us*, and *God's making the world by him*, that there is a distinction in the Godhead of some kind, which amounts to more than merely the different modes or ways in which the Divinity discloses himself to us. It is something which is not merely *nominal* or *logical*; which is not to be predicated merely of the external relations of the Godhead. It is something which renders it possible to affirm, in some sense or other analogous to the usual meaning of the words, that *the Son was with God*, that *God created the world by him*, that *he became incarnate*, etc.; all which cannot be predicated, in the *same* sense, of the Father. Yet all this must be true in such a *modified* sense, as not to infringe on the real unity of God.

Who now will undertake to decide what metaphysical distinctions or relations there may be in the uncreated substance of the eternal God, and what are consistent, and what not consistent with his unity? None, we may believe, but those who are either presumptuous, or destitute of cool and sober reflection. But although the *nature of the distinction* in the Godhead be truly beyond the boundaries of human knowledge, (as plainly it is,) yet the *fact that there is a distinction of some kind or other*, may be revealed. Indeed that it is revealed, seems to be a necessary consequence of allowing the two classes of texts above quoted to be true, and to modify each other. On the one hand, *distinction* is not to be so held or asserted as to infringe upon *unity*; and on the other, *unity* is not to be so held or asserted as to preclude the possibility of any *distinction*. Who has found out the Almighty unto perfection? Are not all analogies from created, finite, temporal objects, utterly incompetent to convey adequate ideas of the finite and uncreated God? Must they not from their very nature be so? Yet men will insist on applying all the analogy which language imports, to God in the same way as to themselves. We always conceive, for example, of *different* beings which have a finite nature, as separated by space, as existing in time, and as having their own peculiar properties. When therefore we read of the Logos as being *with God*, we very easily associate with this expression the analogy of one human being in company with another, or of some created thing associated with another that is a separate one. Then we are ready to ask: How can the Logos be God? One cannot, indeed, show that he is so, if we will insist that all language is to be applied to him, simply according to the common application of it to human objects. But is such an application to be made? Can it be? John says, he is *God*; and Paul says, he is *God over all*. Then human language, of course, can only *approximate* to a description of him; the literal and full application of it in designating his relations to the Godhead, is out of all question. Only very inadequate views of this subject, or the spirit of party, or that of disputation can maintain the propriety of such an application.

We may come then to the conclusion, that when the apostle Paul asserts that *God made the world by his Son*, there is nothing in reality more difficult in this expression, than there is in those expressions which are found in the gospel and first epistle of John. Whatever may be the economy of the Godhead to which Paul refers, it is not one which denies, or virtually takes away, either the unity of the same, or the supreme creatorship (so to speak) of the Son; for this he most fully asserts, in Heb. i. 10—12.

We have seen by the passages above cited, that the apostles John and Paul accord in their views, both with respect to the *distinction* and the *unity* of the Godhead, and to the divinity of the Saviour. As they held these truths in such a manner that they harmonized with each other, so ought we to do; and consequently, we should not give such an explanation to the one as to destroy the other. In a particular manner we ought to be guarded against making any assertions or definitions, which are built on the assumption that we know in what the distinctions of the Godhead consist. Some of the efforts of the school-divines on this awful subject, are not only contradictory to each other, but their views are inconsistent with the true nature of a divine and *self-existent* Creator, as well as repulsive to the feelings of a cautious and impartial inquirer, who seeks after ideas of *things* and not after mere *words*.

The suggestions now made, respecting the necessity of feeling that all our language when applied to describe the Deity must be restricted to a *modified* sense, are strengthened by an examination of the descriptions in general of God, as given in the Bible by the sacred writers. They represent him, for example, as angry; as repenting; as being grieved at the heart; as laughing at the efforts of the wicked; as mocking at their calamities; as rejoicing; as weeping; as avenging himself; as possessing eyes, hands, feet, and all the parts of the human body; as descending and conversing with men; as appearing to Abraham, Moses, and many others; as ascending; as riding in the whirlwind and the storm; as shooting with a bow and arrows; as whetting his glittering sword, and bathing it in blood; as clothed with the habiliments of a warrior, or in those of royal magnificence; in a word, as possessed of all the sympathies, and exhibiting all the phenomena, of a man. The most unpractised reader of the Bible knows this is true, and that more or less of it is to be found on nearly every page of it. Yet who that has any rational views of the true spiritual nature of God, ever supposes that any part of all this language is to be applied merely in its *primary* and *literal* sense to God? Still, in every case of this nature there is some *real* meaning in the language employed by the sacred writers. There is some point of analogy between the *literal* meaning of the language as applied to *men*, and the *qualified* meaning of it as applied to *God*. When God is said to repent, the meaning is, that he acts in a manner analogous to that in which men act when they repent, i. e. he changes the course which he was pursuing. When God is said to whet his glittering sword, to bend his bow, and to take hold on vengeance, then he does that which is like what men do to their enemies, i. e. he punishes, he inflicts distress, he makes retribution for crimes. In all these and such like cases, the *manner* in which the divine Being acts is not intended to be described; but the *fact* that he does act, is what is asserted by the use of such language as has just been mentioned.

No one can justly say, then, that there is no *real* meaning in such language when applied to God, unless it is taken in its *primary* and *literal* sense. Such an affirmation would betray profound ignorance of the nature

of language as used in a qualified sense, and also of the true character of God. For if all such language respecting him is indeed to be *literally* construed, then have the Scriptures cast no additional light on the *spiritual* nature of God, and he is still to be regarded as the heathen represented him to be, viz., as one *altogether like ourselves*.

If it should be thought that the class of expressions which are mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs, are essentially different from those before considered, viz. such as *God knows*, *God is mighty*, etc., an examination of the whole matter will convince any one of his mistake. It is true, the former class of expressions are more *obviously* figurative. We at once perceive, that, as God is not *flesh and blood*, they cannot be *literally* applied to him; i. e. we abstract from these expressions whatever pertains to *modus*, whatever is borrowed from our earthly material structure. But is it not equally true, that whatever pertains to *modus* is, in the other case also, to be in the same manner abstracted? For example; when God is said to *know*, does it any more imply the human *modus* of knowing, than it implies the human *modus* of acting, when he is said to lift up his arm in order to smite an offender? Most clearly not. The truth is, when sifted to the bottom it will be found that there is no essential difference as to the qualified nature of the language in both cases. In both you abstract the *modus*, before you apply it to God. In the one case, indeed, the metaphor is taken from our *corporeal* parts; in the other, from our *mental* powers; but this makes no difference in respect to the thing itself, except that in the former case the language is more obviously and strikingly to be qualified than in the latter.

If then such expressions as those which have been considered, and all others which designate the natural or moral attributes of God, are, and must be, understood in a *modified* sense; then why is not the assertion that the Logos was *with* God, to be understood in a similar way? The manner in which one *created* substance, as contemplated by us, is *with* another, can surely afford no perfect analogy to explain the manner in which the self-existent and uncreated Logos is *with* God. And yet the most specious of all the objections to the true divinity of the Logos, are grounded on the full and *literal* application to him of such language.

One word with respect to the *unity* itself of the Godhead. Is not this term, as well as all the others applied to the Divinity, to be taken in a *modified* sense? If any one will, for a moment, put aside the veil of *words*, and come to the simple contemplation of *things*, he will probably find himself much less able to tell what unity in the Godhead is, than he suspected. In the substances around us, proximity of parts united by some common influence, or subserviency to some common purpose, is essential to our idea of unity. A tree is *one*, because its several parts are intimately connected, are under an influence common to all, and are subservient to a common purpose, i. e. the producing of fruit or foliage. Other trees, indeed, of the like kind, are under the like influence, and subserve the like purpose; but the want of an intimate proximity of parts to the tree in question, is the ground why they are not *one* with it. One man, in distinction from many, consists of a corporeal frame thus intimately connected, and animated by an intelligent spirit. Every thing that has material parts is *numerically* one, only by an *intimate* conjunction of those parts.

But when we apply the term *unity* to spirit, and ask: What is that in which the unity of *spirit* consists? it will be found more easy to ask than to answer the question. A spirit we do not suppose to have parts; cer-

tainly not in such a sense as matter has, i. e. it is not divisible. God has no parts; he is a spirit. Proximity of parts does not constitute his unity. Nor have we, nor can we have, any proof that homogeneousness or simplicity of essence or substance constitutes his unity. For, in the first place, we have no distinct idea of what the essence or substance (if I may be allowed the expression) of the Godhead consists; and of course, we cannot predicate *physical* homogeneousness or simplicity of that respecting which we have no distinct idea. In the second place, as the most insignificant portion of matter has never yet, so far as we know, received an *ultimate* analysis from the highest efforts of chemical philosophy, so that any one can venture to affirm what its simple substance is, and confidently declare that it is homogeneous, and one only in regard to its component elements; will any one venture to say, that he has analyzed the divine substance, (I speak it with reverence,) so as to be able with certainty to predicate physical homogeneous simplicity and unity of the elements which compose it? How is it possible for us to make affirmations about the nature of that substance, of which, by our own confession, we are altogether ignorant? A man who at the present day should do thus in any other science than that of theology, would be regarded as a mere visionary, or as a bigoted enthusiast for the party to which he belonged.

The qualities, then, of the substance or essence of the Godhead, or (to speak in other terms) the physical or metaphysical nature of the Deity, is that of which we are profoundly ignorant. We know that there is one omnipotence, one omniscience; one Creator and governor of the universe; but do we know the internal relations and modifications of his substance? Confessedly not. How then can we with propriety reject the testimony of revelation, that the Logos is God, because of objections which our philosophy deduced from *à priori* reasoning may raise, in respect to the unity of the divine substance; all of which objections, too, are deduced from analogies that are taken merely from *material* and *corporeal* things? Truly if the nature of these objections be examined, and the whole matter sifted to the bottom, by putting mere *words* aside for a while and looking at *things*, it will be found that we have less reason to confide in such objections than some are ready to imagine.

The Christian who holds that the Logos is truly divine, (and of course that he is *self-existent*, eternal, and independent), holds to what Paul and John seem very plainly to assert; and he who admits that there is a *distinction* in the Godhead, (the nature of which is not developed, but which is implied in such expressions as those in Heb. i. 2. John i. 1, 2,) stands on *scriptural* ground, and on that too which is proof against all assault. For how can it be proved that there is *not* a distinction in the Godhead, the nature of which we confessedly do not understand? If it be asked: How can it be proved there is one? The answer is: By a *revelation*. If such a revelation has been made, (and the texts cited above, not to mention others, seem plainly to imply it,) then we are either bound to receive it, or to reject the authority of the sacred writers. Consistency must oblige us directly and fully to do the one or the other.

As for all the illustrations attempted by divines, ancient and modern, of the physical nature of the distinctions in the Godhead, drawn from finite, material, created objects, the bare mention of them is enough to show that they must be imminently exposed to error. Who can draw any perfect analogies between *created* and *uncreated* beings, in regard to their *physical* nature and properties? And all the terms, and names, and dogmas,

which have resulted merely from *such* comparisons, may be rejected in a mass, *salvâ fide et salvâ ecclesiâ*; and they ought to be rejected, if we would not expose the awful mystery of the doctrine in question to doubts, if not to rejection, by men who are not influenced in their opinions by tradition, nor by the authority of the schools. When the simple *Biblical* view of this subject is embraced, and the simple position of the sacred writers maintained, without adding to it any explanations or definitions merely of our own invention, then may more unity of opinion on this subject, be expected among professed Christians; and then will truth be less exposed to assault, from those who reject it.

We come, then, at the close of this protracted discussion, to the conclusion, that language like that in Heb. i. 2, is subject to such modifications as other parts of the Scriptures and the nature of the case demand. In other words, we can rationally apply it to God and to Christ, only in a *qualified* sense; just as all other language must be applied to them, most obviously, in a qualified sense. Whatever depends on *modus* must be abstracted. *Facts* are aimed at by the sacred writers, not the *modus* of them.

The expression in our text, therefore, according to every just law of exegesis, must be so taken as to accord with other assertions of the apostle and other inspired writers. But these do not permit us to attribute the act of *creating* to any but God himself, i. e. the supreme God. To this act the ultimate appeal is made by the sacred authors, in order to distinguish the supreme God from all that is called god in heaven or on earth; see Rom. i. 20. Ps. xix. 1. Acts xiv. 15. Is. xl. 25, 26. xlii. 5—8. xliii. 15. xlv. 24. xlv. 18. xlv. 9. xlviii. 12, 13, etc. Nor is it possible for the human mind to appeal to any decisive evidence of supreme Divinity, unless the act of creation be such. The Deity can be known at all only by the development of his attributes; and no development ever made, or (so far as we can see) none which can be made, is so highly and decisively characteristic of "eternal power and Godhead," as the act of creation. So thought Paul, Rom. i. 20; and so, until the whole structure of my mind is changed, must I think.

The Being then who *created* the world, is God *to me*; and from the nature of my moral and mental constitution, he must be so. This is a point that admits of no explaining away. If therefore Christ created the world, he must be what John asserts him to be, GOD; and what Paul asserts him to be, GOD OVER ALL. But in what sense God can be said to have created the world by Christ, i. e. what is the *exact* meaning of a phrase, which refers to an internal distinction (as it would seem) in the divine nature, is beyond the reach of our conception, as to *modus*. Enough that it has matter of fact for its ground, viz., that the Logos was truly Creator. Enough that *creatorship* is so spoken of in the Bible that we are not at liberty to predicate it of any dependent being. This point fixed, (and if it be not, we have no decisive evidence on which we can rely that Jehovah is God), the sense of Heb. i. 2, and of other like passages, is to be understood in a *qualified* way, so as not to gainsay what is plain and certain. This is as much as can be said with safety; for the subject to which such passages refer, is plainly one that, in most respects, is beyond the boundaries of human knowledge.

That the subject is not without difficulties, even in its scriptural position, is what every candid and unprejudiced man will be ready to confess. But it is a noble remark of Garve on Cicero de Offic. Lib. I. p. 70: "The

better part of men do not, because they may discover a few difficulties which they cannot solve, regard the whole system of acknowledged truth as uncertain. They can be aware that there is some darkness mingled with light in their knowledge, without being terrified by the one or blinded by the other."

The effort to explain *every thing*, to define *every thing*, has led to the unhappy consequence of introducing scholastic phraseology and definitions in respect to every thing about the doctrine of the Trinity. This not only bewilders many, but makes others believe that they have a knowledge of *things*, because they can use abundance of technical *words*; while the opposition of another class, who can detect the inconsistency and emptiness of these terms, is excited against the whole doctrine. The day however is coming, if not already arrived, when mere *names* will be regarded by the church as of little worth, provided they do not convey *intelligible ideas*. For the good of the church also it may be hoped, that the time is very near when men will learn to stop in making their inquiries *within the boundaries of human knowledge*, and *neither to assert nor deny that about which they know nothing and can know nothing*. Well was it said by a very sensible writer: "He who will not undertake to explain what is incomprehensible, but will seek to know where the boundaries of this begin, and simply acknowledge them when and where he finds them—he does most to promote the genuine knowledge of truth by man."*

EXCURSUS II.

Heb. i. 2. Δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἰστένης.

It has been argued, that the expression, *God made the worlds by his Son*, necessarily contains an implication of *eternal Sonship* or *eternal generation*; in other words, that Christ is the Son of God in his *divine* nature, and not simply considered as mediator. "How," it is asked, "could God make the worlds by his Son, if he had no Son until four thousand years after the world was created?" The answer, however, is easy. How could "God create all things by *Jesus Christ*?" And yet the apostle asserts that he did, in Eph. iii. 9. Is not *Jesus Christ* the appropriate name of the *incarnate* Logos—of the Saviour as possessing *our* nature? How then could the world have been created by him? The answer is, that in both cases, and in all similar cases, the words which describe the person are used as *proper names*, and thus come to designate the whole person in whatever relation he is considered. The Logos who created the world, was united with the human nature of Jesus—with the human nature of the Son of God, i. e. the Messiah. And as the names *Jesus Christ* and *Son of God* are evidently terms used to describe the *complex* person of the Saviour: so it is altogether accordant with the usages of language to say that 'God created the world by Jesus Christ,' or 'by his Son;' meaning, in either case, by the Logos or higher nature united to Christ or the Son. So we say *Abraham is dead*, meaning that part of him which is mortal is dead; *Abraham is alive*, meaning that part which is immortal lives. We say too, *Abraham was born in Ur of Chaldea*; yet he did not receive this name until ninety-nine years after his birth there, for before this last

* Jacobi, Goetting. Recens. St. 197, anno 1785.

period he was called *Abram*, not *Abraham*, Gen. xvii. 1, 5. This is analogical with saying, *God made the worlds by his Son*; although the Logos did not receive the name *Son*, except by prophetic anticipation, until he appeared in the flesh. Nothing is more common than to employ proper names, when once acquired, in order to designate the *whole person*, in all its different stages or modes of existence; without any reference to the time or manner of acquiring the proper name. At all events, if to say that *God made the worlds by his Son*, necessarily proves that the Logos was *then* a *Son* when he made the worlds; the same reasoning will of course prove, that he was then *Jesus* and *Christ* also, i. e. a complex person having a human nature, because it is said, *God created all things by Jesus Christ*.

In the same manner, the expression of our Saviour, *What if ye should see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?* John vi. 62, would prove, if the reasoning on which we are animadverting be correct, that the SON OF MAN existed in heaven *before* he dwelt among men, i. e. that the *Word made flesh* did not assume this incarnate condition at the birth of Jesus, but possessed such a nature before, viz., while in the heavenly world. Now as neither fact justifies such a supposition, nor the usages of language demand it, so the doctrine of *eternal* Sonship can never be built upon a principle of reasoning, which stands upon such a very insufficient basis.

In regard to the appeal which is made so often and with so much confidence to the early fathers of the church, as avowing and defending this doctrine, it is evidently founded in mistake, or in a partial and imperfect investigation of their sentiments. The amount of the speculations of early ecclesiastical writers on this subject, may be summed up in the following propositions, viz. 1. Originally or at first, God was alone (*μόνος*), yet so that the Logos was in him (*ἐν αὐτῷ, ἰσδιόθης*) as his reason or intellect. 2. In this sense they of course affirmed the Logos to be eternal, inasmuch as God never could have been without reason or understanding. In this sense also, they understood the Logos to have been concerned with the creation of the world; for surely the world was created by wisdom and intelligence. 3. As to the *generation* of the Logos, it took place when the world was created; so Tertullian expressly says: *Tunc igitur ipse Sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit DEUS, FIAT LUX. Hæc est nativitas perfecta Sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit; conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine Sophiae*, Lib. cont. Prax. p. 200, Tom. II. This they strenuously contended for, on the ground that the words which proceeded from God, when he said, *Let there be light*, must be *substantia*, *οὐσία*, not "quiddam inane vel vacuum." 4. The Logos thus generated was not merely like to God, but a communion of the same nature and attributes existed between them. In his assuming personality, there was no *ἀποτομή*, *abscission*, no *μερισμός*, *division*, in respect to the divine substance, but he was a *φῶς ἐκ φωτός αἰδίου*, a light kindled up by light and partaking of the same attributes. 5. This *community of nature* constituted the basis of the *unity* which exists in the Godhead.

So much for *speculation* on this awful subject. The reader can judge for himself, whether any advance is made by all this toward explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the generation of the Son. If he calls in question the correctness of this representation, as it regards the early fathers, I refer him for ample satisfaction, to a clear and masterly statement of the whole, with abundant proofs in the way of quotation from

the early fathers, contained in *Keilii Opuscula*, p. 483 seq.; also Martini, *Geschichte des Logos*.

EXCURSUS III.

Heb. i. 3. Ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

WHAT can be plainer, than that the description in Heb. i. 3 necessarily applies to the *incarnate* Logos, to the Son of God as disclosing in our nature the Father to the world of mankind? A multitude of analogous texts might easily be appealed to; but those quoted in the commentary are sufficient. It is plainly the manifestation of God which the Son makes, that occasions the Son's being described as ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ; both of which imply, of course, what is *visible* and *perceptible*. But the Logos before the incarnation, while simply divine, was neither visible nor perceptible. Nor can we, with any propriety of language, speak of him in that state in which he was simply the invisible God, as being only the *image* of God, or only the *radiance* of his splendour, or merely the *likeness* of his substance. Ὑπόστασις αὐτοῦ, *his substance*, I regard as equivalent to *him, himself as he really is*; for this would seem to be the meaning of *substance* in the case before us, and not the designation of the physical or metaphysical nature of the divine *substance*, which neither Christ nor any of the sacred writers have represented to us, and of which the Logos is not an *image*, since he is ONE with the Father.

Others understand ἀπαύγασμα in the sense of *image, exact resemblance*, and δόξα as meaning *divine majesty*; thus making ἀπαύγασμα δόξης and χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ synonymous. They appeal, by way of supporting this, to an expression in Philo, who calls the sanctuary of the temple οἶον ἀπαύγασμα τῶν ἀγίων καὶ μίμημα τοῦ δεξιτύπου, *an image, as they translate it, of the [heavenly] sanctuary, and a resemblance of the archetype*. But here ἀπαύγασμα may well be rendered *radiance*, i. e. *light emanated* from the heavenly sanctuary, in reference to the heavenly splendour which appeared in the most holy place. Philo de Plantat. Noe, L. II. p. 221. edit. Francofurt. The book of Wisdom calls wisdom, ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου, καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ, *the radiance of eternal light and the image of his [God's] goodness*; which, although cited by them, is still less to the purpose of defending their opinion.

Ancient and modern commentators, who have construed these phrases as having respect to the *divine* nature and condition of the Son, have understood them as asserting an exact likeness between the Father and Son, first in regard to *attributes* (δόξα), and then in regard to substance or *essence* (ὕποστασις). I must however regard the phrase in question, as of the same nature in respect to meaning with the texts to which it has been compared in the commentary; and we may surely find, in the analogy of the Scripture and in the nature of the imagery, reason to justify this view of the whole. But as the explanation referred to has been so long insisted on, and so often repeated, it deserves at least some particular attention.

Theodoret has best exhibited the mode of argument, which is used to defend the sentiment in question. "Splendour (ἀπαύγασμα)," says he, "comes from fire." It has fire as its cause, but is inseparable from the.

fire; for fire and splendour proceed from the same source. If now it is possible, in respect to objects of sense, that one thing should be derived from another, and yet coexist with that from which it is derived, you cannot doubt that God the Logos, the only-begotten Son of God, is begotten as a Son, and yet that he coexists with him who begat him as Logos, which [Logos] is ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. For the *glory* and the *splendour* have one common source. But the glory *always* existed; consequently the splendour. Fire and splendour are of the same nature; then the Son is of the same nature with the Father. Moreover, since the image of *splendour* abundantly shows the coeternal and coessential nature [of the Son with the Father], it has afforded occasion for the blasphemies of those who labour under the disease of Sabellius and Photinus. By another image, therefore, he [the apostle] refutes this blasphemy, since splendour does not exist in and of itself; for he adds, *χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, "κ. τ. λ. Theod. Comm. on Heb. i. 3.

In a similar manner Chrysostom and Theophylact argue, calling the Son *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*. So the Nicene fathers say, 'the Son is *φῶς ἐκ φωτός, καὶ θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ*. All these plainly borrow their phraseology from the expression, *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*, which is referred by them to the *divine* nature of Christ.

But how incompetent any *material* objects are, to afford just analogies of the *modus existendi* of a *divine* and *uncreated* Nature, need not be again insisted on in this place. We might well ask, is not the sun the *cause* of light? And does not the cause exist *before* the effect? Again; Is light in all respects *homousian* with the source of light, the luminary from which it springs? Is the radiance of the sun the *same* thing as the sun itself?

Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Gregory Nyssen, moreover assert, that the expression *χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, necessarily implies an entire resemblance in *all* respects of the Son to the Father, with the exception of *separate hypostasis*; and this they maintain must be so, because the impression made by a stamp or die is exactly like the stamp or die itself. But it may be asked, first, Whether the writer himself of our epistle makes, as these commentators do, the exception of *hypostasis* from the completeness of the resemblance asserted? Next, whether an impression is indeed in *all* respects like the die which made it? For example; is the *impression* solid, or of the same material with the stamp; or does it possess the same physical attributes; or is it coeval with it? Such assertions, therefore, though they may be oratorical enough, and please the fancy of hearers or readers, vanish away before the tribunal of examination, and serve only to show the incompetence of any earthly analogies to give a true representation of the *modus existendi*, or of the physical substance of the Godhead. They also show the imprudence, nay the *danger*, of employing such figures in regard to a subject of so awful a nature.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any man who carefully examines, that the Nicene fathers and the Greek commentators, one and all, held that Christ as to his *divine* nature was *derived* from the Father. So the Nicene creed, *θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός*. So Chrysostom, commenting on the phrase in Heb. i. 13, *κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου*, affirms that "the apostle says this for no other reason, than that you may not suppose the Son to be *ἀναρχον καὶ ἀναίτιον*," i. e. *sine principio et sine causâ*; most evidently in the very spirit of the Nicene creed. Yet we may ask the question; we cannot help asking it: Is then the Son, who is *God over all* and

blessed forever—is he, in his *DIVINE* nature, *derived* and *dependent*? Has he, as *very God*, an *αἰτία* and an *ἀρχή*? And is it possible for us to make the idea of *true* and *proper divinity* harmonize with that of *derivation* and consequent *dependence*? No; it is not. The *spiritual* views of the nature of God, which are now generally entertained by enlightened men, forbid this; in fact, they render it absolutely impossible.—But not so in the days of the Nicene council and of the Greek commentators. That they believed in the *divine* nature of Christ, I consider as altogether certain; but that their views of what is necessary to constitute a rational and defensible idea of a nature *truly divine*, were correct, is what no one, I think, who has read their writings and judged for himself, will now venture to maintain. Their views of the divine nature were built on the metaphysical philosophy of their day: but we are not bound to admit this philosophy as correct; nor is it indeed possible, now, for our minds to admit it.

EXCURSUS IV.

Heb. i. 3. Ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης.

To sit at the right hand of one on a throne, appears to have had two meanings, both in profane and sacred usage.

1. It denotes *honour, friendship, peculiar approbation, a reward bestowed* on any one. Thus Solomon, when on his throne, directed Bathsheba his mother to sit at his right hand, 1 Kings ii. 19. Thus in Ps. xlv. 9, the queen is represented as taking her place at the right hand of the king her husband. The mother of James and John requests of Jesus that her two sons may sit the one on his right hand and the other on his left during his reign, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, Matt. xx. 20—33, comp. Mark x. 35—40, i. e. that they may occupy the highest places of honour under him as king. In other passages, Christ promises his disciples that they shall have thrones in the world of glory, Matt. xix. 28; nay, that they shall sit down with him on his throne, even as he sits down with his Father on his throne, Rev. iii. 21. So Christians are said to have a kingdom given to them, Rev. i. 6; they are a *kingly priesthood*, 1 Pet. ii. 9; they reign with Christ, or in life, 2 Tim. ii. 12. Rom. v. 17. James ii. 5. Matt. xxv. 34. Rev. v. 10. In all these and the like cases, honour, reward, an exalted state of happiness or glory, is represented by such expressions; but not actual *participation* in the *supreme* government of the universe.

2. To sit at the right hand of one enthroned, or to sit on a throne with one, also denotes *participation of command, authority, or dignity*. So the heathen often employed the phrase; e. g. Pindar represents Minerva as δεξιὰν κατὰ χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς καθιζομένην, *sitting at the right hand of her father* [Jove]; which Horace explains by her occupying *proximos Jovi honores*. Pind. Fragm. p. 55. ed. Schneider. Hor. Od. I. 12, 19. So Callimachus says of Apollo, that “he will honour the choir who shall sing what is pleasant to him: since he is able to do this, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἔσται, *because he sits at the right hand of Jove*,” Hymn. in Apoll. v. 28, 29. The Greeks called him who participated with another in the kingly authority, *σύνιδρος, πάριδρος, σύνθερος*; although they also applied these terms to any member of a council, or of a deliberative judicial assembly. In the New Testament, when Christ is represented as sitting at the right hand of divine Majesty, Heb. i. 3; or at the right hand of God, Heb. x.

12; or at the right of the throne of God, Heb. xii. 2; participation in supreme dominion is most clearly meant. Compare Acts ii. 32—36; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Rom. viii. 34; Mark xvi. 19; Phil. ii. 6—11; Eph. i. 20—23. At the same time, the comparison of these passages will show most clearly, that Christ's exaltation to the right hand of God means, *his being seated on the mediatorial throne*, as the result and reward of his sufferings, (see particularly Phil. ii. 6—11, and compare Heb. xii. 2); and that the phrase in question never means, the *original* dominion which Christ as Logos or God possesses. The sacred writers never speak respecting the Logos, considered simply in his *divine* nature, as being seated at the right hand of God; but only of the Logos *incarnate*, or the Mediator, as being seated there. So in our text, it is *after* the expiation made by the Son of God, that he is represented as seating himself at the right hand of the divine Majesty. And that this *mediatorial* dominion is not to be considered simply as the dominion of the *divine* nature of Christ as such, is plain from the fact that when the mediatorial office is fulfilled, the kingdom of the Mediator as such is to cease, 1 Cor. xv. 23—28. Moreover, that the phrase, *to sit at the right hand of God*, or *of the throne of God*, does not of itself mean *original divine* dominion, is clear from the fact that Christ assures his faithful disciples they shall sit down with him on his throne, even as he sat down with the Father on his throne, Rev. iii. 21. It is exaltation, then, in consequence of obedience and sufferings, which is designated by the phrase in question. See an excellent dissertation *De Jesu Christi ad dextram Dei sedente*, by the venerable Dr Knapp of Halle (*ὁὐς ἐν ἀγίῳ*), in Knappii Scripta varii Argumenti. Hal. 1824.

EXCURSUS V.

Heb. i. 5. Ἐγὼ ἱσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἴσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.

A DIFFICULTY still remains, in regard to the application of 2 Sam. vii. 14 to Christ. In the very same verse which contains the quotation made by the apostle, is contained the following expression: "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men;" i. e. I will inflict such punishment as men receive on account of transgression. Can it well be said respecting the Son of God, "If he commit iniquity," etc.? Where can any analogy in Scripture be found of such language as applied to him? The answer must be: No where. But by a nearer inspection of the whole prophecy, and by comparing it with other predictions of a similar nature, perhaps the difficulty presented may be diminished, if not removed. What hinders that God should promise both *temporal* and *spiritual* blessings to David, in consideration of his piety? See 2 Sam. vii. 1—13. Why could he not promise him that he should have successors on his throne, who should, like other men, fall into sin and be chastened for it; and yet, that among those kings who should descend from him, there should be one who was the Son of God in a peculiar sense, who was destined to a dignity—to a throne—of a most exalted nature? Such at least seems to be the exposition by the author of the eighty-ninth Psalm, vs. 29—37.

Compare this now with the promises made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 1—3. xv. 1—6. xvii. 1—8. These passages certainly contain assurances, that Abraham should have a literal numerous offspring, and that they should

inherit the land of Canaan; see Gen. xv. 7—18. Yet they also contain assurances of a seed in whom all nations should be blessed, Gal. iii. 14—17; and of a seed who should be the heirs of Abraham's faith, i. e. resemble him in regard to faith or belief, Gal. iii. 6—8. It may be difficult for us to ascertain, in some cases, where the *temporal* promise ends and the *spiritual* one begins, and so *vice versa*; because both are couched, as usual, in similar language. But this does not show that there is any absurdity, or any improbability, in the supposition that God may have promised, and that he has promised, blessings both spiritual and temporal at the same time. Did he not engage that David should have successors on his *earthly* throne; and also that he should have a Son who would sit on a *spiritual* throne, and have a kingdom of which David's own was but a mere type? Luke i. 32, 33. Rom. i. 3, 4. Admitting this, our difficulty is diminished, if not removed. The "iniquity committed" is predicated of that part of David's seed who might commit it, i. e. his successors on the *national* throne; while the more exalted condition, predicated of his successor, belongs to him to whom was given a *kingdom over all*.

If you say: 'Thus interpreted, the prophecy seems to be in a great measure general, and difficult to be *definitely* interpreted;' the answer is: So it was designed to be. The *general* idea only was intended to be communicated of some future most distinguished progeny of David. Very much of our difficulty in interpreting most of the prophecies of the Old Testament, arises from aiming to make them more *specific* and *definite* than they were originally intended to be. When we shall have thoroughly learned, that "the Law made nothing perfect," we shall find less difficulty in the interpretation both of the Old and New Testament.

EXCURSUS VI.

Heb. i. 6. Καὶ προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ.

ALTHOUGH nearly all the commentators on our epistle admit that the passage is actually quoted by the apostle, yet the difficulties to which this opinion is exposed, should not be passed over in silence.

In Deut. xxxii. 43 [Septuagint] the very words are found which appear in our text. But, 1. They are found *only* in the Septuagint version; the Hebrew and all the ancient versions omitting them. 2. The copies of the Septuagint itself are not agreed respecting them. The Codex Alexandrinus reads υἱοὶ Θεοῦ instead of ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ; and one Codex at Oxford omits the whole clause. 3. The subject connected with this command to the angels, (if we admit the clause in the Septuagint to be a part of the sacred text,) has no relation to the Messiah. The context celebrates the victory over the enemies of Israel, which God will achieve. After saying, that "his arrows should be drunk with blood, and that his sword should devour flesh with the blood of the slain and of captives, from the time when he begins to take vengeance on the enemy;" the Septuagint, not the Hebrew, immediately inserts, εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. This, in the place where it stands, must needs mean: 'Let the inhabitants of the heavenly world rejoice in the victory of God over the enemies of his people, and let them pay their adoration to him.' But the Messiah does not seem to be at all alluded to, any where in the context; much less described as being *introduced into the world*.

I should therefore think it very improbable, if the apostle meant to quote Scripture, that he meant to quote *this* Scripture, on the present occasion; for we have no knowledge, unless it be so applied in our text, that the Jews of his time were wont to apply this passage to the Messiah. Still, it is a *possible* case, (I cannot say *probable*,) that he quoted the words of Deut. xxxii. 43, merely as fitted to express the idea which he intended to convey; just as we now borrow Scripture language, every day, to convey our own ideas, without feeling it to be at all necessary to prove, in every case, that the same meaning was originally conveyed by the words which we employ as we attach to them in our discourse. Such a use, it is well known, is not unfrequently made of passages from the Old Testament by the writers of the New; and such a one, Storr maintains, is here made by the apostle of the words of the Septuagint in Deut. xxxii. 43.

The probability, all things considered, seems plainly to be in favour of a quotation from Ps. xcvi. 7 (Septuagint xcvi. 7); where the Septuagint has προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, as a translation of the Hebrew שָׁכַתוּהוּ לְכָל־מַלְאָכָיו, *worship him all ye Elohim*. Here αὐτοῦ, in the Septuagint stands after ἄγγελοι, but in Heb. i. 6, it is ὁθεῦ, and καὶ in our quotation is wanting in the Septuagint. Still any one who has compared the quotations of the New Testament from the Old, either with the Hebrew or Septuagint, must have seen that very few of them are *verbatim*. The variation here of the quotation from the original, is so small, and so entirely unconcerned with the sense of the passage, that the discrepancy will not be any hinderance at all to the supposition that Ps. xcvi. 7 may have been quoted.

It is certainly a *possible* case, that this psalm celebrates the introduction of the Messiah to his Mediatorial throne. His empire was to destroy idolatry, and fill the hearts of the righteous with gladness, Ps. xcvi. 11, 12. The Jews, as Kimchi asserts, were wont to apply all the psalms, from Ps. xciii. to Ps. ci., to the Messiah. If such an explanation was current in the time of Paul, as seems probable, it would give additional force to the appeal here made. And even if Paul himself did not regard Ps. xcvi. as *originally* designed to be applied to the Messiah, he might still use the words of it as descriptive of facts which took place at the time of the Saviour's exaltation. There is nothing, however, in the xcvi. psalm which forbids our referring it to the *regal inauguration* of the Messiah; and so long as we know that the Jews did refer it to him, and that the apostle has here referred it to his introduction into the *δικουμένον*, this is sufficient to satisfy us that it should be so construed.

One question, however, still remains. How could the Seventy, and Paul after them, translate מַלְאָכָיו as meaning *angels*? It is admitted, that the great body of lexicographers and critics, in recent times, have rejected the sense of the word here given. But usage, after all, pleads in favour of it. The Septuagint render לֵא, *God*, by ἄγγελος, in Job xx. 15; and מַלְאָכָיו by ἄγγελοι, in Ps. viii. 6, and so the Chaldee Targum here; xcvi. 7 (xcvi. 7). cxxxvii. 1 (cxxxviii. 1). Paul follows them, by quoting Ps. viii. 6, in Heb. ii. 7; and also by quoting Ps. xcvi. 8, in the verse before us, i. e. if we concede that he does actually quote it. Is not this sufficient evidence that there was an *usus loquendi* among the Jews, which applied the word מַלְאָכָיו occasionally to designate *angels*? It is admitted that

kings and magistrates are called *Elohim*, because of their rank or dignity. Is there any thing improbable in the supposition, that angels may be also called **אֱלֹהִים**, who at present are elevated above men, Heb. ii. 7? Facts, and not suppositions, are evidences of the *usus loquendi* of the Jewish writers. Accordingly our most recent and distinguished lexicons acknowledge the sense of **אֱלֹהִים** here advocated; see Gesenii Thesaurus on **אֱלֹהִים**, who, though himself inclined to doubt or reject this sense of the word, still professes satisfactory evidence that no violence is done to the laws of interpretation, when such a rendering is given.

EXCURSUS VII.

Heb. i. 11, 12. **Σὺ κατ' ἀρχὰς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί. Αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμεινῇς καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλξῇς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλαγῇσονται σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι.**

IN regard to the body of the psalm (Ps. cii.) from which this whole quotation is taken, the majority of the late critics agree in the opinion, that it does not *primarily* relate to the Messiah, but to Jehovah absolutely considered. It is, no doubt, one of those psalms, the internal evidence of which does not so clearly and definitely determine the application of the whole composition, as does that of many others. Thus much also seems to be clear, viz., that there is nothing in the psalm which *forbids* the application of it to the Messiah. Nay, there are several passages in it, which apply to him in a more apposite way than to any other personage. If we suppose the complaint, vs. 1—11, to be that of the church previously to the appearance of its Redeemer, then does the sequel agree with the promised redemption. In particular, verses 15, 18, 20, 22, describe the propagation and prosperity of true religion among the heathen. But when was such a diffusion of the true knowledge and worship of God to take place? Under the Jewish dispensation, or under the Christian? Surely under the latter only. Compare too vr. 20 with Isaiah lxi. 1, which the Saviour applies to himself, Luke iv. 17—21. Verses 23, 24 of Ps. cii. renew the complaint of the church; and vs. 25—28 contain the answer, viz., that the Redeemer is the Creator and is immutable, and that the church shall be continued, and a godly seed be permanent. So I am inclined to explain the whole psalm; and so, at any rate, the writer of our epistle seems to have understood it. Certainly there is nothing that forbids such an explanation, when it is once admitted that the Messiah was at all the subject of prediction in ancient times, and that some of the psalms do actually contain such predictions.

But if any one prefers construing psalm cii. as applicable merely to Jehovah, absolutely considered, then there is no serious difficulty with respect to our quotation. The application of the same words to the Son of God, which were originally spoken respecting Jehovah, is equivalent to saying: 'What was affirmed by the Psalmist of Jehovah, may be as truly affirmed of the Son.' As the writer applies the words in this manner, it shows that he considered those whom he addressed as being accustomed to make such an application of them, and that they were willing to admit it; otherwise he could not have expected the argument to be acknowledged by them as a forcible one.

Admitting now that the apostle has correctly applied this passage to the *Son*, either in the former or the latter method, and one of these must surely be admitted, then it follows that the Son possesses a nature *truly divine*. The act of creation is the highest evidence of such a nature, that is offered or can be offered to our minds; and the sacred writers appeal to it as such; see Rom. i. 20; Psal. xix. 1; Acts xiv. 15; Isa. xl. 25, 26; xlii. 5—8; xliii. 15; xliv. 24; xlv. 18; xlvi. 9; xlviii. 12, 13. It is plain that the force of the proof in question is not altered, whether you suppose the 102d psalm *originally* to relate to the Messiah or not. If it originally related to him, then the application is clear and unembarrassed. If it originally related to Jehovah simply considered, then the apostle asserts here, that what was said of Jehovah may also be applied in the same manner to the Son. Consequently, the weight of the argument is the same in either case, as it respects the divine nature of Christ. Either would show the opinion of the writer to be, that the Son is eternal and also the Creator of the universe; of course, that he is exalted beyond all measure above the angels, and is truly divine. For as the same writer says: *He who made all things, is God*, Heb. iii. 4.

We may observe, too, that this last argument is the climax of the whole, and completes the proof which the apostle adduces to show the exalted dignity of the Son. He had intimated the same sentiment at the commencement of his epistle, v. 2; but here he brings out into full light, the nature of his views respecting this subject. Whatever, then, may be the economy according to which *God made all things by his Son*, it is *not* of such a nature as to exclude supreme creatorship and eternal existence as belonging to the Son; both of which are asserted to belong to him by the passage now before us.

EXCURSUS VIII.

Heb. ii. 2. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος.

THERE are two methods of explaining this. 1. The apostle here speaks merely in the way of *accommodation* to the Jewish mode of representing this subject. The Jews attributed the giving of the law to *angels*, as mediators or *internuncii* between Jehovah and them; and they were accustomed to make high claims on this account, with respect to the dignity and superior excellency of their law. The apostle here adverts to their views of this subject; and what he says amounts to this: 'If every transgression of the law which you regard as given by the mediation of angels, was punished,' etc. In like manner the same apostle says to the Galatians: "Who hath bewitched you?" without intending to teach us that he believed in the power of witchcraft. And so our Saviour may have spoken to the Jews, of the unclean spirit that goes out of a man and walks through dry [desert] places, seeking rest and finding none, but afterwards it returns with seven other spirits and repossesses the same man, Matt. xii. 43, without intending to teach us, that impure spirits actually wander about in deserts; although I doubt this exegesis. We are not, then, absolutely obliged to understand the apostle as meaning any thing more by the expression in question, than a reference to the Jewish mode of speaking and thinking relative to the subject of angels. But,

2. Another mode of explanation is, that the phrase contains a concession

on the part of the writer, of what was viewed *by him* to be matter of *fact*. This view I feel constrained to adopt, by a comparison of similar passages. In Acts vii. 53, Stephen says to the Jews: "Ye have received the law *εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων*, *by the disposition* [order, arrangement] *of angels*;" and Paul, speaking of the law, in Gal. iii. 19, says that it was *διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων*, *arranged*, [disposed, proposed] *by angels*.

But here a difficulty is urged. God *himself* proclaimed the law to the Israelites, Exod. xx. 1, 19, 22; Deut. v. 4. How then can the law be said to be *λαληθεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων*? Different ways of avoiding and answering this difficulty, have been adopted. Some have denied that *ὁ λόγος* here means the law; and they interpret it as referring to the different messages, which in the Old Testament are said to have been delivered by angels. Others have made a distinction between what was said directly to Moses by God himself, and what was *promulgated* [*διαταγὴς, εἰς διαταγὰς*], as they say, to the people at large by angels. That the law of Moses however is meant, is plain from a comparison of Heb. x. 28, 29, and xii. 25; as well as from the nature of the comparison here proposed between the old dispensation and the new one. And that the tenuous distinction made in the second case, is unnecessary, every one who reflects well on the *usus loquendi* of Scripture will concede. God is very often said to do that, which instruments under his direction or under the general arrangements of his providence accomplish. This idiom proceeds so far, that even evil is ascribed to him in this way by one phrase, which another passage shows to have been perpetrated by an inferior agent. E. g. in 2 Sam. xxiv. 7, it is said of Jehovah, *Πῶς* *he moved* [or excited] David, to go and number Israel; which crime was followed by tremendous punishment. Yet in Chron. xxi. 1, it is said of *Satan*, *Πῶς* *he moved* David to go and number Israel. So it is repeatedly said of Pharaoh, that *he hardened his own heart*, and that *the Lord hardened his heart*, in Ex. iv.—x. So, according to the prophet, Jehovah smites the confederate Syrians and Israelites, Isa. vii.—ix; so in other passages, Jehovah is represented as smiting the nations of Judah, of Assyria, of Babylonia, of Egypt, of Tyre, of Moab, etc. Yet in all these cases, *instruments* were employed. Solomon *built* the temple; but he did not hew and lay the stones with his own hands, nor carve the goodly architecture. Nothing can be more erroneous than in most cases, than to draw the conclusion, that because the Scripture asserts some particular thing to have been done by God, therefore he did it *immediately*, i. e. so that no instruments were employed by him. How much difficulty and contradiction, as well in theology as in interpretation, has such a mode of reasoning produced! In interpreting the principles of human laws, we say: *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*. Does not common sense approve of this, as applied to the language of the Scriptures? Nothing can be more evident, than that the sacred writers have expressed themselves in a manner which recognizes this principle.

If then we are pressed with the *literal* explanation of *ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λόγος*, and any one insists that this can mean no less than that angels uttered audible sounds when the law was given; all this may be conceded, and still no contradiction be found in the representations of Scripture when its *usus loquendi* is well understood. *God did that, which the angels performed by his direction.*

Yet such a *literal* interpretation of this passage is hardly to be insisted on. Stephen in Acts vii. 53, and Paul in Gal. iii. 19, assert only that

the law was *διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων*; which well conveys the general meaning to be attached to an expression of this nature, viz., 'the angels were *ministering spirits*, or *assisted* at the giving of the law.' Such was the Jewish tradition in the apostolic age. Josephus says: "Our best maxims and most excellent laws we have learned of God, δι' ἀγγέλων," Archæol. XV. 5. 3. Philo (Lib. de Decalogo) states, that "there were present at the giving of the law, voices visible, animated, and splendid, flames of fire, *πνεύματα*, trumpets, and divine men running hither and thither to publish the law." Yet in another place he states, that "God only spake the law to Moses;" which however, as we have seen above, is not at all inconsistent with the former representation.

In addition to all this, there is a passage in Deut. xxxiii. 2, respecting the legislation at Sinai, which seems to refer to the fact designed to be stated in our text. "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them [the children of Israel]; he shined from mount Paran, and *he came with holy myriads*, מְרַבְּבוֹת קֹדֶשׁ." By the *holy myriads* here mentioned, what can be meant except *the angels*! Moreover in Ps. lxviii. 18 it is said: "The chariots of God are myriads, thousands repeated; the Lord is in the midst of them, as on Sinai, as in his sanctuary." Does not this evidently recognize the fact, that when God made his appearance on Sinai, at the giving of the law, he was surrounded by a multitude of angels? So then, the Old and New Testaments agree, in representing the angels as present when the law was given, and as being ministering spirits on that occasion.

That the Jews, and a multitude of Christians after them, have carried speculation to a repulsive length on the subject of *angelic* ministration at the giving of the law, does not disprove the fact itself; much less are their extravagancies to be imputed to the writer of our epistle. While some have maintained that the angels made circuits round the camp of the Hebrews; others, that they excited the thunders, and lightnings, and tempest; some that they blew the trumpets; others that they caused the quaking of the earth; some that they delivered the tables of the law to Moses; others that they uttered audibly the words of the law; and others still that they were mere spectators of the awful scene; we may stand aloof from being thus wise above what is written, and content ourselves simply with what our author teaches us, and what the Scriptures confirm, viz., that angels did assist at the giving of the law, or were in some way employed as ministering spirits by Jehovah, on the occasion of its being promulgated. This is all that the text can well be interpreted as meaning, and all that is requisite for the argument of the apostle.

EXCURSUS IX.

Heb. ii. 6—8. Διαμαρτύρατο δέ σου τις, λέγων, Τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μιμνήσκη αὐτοῦ ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπη αὐτόν; Ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν [καὶ κατίστησας αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου] πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

Thus far the quotation from Ps. viii. But how, it is asked, can this apply to Christ in particular, when the author of this psalm evidently speaks of human nature or man in general? Many of the later commentators reply to this question, by conceding that the apostle uses the words of the

psalm only in an *accommodated* sense, in order to express his own views of the superiority of Christ's human nature. But this answer does not meet all the demands of the case. It is evident that the writer appeals to Scripture authority here, in support of the proposition which he had advanced, viz., that the human nature of Christ is superior to that of the angels. If now the passage contains nothing more than an assertion of that dignity which is common to all men, how would this tend to convince those to whom he wrote, that the human nature of Christ is superior to that of the angels?

It is difficult then to avoid the supposition, that the viii. psalm was referred to the Messiah by those whom the apostle addressed. Was it rightly referred to him as being prophetic of him, or not? Many commentators answer in the *negative*. But is there not reason to adhere to the more ancient method of interpretation? Let the reader now peruse 2 Sam. vii. through, and then direct his attention to vs. 17—29, in particular to vs. 18, 19, 26, 29, compared with the prophetic declarations of Nathan in vs. 12—16. Does not the frame of mind in which David appears to have been on this occasion, correspond well with that described in Ps. viii. 5? Suppose now that David, in surveying the works of creation, is in the first place deeply impressed with his own insignificance in a comparative point of view; and then, in the next place, revolves in his mind the promises made to him as recorded in 2 Sam. vii. His mind is naturally led to dwell on the distinguished goodness of God, in exalting a creature so insignificant as himself to honour so great as the prophet had promised him. Among his posterity was to be one who should be the Son of God, and on whom universal empire should be conferred, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16, compared with vs. 8, 11. In view of such honours, how natural would be the expressions of Ps. viii. 6—10! In the person of this illustrious descendant whom Nathan had promised to him, he could see, with a *prophetic* eye, that the human nature would be exalted to universal dominion. No created thing was to be excepted from this dominion. As to the particulars enumerated in Ps. viii. 8, 9, they are plainly borrowed from Gen. i. 26 seq. and indicate nothing more than the *universality of dominion*. They amount to saying: 'The dominion originally assigned to man over the creation around him, and abridged by his fall, is to be *actually* conferred on human nature: and this too in a still higher sense, inasmuch as all things are to be subjected to the Messiah.' In other words, not only is man to have such dominion as by his original creation he was designed to have, viz., over beasts and fowls and fishes, but nothing in this case is to be excepted. With such views as these might not the royal Psalmist well add, "How excellent is thy name in all the earth!"

Who now that admits the spirit of prophecy to have at all existed, can deny that David might have such a view of his future Son? Nay, considering the use which the apostle has made of the passage in question, is not this explanation of the psalm a *probable* one?

I am disposed then to believe that the course of thought, in David's mind, was something like the following: 'Lord, how insignificant am I, compared with the glorious works which the heavens display! Yet thou hast magnified thy goodness toward me in a wonderful manner. Thou hast not only formed me in thine image, and bestowed many blessings upon me, but promised me a Son, on whom distinguished glory and *universal* empire shall be conferred. Can it be that human nature will be thus exalted? Adored be thy name through all the earth!'

What is there now in all this, which is any more improbable than any other prophetic declaration respecting a future Saviour and Lord of the world?

But if any one refuses to admit these views, there is still a sense in which all the saints are, through Christ, to be exalted above angels, and to have a participation in the dominion of the world. They are, as being united with the Messiah, and as being his brethren, Heb. ii. 11, to judge, i. e. rule [ἡγήσονται, κρείουσιν] the world, 1 Cor. vi. 2; to rule over the angels, 1

Cor. vi. 3; to have power over the nations and rule them, Rev. ii. 26, 27; to sit with the Redeemer on his throne, Rev. iii. 21; they are made kings and priests unto God, and reign over the earth, Rev. v. 10. All this however is plainly spoken in a *qualified* sense; and such privileges are bestowed upon them only by virtue of their union with Christ, to whom supreme dominion belongs. In like manner we say: 'The Romans held the empire of the world; attributing to the nation what properly belonged to their prince.

Human nature then in the persons of the saints, in a special manner of course in the person of their head or leader, is exalted to a state of precedence above the angels, to a state of universal dominion. Consequently, that Christ possessed a nature which was human, did not make him inferior to the angels, but, since this nature was to be thus exalted, superior to them. And thus the Psalmist declared it should be.

If the whole passage be understood as limited principally to Christ, or as extending to the saints also, the point which the apostle aims to prove is established. But it is only by understanding the passage according to the first method of interpreting it, that we can well apply, in its full force, the sequel of the apostle's remarks. Indeed, what can be more evident, than that since the fall of our first parents, universal dominion even over all the animal creation, has never been actually possessed by man? Christ only has it in its full sense; and in him only have the words of Ps. viii. had a *πλήρωσις* in all the extent of their meaning. When we once admit that prophetic anticipations of Christ were not only possible but matters of *fact*, is there any thing which creates a serious difficulty in supposing them to have been actually entertained by David in respect to Christ, and to have been uttered in the Psalm just mentioned?

EXCURSUS X.

Heb. ii. 13. Καὶ πάλιν, 'Εγὼ ἴσομαι πεπαιδῶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ· καὶ πάλιν, 'Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ, καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός.

But how does the passage quoted relate to the Messiah? In Is. viii. 17, 18, the subject spoken of is the prophet himself, who declares that he will keep himself in the attitude of constant waiting, i. e. in expectation that the prophecies which he had just been uttering would be fulfilled; and he appeals to the *children*, to which had been given symbolical names, and which God had given to him as pledges that these prophecies would be fulfilled. It would seem then at first view, that our author had *accommodated* this passage, merely for the purpose of expressing his views of the subject before him. There can be but little doubt, however, that when our epistle was written, the Jews in general construed a part of the chapter of Isaiah in question as having respect to the Messiah. Thus Paul, in Rom. ix. 32, 33,

seems plainly to refer to Is. viii. 14, as the source of a part of his quotation; and this passage he treats as applicable to Christ. In a similar way, also, the passage under consideration, with the clause that follows, appears to be treated. Indeed, unless the persons to whom Paul wrote would readily refer the passage quoted to the Messiah, it is difficult to perceive how the quotation, in the shape with which it is here introduced, would present any argument to them in favour of the position that men are the brethren of the Messiah. But still the mode of reasoning, it must be owned, seems to be *argumentum ad hominem*, or *argumentum ex concessis*, rather than from the real nature of things, considered independently of the opinions of those to whom our author wrote. Critics, in modern times, have felt a difficulty in considering this species of argument as admissible by a sacred writer. The Christian fathers, however, had no difficulties of this sort; most of them freely admitted it.

The majority of Protestant critics have considered the passage of Isaiah now in question, as actually spoken in the person of the Messiah. This they have done, in order to avoid the necessity of admitting an *argumentum ex concessis*; which has been regarded by them as incongruous with the character of an inspired writer. But in avoiding one difficulty, they have fallen upon another equally great; for all the laws of exegesis, which bid us to connect text with context, and to interpret a writer so as to make him speak connectedly and directly to his purpose, are put at defiance, when we interpret the words of Is. viii. 17, 18, as *originally* having been spoken with *direct* and *primary* reference to the Messiah, or in his person. To admit such a violation, would be a more serious evil than to concede, with nearly all antiquity, that the apostles did sometimes employ the *argumentum ex concessis*, as in the case above stated.

One may liken this to that of a missionary in Hindoostan, who, designing to show the possibility and probability that God might manifest himself in the flesh, should appeal, in the course of his argument, for the sake of silencing objectors, to the Shasters, which inculcate the doctrine that Vishnu became incarnate. Would such an appeal be *morally wrong*? And if not, then it may be asked: Might not the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews make use of the views of those whom he addressed, respecting a particular passage of Scripture, although those views might not have been exegetically well grounded, in order to confirm them in the belief of a truth that was well grounded, and which he knew to be certain by revelation, or by other Scriptures which had a direct bearing upon it? However one might decide this case by reasoning *a priori*, most men practically admit such methods of persuasion, and in other things are very ready to justify them. Whether we are willing, however, or unwilling to admit the fact presented before us, can surely never alter the fact itself. Thus much we may truly say, viz., that those modes of explanation, which, in order to get rid of difficulty, set afloat all the fixed principles and fundamental laws of interpretation, cannot be admitted without the greatest possible danger to the Scriptures; yet, without the admission of such principles, the words of the passage in question do not appear susceptible of being construed as *originally* and *primarily* having had a *direct* reference to the Messiah.

After all, however, this view of the subject applies merely to the simple interpretation of the original *words* of Is. viii., but not to the typical design which may have been attached to the *things* or *facts* there related. We know that in the preceding chapter, the birth of a child to be called Im-

manuel, who was to spring from a virgin, is predicted, vii. 14; which birth was to be a proof to Ahaz, that within some three years, compare vr. 14 with 15, 16, the land of Judah should be delivered from the confederate kings of Israel and Syria who had invaded it. *Originally and literally* this seems applicable only to the birth of a child within that period of three years; for how could the birth of Jesus, which happened 742 years afterwards, be a sign (תִּינָן) to Ahaz, that *within three years* his kingdom was to be freed from his enemies? Such a child, it would seem, was born at that period; for in chapter viii. 8, 10, he is twice referred to as if then present, or at least then living. In vr. 10, our English version has translated the proper name לַיְיָ־מִמֶּנּוּ, and thus obscured the form of the original Hebrew. Yet in Matt. i. 23, the passage in Is. vii. 14 appears to be cited, as containing a prophecy relative to the Saviour's being conceived in the womb of the virgin Mary. In what way then must we explain this? How was it a *πλήρωσις* of Is. vii. 14? To these questions two answers may be given. 1st, It may have been a *πλήρωσις*, in the same sense as Christ's being called out of Egypt, Matt. ii. 15, was a *πλήρωσις* of Hosea xi. 1, i. e. the event, which happened in later times, bore a strong resemblance to the one which happened in earlier times; the later event too was of such a nature, that the words of Scripture, applied to characterize the early event, might be applied with a *πλήρωσις*, i. e. with more *completeness*, with more force, more propriety, more energy, to the later event than to the earlier one. Just so the application of a passage in the Old Testament is made to the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, in Matt. ii. 17, 18, compare Jer. xxxi. 15. In the same manner many other passages of the New Testament are to be construed, which refer in a similar way to the Old Testament.

But if this answer be unsatisfactory, it may be added, 2nd, That some of the extraordinary events themselves, related in Is. vii. and viii., may have been designed by God, and probably were designed by him, to be typical or symbolical of a future spiritual salvation and Saviour. Why is this any more impossible or improbable, than that there were other types and symbols, under the ancient dispensation, of things which were to exist under the new one? The Immanuel then born in an extraordinary way, and then by his birth and name a pledge of temporal deliverance to Judah from their enemies, might well be a symbol of him who was to save his people from all their spiritual enemies, and to bring in everlasting redemption; whose name also was truly, in a much higher sense, לַיְיָ־מִמֶּנּוּ, God with us. If so, then the prophet with his symbolical children, Is. vii. 18, giving assurance of *temporal* deliverance, may have acted a part that was symbolical of a future prophet who would proclaim *spiritual* deliverance. In all this, there certainly is nothing impossible. The laws of exegesis are not infringed by such a supposition. The *words* of the prophet have but one simple original meaning. They apply directly to the transactions with Ahaz. But the whole of these *transactions* may have been, (may I not add, seem actually to have been?) designed to prefigure *a greater prophet* and *a greater deliverance*. Unless we deny the possibility of prophetic symbol, we must admit the possibility of this. Its *probability* is deducible from the use which the New Testament writers make of these facts. They seem to consider them as having a relation to Christ. I grant the possibility of the exegesis, which explains the whole as *argumentum ad hominem*. It might be justified by several appeals to the New

Testament; and he, who wholly denies this principle, only shows that he decides upon the subject by reasoning *a priori*; for the examination of *facts* cannot fail to convince any one who will patiently and thoroughly make it. But still, it does seem to me more probable, taking the appeal in Matt. i. 23 to Is. vii. 14, and the appeal in our text and context to Is. viii. 17, 18, that the prophet and Immanuel here act parts which may be regarded as *symbolic*. The extraordinary birth of the child Immanuel, at that time, is the symbol of the future birth of a spiritual Saviour; and the prophet with his children announcing deliverance from the confederated enemies of Israel, is a symbol of him who was to "preach liberty to the captives," and whose spiritual children were to be the pledge that all his promises of good should be fulfilled. Is there any thing unnatural or strange in all this?

If now this be admitted, then the words of our text may not unaptly be applied to Christ. For as the type put his confidence in God, so did the antitype. As the type had children who were pledges for the deliverance of Judah, so has the antitype "many sons and daughters," the pledges of his powerful grace, and sureties that his promises in regard to future blessings will be accomplished. As the type confided in God, because he possessed a nature that was dependent and human, so the antitype must have a like nature in order to use the same language; and as the type bore the relation of parent to children that were pledges of future blessings, and therefore possessed a like nature with them, so the antitype had a community of nature with those who were his spiritual children, and who were pledges that all his promises should be performed. Compare 2 Cor. i. 22. v. 5.

Thus understood, the whole quotation may be regarded not only as justified, but as apposite. Still, if any refuse to consider it in this light, because, as they aver, they are unable to see how the words of Isaiah can be considered in the light of *prediction*; this reason cannot be regarded as in itself sufficiently valid. The words employed in Is. vii. and viii. have, in themselves, I freely concede, no direct reference to the Messiah; but to things and events, connected with the affairs of Ahaz and his people. Neither have the words a *double* sense; which can never be conceded without destroying the very basis of all stable interpretation. Yet the *events* themselves, *events* connected with the *temporal deliverance* of God's people then, may be symbols of a subsequent and *spiritual deliverance* and *deliverer*.

But if any one refuses to admit even thus much, it will be difficult for him to show, that the writer of this epistle might not use *argumentum ex concessis* here, i. e. appeal to those views of Scripture which they whom he addressed entertained, in order to confirm in them a belief of what he certainly knew to be true; as well as the Saviour could say to the Jews: "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?" Luke xi. 19. The difficulty is in fact no greater with the quotation under examination, than with many others in the New Testament. Understood in any of the ways that have been proposed, it forms no important objection against the sacred writings or their divine authority; although considered in the light of *accommodation* simply, it would interfere with some of the modern theories of inspiration. But, as has been already stated, the ancient churches, high as their views were on the subject of inspiration, had no hesitancy in general to admit the principle, that the New Testament writers have not unfrequently applied the Old

Testament scriptures merely by way of *accommodation*. While then for myself I must believe there is something *more* than accommodation in the passage under consideration, yet I should not feel it to be a just cause for want of charity towards another, who should adopt a different mode of explanation, and regard the passages cited to be merely an *argumentum ex concessis*.

It is a strong ground of confirmation with respect to the *symbolical* exegesis which has been above proposed, that the prophecy in Isaiah, which begins with the 8th chapter and ends with chap. ix. 7, contains, at the close of it, most indubitable proof that the birth of the Messiah and the "coming of his kingdom" were, on this occasion, distinctly before the mind of the prophet; see Isa. ix. 1—7. The whole together, taken in connexion with what appears evidently to be the views of the New Testament writers, seems to leave but little doubt, that such as at all acknowledge the existence of prophecy and symbol in respect to a Messiah who was to come, may recognise them both in the case before us.

EXCURSUS XI.

Heb. v. 7. Ὅς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, δεήσεις τε καὶ ἰκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου, μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσενέγκας, καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

BUT what was that which Christ feared? And how can it be said that he was delivered from it? Questions which commentators for the most part have passed by, without any serious attempt to answer them.

If now we turn to Luke xii. 50, we shall see that a view of the sufferings then future, produced in the mind of Jesus an oppressive anticipation, a sensation of distress and dread. As the scene of crucifixion approached nearer, these sensations were evidently increased, until they became almost overwhelming; as we may see by consulting Matt. xxvi. 36—39; Luke xxii. 40—44; Mark xiv. 34—36. What the agonies of the cross which Jesus endured actually were, we can never know; but we may draw the conclusion that they were very dreadful, if we read the account of the complaint which they forced from him, as it is recorded in Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34. It is indeed unaccountable that a character such as that of Jesus, pure, spotless, firm, unmoved by opposition, and contumely, and persecution, and unawed by threatenings and danger, during the whole course of his public ministry, should exhibit such a despondency, such an oppressive, overwhelming sense of pain and distress; I mean, it cannot be accounted for by any of the ordinary principles that apply to virtuous sufferers who possess fortitude of soul. That Jesus possessed this quality in a most distinguished manner, we know with certainty from the whole tenor of his life as portrayed by the evangelists. How then could he exhibit such an oppressive and overwhelming sense of dread, at the prospect of crucifixion? Thousands of men, nay thousands of the more delicate sex, in prospect of like sufferings, or apparently greater ones, such as the rack, the wheel, or flames occasion, have been perfectly calm, collected, and even triumphant. The very thieves, on the cross at the same time with Jesus, exhibit no such signs of despondency and oppression. Thousands and millions of common men, without God and without hope in the world, have undergone sufferings greater

than those of simple crucifixion, without even uttering a groan. Yet Jesus was not only supported by a consciousness of spotless innocence, but had before him the certain prospect of a speedy resurrection from the dead, of exaltation to the right hand of God, and of being a king and high priest for ever unto all his people. Still, he was in such an agony at the prospect of the cross, as to sweat as it were great drops of blood, Luke xxii. 44. And when actually enduring the sufferings which he had anticipated, his exclamation, Matt. xxvii. 46, shows that he had not over-estimated the dreadful hour.

If Jesus died as a common virtuous sufferer, or merely as a martyr to the truth, without any *vicarious* suffering laid upon him, then is his death a most unaccountable event; i. e. in respect to the manner of his behaviour while suffering it; and it must be admitted that multitudes of humble, sinful, weak, and very imperfect disciples of Christianity, have surpassed their Master in the fortitude and collected firmness and calm complacency, which are requisite to triumph over the pangs of a dying hour. But who can well believe this? Or who can regard Jesus as a simple sufferer in the ordinary way, upon the cross, and explain the mysteries of his dreadful horror before and during the hours of crucifixion?

Such then was the *εὐλάβεια, Νῆδος*, *object of dread*, to which our text adverts. But how was Jesus *εἰσακουσθεὶς*, *delivered* from it? Pierce in his commentary says, that he was delivered by being raised from the dead and advanced to glory. But this would make the object of fear or dread to be, that he should remain in the state of the dead. This fear we can hardly suppose Jesus to have entertained, inasmuch as he had often foretold to his disciples, not only his death, but his resurrection and exaltation to glory. Nor could it be the sufferings of the cross that he was delivered from, for he endured them to a dreadful degree. What then was it, in respect to which he was *εἰσακουσθεὶς*, *heard or delivered*? The context necessarily limits the *hearing* or *deliverance* to something in his petitions which appertained to *suffering*, which was an object of *dread*. What could it be, but the dread of sinking under the agony of being deserted by his Father? Matt. xxvii. 46. Great as his agony was, he never refused to bear it; nor did he shrink from tasting the bitter cup, Luke xxii. 42; Matt. xxvi. 39. And does not Luke xxii. 43 explain our *εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ εὐλαβείας*? "There appeared unto him an angel from heaven, *strengthening him, ἐνισχύων αὐτόν.*" This was the only kind of deliverance he sought for, or on the whole desired; Luke xxii. 42, *πλὴν μὴ τὸ θείλημά μου, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γενέσθω.* The dread in question was, like all his other sufferings, incident to his human nature; and fact shows, that he suffered under it to a high degree; but he did not shrink from it, and so he was *heard or delivered* in respect to the object of his petition in regard to it.

In the explanation of a passage so difficult, confidence would be unbecoming. I can only say: If this be not the right interpretation of it, I am ignorant of its true meaning, and will most thankfully receive from any one a more probable interpretation.

EXCURSUS XII.

Heb. vi. 4—6. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας, γευσάμενους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς ἰπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ καλὸν γευσάμενους Θεοῦ ῥῆμα, δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ παραπισθέντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν.

BUT does the whole paragraph pertain to real Christians, or to those who are such only by profession? To the former, beyond all reasonable doubt. For how could the apostle so solemnly warn those who were *mere professors* of Christianity, against defection and apostasy? Defection from what? From a graceless condition and from a state of hypocrisy. Such must be the answer, if mere professors (and not possessors) of Christianity be addressed. But mere professors, instead of being cautioned against defection from the state in which they are, are everywhere denounced in language of the severest reprobation. See Rev. iii. 15, 16, and the denunciations of the Saviour against the Pharisees.

Moreover, the language employed to describe the condition of the persons in question, shows that the writer is addressing those whom he takes to be real Christians. E. g. μετόχους . . . πνεύματος ἁγίου, καλὸν γευσάμενους Θεοῦ ῥῆμα. Above all, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν; for how could he speak of being *AGAIN renewed by repentance*, if he did not address them as once having been renewed by it?

The nature of the crime, too, and the awful denunciation with which it is threatened, show that something *peculiar* is attached to the case which the writer is describing. Sinners, who have been taught the doctrines of religion, and yet renounce their *external* respect for it, are manifestly not without the pale of God's mercy; at least, they are not so considered in the Scriptures generally, and *fact* shows that they are not. It is a peculiar and aggravated case, then, which is here stated; and what other case can it be, than that of apostasy from a state of *saving* knowledge of Christ and his gospel? Nor is such a case at all without a parallel in the Scriptures. Manifestly such a one is stated in Heb. x. 26—32; also in 2 Pet. ii. 20—22; in Ezek. xviii. 24; xxxiii. 12, 13; iii. 20, and in many other passages of the Bible. It is implied in every warning and in every commination addressed to the righteous; and surely the Bible is filled with both of these, from the beginning to the end. What is implied, when our Saviour in his sermon on the mount urges upon his disciples, i. e. the apostles as well as other disciples, see Luke vi. 12—20, the duty of cutting off a right hand and of plucking out a right eye that offends; and, this, on penalty of being cast into hell? Matt. v. 29, 30. Is this penalty *really* threatened; or is it only a *pretence* of threatening, something spoken merely in *terrorem*? Can we hesitate as to the answer which must be given to this question?

But if we admit the penalty to be *really* threatened, then the implication is the same as in the passage before us, viz., that *Christians are addressed as exposed to incur the penalty of the divine law by sinning*. In our text, they are surely addressed as exposed to fall into a state in which there is no hope of a renewal by repentance. Whatever may be true in the divine purposes, as to the final salvation of all those who are once truly regenerated, and this doctrine I feel constrained to admit, yet nothing can

be plainer, than that the sacred writers have everywhere addressed saints in the same manner as they would address those, whom they considered as constantly exposed to fall away and to perish for ever. It cannot be denied that all the warnings and awful comminations directed against cases of defection, are addressed to Christians, in the New Testament, which could be addressed to them supposing them to be liable every hour to sin beyond the hope of being renewed by repentance. Whatever *theory* may be adopted in explanation of this subject, as a matter of *fact* there can be no doubt, that Christians are to be solemnly and earnestly warned against the danger of apostasy and consequent final perdition. What else is the object of the whole epistle to the Hebrews, except a warning against apostasy. In this all agree. But this involves all the difficulties that can be raised by metaphysical reasonings, in regard to the perseverance of the saints. For why should the apostle warn true Christians, and such he surely believed there were among the Hebrews, vi. 9, against defection and perdition? My answer would be: Because God treats Christians as free agents, as rational beings; because he guards them against defection, not by mere *physical* power, but by *moral* means adapted to their natures as free and rational agents. Let every man speculate as he pleases on this subject; when he addresses Christians by way of warning, he will inevitably fall into the same modes of address. And plainly he ought so to do: for thus have all the sacred writers done, and thus did the Saviour himself.

EXCURSUS XIII.

Heb. vii. 3. Ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενναλόγητος, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμέρων μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεχές.

THE description of Melchizedek in vr. 3, has been interpreted in a variety of ways, so as to give rise to many diverse opinions respecting the person introduced here by this name. I shall very briefly exhibit some of them, without delaying to examine them.

1. The Hieracitæ, so called from Hierax, Epiphan. Hæres. LXVII., held Melchizedek to be the Holy Spirit. Jerome undertakes to confute them. Epist. ad Evagrium.

2. The Melchizedeciani, the author of which sect was Theodotus or Thomas, held Melchizedek to be one of the *δυνάμεις* of God, emanated from him, superior to Christ, and after the model of which Christ was formed.

3. It is an ancient opinion, as Epiph. Hæres. LXVII. testifies, that Melchizedek was the Son of God, i. e. the Logos; the same who appeared to Abraham and to the patriarchs, etc. This opinion was held by Ambrose; and it has been defended in recent times, by Molinæus, Cunæus, Galliard, Outrein, Hottinger, Stark, Petersen, and others.

4. Origen, and after him Didymus, held Melchizedek to be an angel.

5. Others have held that Melchizedek was a man formed before the creation, out of spiritual and not of earthy matter.

6. Melchizedek was Enoch, sent again to live on earth after the flood. So Hen. Hulsius.

7. Melchizedek was Shem, the son of Noah. So Targum Jon. and Jerus.; so also Lyranus, Tostatus, Eugubinus, Cajetan, Genebrard,

Torniello, Villalpandus, of the Catholic church: and among Protestants, Peucer, Pelargus, Brughton, Melancthon, Rungius, and others.

8. Melchizedek was Job. So G. Kohlreis.

9. It is unknown who he was. So Lyser, Gesner, Baldwin, Crenius, Buddæus, and others.

10. Melchizedek was a righteous and peaceful king, a worshipper and priest of the most high God, in the land of Canaan; a friend of Abraham, and of a rank elevated above him.

This last opinion lies upon the face of the sacred record, in Gen. xiv. and in Heb. vii.; and it is the only one which can be defended on any tolerable grounds of interpretation. What can be more improbable than all the opinions above mentioned, with the exception of this? The most popular opinion among them all, viz., that Melchizedek was Christ, would of course force us to adopt this interpretation, viz., that 'Christ is like unto himself;' or that a comparison is formally instituted by our author, *between Christ and himself*;—"cujus mentio est refutatio."

EXCURSUS XIV.

Heb. vii. 9, 10. Καὶ, ὡς ἴπος εἰπὶν, διὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Λευὶ, ὁ δεκάτας λαμβάνων, διδασκάντων ἵτι γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀσφύϊ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦν, ὅτι συνήτησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Μελχισεδέκ.

For a Hebrew, this assertion would less need a *ὡς ἴπος εἰπὶν* than for us, whose modes of thinking and reasoning in regard to genealogies, descent, and rank, are so very different from those of the oriental nations. Since Abraham was deemed, by his posterity, to be the patriarch and head of all his descendants, in such a sense as to hold a pre-eminence in rank above them, a proof that he acknowledged his inferiority to Melchizedek, by paying tithes to him, was a proof that his descendants must of course be inferior to Melchizedek. The statement in vs. 9 and 10, is built upon the oriental modes of estimating descent and rank. Since Levi, who was of the posterity of Abraham, might be reckoned as then virtually in the patriarch; and since he descended from him, and therefore could not be regarded as of a rank above him; it would follow, according to the Jewish mode of reasoning, that the priesthood of Melchizedek was of a rank superior to that of Levi.

If it be said: 'We do not need such considerations as these to establish the superior priesthood of Christ; neither do we, in this manner, count upon genealogy, and descent, and rank;' I freely assent. But then I am not able to see, why it should at all detract from the propriety or the weight of the epistle to the Hebrews, that the writer has fully met the exigencies of the case which called forth the epistle itself; and met them in just such a way as was adapted to the condition of his readers, and the modes of reasoning to which they were accustomed. If they attached high importance and dignity to the Levitical priesthood, because the Levites descended from Abraham, as they surely did, and this opinion served to fill their minds with difficulty in regard to admitting, that the priesthood of Christ could supersede that of Aaron; then was it directly to the writer's purpose, to remove this prejudice, and to show them, that according to their own grounds of argument and computation, Melchizedek must be superior to the Levitical priests, and to Abraham himself. If

now in doing this, which all must admit was necessary and proper to be done, the writer has met their prejudices with arguments specially adapted to this purpose, and the force of which they must acknowledge, if true to their own principles; and at the same time he has averred nothing which is adapted to inculcate error, or to mislead others who were educated in a different manner from the Hebrews: then has he done what every wise and prudent man ought to do, under circumstances like his. And if several of his arguments are not now needed by us, and cannot well be employed by us at the present time with any particular efficacy, this makes nothing against his discretion or against the validity of his reasoning. We all enjoy the light which has been shed around us by the *whole* of the New Testament. Of this the Hebrews had little or nothing. We are educated with views and feelings entirely different, in many respects, from those in which they were brought up. We do not, therefore, need to be addressed and reasoned with in *all* respects just as they did. Many of their prejudices we have not; many of their doubts with respect to the superiority of Christianity over the Mosaic religion, we never entertained. Many things, then, which were said with great force and propriety to them, by our author, cannot be addressed to us with the *same* pertinency, nor felt with the same power.

Let the reasoning in the epistle to the Hebrews be judged of equitably, by taking into view such considerations as these, and all difficulties of any serious import, will, as I am inclined to believe, be removed from the mind of a serious, candid, and intelligent reader. Such considerations too, might have saved the many *innuendos*, with which we meet in not a few of the recent commentaries on our epistle, that the writer has built nearly all his arguments upon *allegory* and *accommodation*; an accommodation which allows the whole force of all the erroneous methods of Jewish reasoning, and conforms to it merely in order to prevent the apostasy of professed Christians. I cannot acquiesce in the *latitude* of this opinion; nor can I well admit, that a sacred writer would make use of an argument, which in its nature he knows to be wholly erroneous and destitute of force, for the sake of persuading men to embrace Christianity or to continue in the profession of it. Would not this be "doing evil, that good might come?" But I feel no objection to admitting, that the *argumentum ad hominem* may be employed, for the sake of confuting errorists and exposing their inconsistency. The Saviour himself plainly resorts to this, in some cases; see Matt. xii. 27; Luke xi. 19. So in our epistle, it cannot be deemed irrelevant or improper, if the writer shows the Jews, that from their own modes of counting descent and reckoning precedence in regard to rank, Melchizedek, and consequently Jesus, was a priest of an order superior to the Levites. For substance, this is done in the chapter under examination. Yet there is nothing conceded here, which can in any way endanger the principles of truth. At the same time, after the explanations that have been made, it is hazarding nothing to say, that we have now more convincing arguments than those here used, to establish the superiority of Christ's priesthood. But, let it be remembered, we owe them to the New Testament which we have in our hands, and which the Hebrews had not. Many things, therefore, needed by them in their condition, and with the greatest propriety urged upon them, are less applicable and less important to us, merely because our circumstances differ so much from theirs.

If the reader wants confirmation, in regard to the statement above

made; of the Jewish views respecting the *precedency* of Abraham, let him peruse Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 52—58; Luke xvi. 22—25.

EXCURSUS XV.

Heb. viii. 5. Ὁρα γὰρ, φησί, ποιήσης πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

It has been asked: In what way was this *τύπος* exhibited to Moses? Was it by ocular vision; or by suggestion to the mind; or by words communicated to Moses, descriptive of the form in which the tabernacle should be constructed? The answer to all such questions is very easy; viz., that the subject is beyond the boundaries of human knowledge, so that we can know nothing more respecting it than what Moses himself has told us. But this is merely an assertion of the *fact*, that the *τύπος* was exhibited to him. He says nothing at all of the *manner* in which it was exhibited. Consequently the *fact* is all that we can know; and surely it is all that we need to know; for of what importance to us can the *manner* be in which this revelation was made? The passage in Acts vii. 44, which speaks of the *τύπος* that Moses *ᾤμαρξεν*, determines nothing; as it is not said whether he *saw* in a bodily or mental manner, and the word *ᾤμαρξεν* is plainly applicable to either. In 1 Chron. xxviii. 19, David, after having drawn a plan for the temple, says: *All which is in the writing from the hand of the Lord*, i. e. made by divine assistance, **הַשֵּׁבִיל**, *he taught me, even all the work* **הַתְּבִנָּה**, *τύπον*, i. e. of the plan. Yet here was no ocular disclosure. Consequently, the words used in our text will not determine the *manner* of the communication to Moses: and therefore we are not to consider it as capable of being definitely determined.

It follows, of course, that the exhibition of a visible temple in heaven to the view of Moses, of a temple having *form* and *locality*, cannot be assumed; unless we build upon that which has no foundation to support it. The most that we can know of this subject is, that on mount Sinai, the Lord revealed to Moses the *τύπος* of the tabernacle which he was to build; and that this is merely a *ὑπόδειγμα* and *σκιὰ* of the heavenly one. Is it a *ὑπόδειγμα* then in a *material* sense, or in a *spiritual* and *moral* one? In the latter, without any reasonable doubt; for so the whole nature of the argument leads us to conclude. The apostle is not comparing one *material* tabernacle on earth, with another more magnificent one of the same kind in heaven; but a material earthly one, with one which the Lord made, which is *οὐ χειροποίητος* and *οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως*, ix. 11, i. e. which is spiritual and heavenly in its nature. The whole representation then comes to this: 'In heaven are truly and really all those things, which the Jewish tabernacle and temple with all their rites and offerings only adumbrated. What is there, is *reality* in the highest and noblest sense; what is here, is comparatively only *shadow* and *effigy*. Christ does *really* there what the high-priest has been accustomed to do *figuratively* and *symbolically* here. The temple *here* faintly represents (is *ὑπόδειγμα* and *σκιὰ* of) real spiritual existences and occurrences *there*.'

The very nature of the heavenly world, and of the apostle's argument, is sufficient to show that this is all which can be rationally deduced from the language which he employs. It would be just as rational to maintain

that God has a local habitation, and a corporeal form visible to the eye, because the Scriptures speak of his *fixed dwelling-place* in heaven (קִדְשׁוֹ), and of his hands and eyes and face and heart, as it would be to suppose that the temple above, in which Christ ministers, possesses *form* and is composed of *material substance*, like that which was built by the Jews. This was merely *σκιά*; that is *ἀλήθεια, ὑπόστασις*, i. e. of heavenly, spiritual, divine *ὑπόστασις*, not of earthly, visible, local matter.

How to build the *earthly* tabernacle, Moses was instructed on the mount. But whether a form of the same was presented to his vision, bodily or mental; or whether he was taught by words what the *τύπος* should be, does not, as we have seen, appear from Scripture; nor is it important for us to know. Enough to know, that the earthly tabernacle is related to the heavenly one, only as *shadow* to *substance*; and consequently that our great high-priest above, is exalted to a rank unspeakably higher than that of the Jewish high-priest.

All which Moses and the people of Israel saw upon mount Sinai, the darkness and smoke, the fire, the cloud, and the lightnings; the voice of the trumpet which they heard, and the quaking of the earth which they felt, Ex. xix. 17—20; xx. 18—21; xxiv. 1, 2, 9, 10, 15—18; Heb. xii. 18—21; were manifestly symbols merely of the divine presence, adapted to inspire the people with reverence and awe. In the same manner, the *תבנית* or *τύπος* of the tabernacle to be built, was a symbol of what is heavenly or divine. It may just as well be argued from the clouds and darkness and fire and lightning and thunder and earthquake of Sinai, that all these belong *materially* and *formally* to the heavenly world, as that the *τύπος* exhibited to Moses, was an actually *visible* and *material* part of heaven.

If now the tabernacle built by Moses, the greatest of all the Jewish prophets, Heb. iii. 2, was nothing more than an *ἀντίτυπος* of that in heaven, Heb. ix. 23, 24, a mere *σκιά* of it, viii. 5; then the temple built by Solomon, which was only an imitation of this, 1 K. viii. 10—19; 1 Chron. xxviii. 19; and that in after-times, built by Zerubbabel, Ez. v. 1 seq., and which was less magnificent, Ez. iii. 12, 13; must also be merely *ἀντίτυποι* and *σκιαι* of that temple, of which Jesus is the priest. Consequently, the greater dignity of his priestly office may be obviously inferred from this comparison.

EXCURSUS XVI.

Heb. ix. 4. Χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον.

THERE is great difficulty and much perplexity among commentators, in regard to the *θυμιατήριον* here mentioned. Moses makes no mention of such a sacred utensil, as appertaining to the most holy place; neither does the description of Solomon's temple, modelled after the tabernacle, contain any information respecting it. *Θυμιατήριον*, in its general sense, indicates any thing which contains *θυμίαμα* or *incense*; so that it may be applied either to an altar of incense, or to any pot or vessel adapted for offering incense by burning it. Josephus applies *θυμιατήριον* to the *altar of incense*, Antiq. III. 6, 8; and so have some applied the word in the phrase under consideration. But it is a strong if not conclusive objection to this, that

the altar of incense was *before* the vail of the most holy place, and not *within* it, Ex. xxx. 1—8; xl. 5, 26. Moreover this altar is called, in Hebrew, **מִזְבֵּחַ הַקֶּטֶר**, Ex. xxxvii. 25; 2 Chron. xxvi. 19, 16; **לִקְטָרֶת מִזְבֵּחַ**, Ex. xl. 5; or **מִזְבֵּחַ מִקְטָר קֶטֶרֶת**, Ex. xxx. 1. In Greek it is named *θυσιαστήριον*, and *θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος*. On this altar, moreover, daily offerings of incense were to be made, both morning and evening, Ex. xxx. 1—8. The *horns* of it, once in each year, were to be sprinkled with blood, viz., on the great day of atonement, Ex. xxx. 10. But I am unable to find any place, which declares that this altar was carried within the vail, on the day just named, by the priest who offered incense before the Lord. On the contrary, the incense offered on that day, was strewed on a vessel of burning coals or a censer, i. e. pan or fire-pan, which the priest held in his hand, and carried with him into the most holy place, Lev. xvi. 12—14. The name of the vessel was **מַחֲתָה**, Lev. xvi. 12; Ex. xxvii. 3; xxxviii. 3; 1 K. vii. 50; 2 Chron. iv. 22. In 2 Chron. xxvi. 19, this vessel is named **מִקְטָרֶת**, and again in Ezek. viii. 11; in both which places the Septuagint have *θυμιατήριον*. Now nothing can be plainer, than that the **מַחֲתָה** and **מִקְטָרֶת** were different from the *altar of incense*, **הַקֶּטֶר מִזְבֵּחַ**. Upon this, on the morning and evening of every day, offerings of incense were made; and this altar *stood* before the vail, Ex. xxx. 6—8. On the day of atonement, also, the *horns* of it were to be sprinkled with blood, Ex. xxx. 10; xl. 5, 26. But the incense before the Lord, which was to be offered in the inner sanctuary, was offered upon a **מַחֲתָה**, *pan* of burning coals, Lev. xvi. 12. Uzziah was about to burn incense in this manner when the priests withstood him, 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—19. Compare also the case of Nadab and Abihu, Lev. x. 1.

That the incense altar was *stationary*, is plain from the dimensions assigned to it in Ex. xxx. 1, 2, viz., a cubit, i. e. 1½ foot, long and broad, and two cubits in height. The removal of this by the high-priest, into the most holy place, is out of the question, when we consider that it was made of solid materials, probably metal of some kind. But the censers, fire-pans, were hand-utensils, constructed for the very purpose of taking coals from the altar of burnt-offering, where the fire was never suffered to become extinguished, for the various uses of the temple, Lev. xvi. 12. The whole difficulty then, in our verse, amounts to this, viz., whether the *χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον* here mentioned, was laid up or deposited in the most holy place. That there were several *θυμιατήρια* or **מַחֲתָתִים**, is certain from Ex. xxvii. 3; xxxviii. 3. That the **מַחֲתָה** or *θυμιατήριον* which was employed by the high-priest, was *χρυσοῦν* i. e. *gilded*, or, if you will, *golden*, is highly probable: indeed, one would suppose, quite certain, seeing that the altar of incense, which was designed only for the every day's offering of incense, was to be overlaid with pure gold, Ex. xxx. 3. Much more may we well suppose, that the censer, carried by the high-priest into the *ἀγία ἀγίων* on the most solemn of all days, viz., the day of atonement for the whole nation, was covered with gold, i. e. was *χρυσοῦν*, as the apostle calls it. Moses, indeed, has not given us any particular description of such a censer; nor is it mentioned particularly in the description of Solomon's temple; nor is it any where said in the Old Testament that such

a censer was laid up in the most holy place. But as nothing can be more probable, than that the censer was χρυσοῦν; so nothing can be more probable than that it was deposited in the inner sanctuary. That a censer used for the most sacred of all the temple rites, on a day the most solemn of all the Jewish festival days, should be used for the common and every day occasions of temple service, is highly improbable; especially when we consider that every thing pertaining to the service of the *inner sanctuary*, was regarded in a light that corresponded with the designation of that place, viz., ἁγία ἁγίων, or קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ.

Besides, the writer of our epistle, so intimately acquainted with every thing that pertained to the temple, to its rites, and indeed to the whole Jewish economy, cannot be reasonably supposed to have mistaken the fact, relative to the materials of which the censer used on the great day of expiation was made, or to the place where it was deposited. How easily would those whom he addressed have detected his error, and been led, of course, to think lightly of his accuracy, when matters so obvious escaped his notice! In short, all the objection against the account of our author is, that the Old Testament is silent in regard to the two particulars about the censer which he mentions, viz., that it was χρυσοῦν, and that it was deposited in the ἁγία ἁγίων. But surely *silence* in such a case, is no *contradiction*; and the nature of the whole case is such, that there can be no rational doubt that our author has made a correct statement. The want of correctness here would have argued an ignorance on his part, which would have destroyed all his credit with those whom he addressed.

If an apology be needed for dwelling so long on this subject, any one may find it by consulting the commentators, and learning the difficulties which have been made about it, and the charges of inaccuracy or failure of memory, which have been made against the writer of our epistle on account of the clause χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον. These have been recently and often repeated by Bleek, in his work to which so frequent reference has been made in the Introduction.

EXCURSUS XVII.

Heb. ix. 4. Ἐν ᾗ, στάμνος χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα τὸ μάννα, καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἡ βλαστήσασα, καὶ αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης.

BUT there is another difficulty in regard to the phrase under consideration. It is said in 1 Kings viii. 9, and 2 Chron. v. 10, that "there was nothing in the ark, save the two tables which Moses put therein at Horeb." This, no doubt, is true; but our author is speaking, in Heb. ix. 4, of the *tabernacle* as constructed and furnished by Moses, and not of the temple built some five hundred years afterwards; still less, of the second temple, which, after the burning of the first by Nebuchadnezzar, must have lacked even *the tables of the testimony* or law. These were probably destroyed at the time when the first temple was consumed; since we have no authentic intelligence respecting them afterwards. It is probable, too, that the first temple lacked both the *pot of manna* and the *rod of Aaron*; at least we have no account of their being deposited in it. The probability is, that the ark, during its many removals by the Israelites after it was constructed, and in particular during its captivity by the Philistines, 1

Sam. iv. 11; v. 1; vi. 1, 21, was deprived of these sacred deposits; for we hear no more concerning them. Be this as it may, our author is fully justified, when, in describing the tabernacle, he attributes to it what the Pentateuch does; and that the *pot of manna* and *Aaron's rod* were laid up in the most holy place, and in the *ark of the covenant*, may be seen in Ex. xvi. 32—34; Num. xvii. 10, (xvii. 25.) In both these passages, the Hebrew runs thus: *Laid up* לִפְנֵי הַתְּעֻדָּה, *before the testimony*, i. e. either before the ark containing the testimony: or, which is altogether more probable, *before the testimony itself*, i. e. the two tables which were in the ark. Consequently they were laid up with the testimony, i. e. the two tables; and the account given by our author is strictly correct.

It will be recollected, too, that it is the tabernacle made by Moses, that he is describing throughout. As this was patterned after that which Moses "had seen upon the mount," and was built by workmen who had particular divine assistance, Ex. xxxvi. 1, it was of course regarded by the Jews as the most perfect structure of all that had been erected for the worship of God. Perfect as it was, however, the apostle labours to show that it was a mere shadow or image of the heavenly tabernacle in which Jesus ministers.

EXCURSUS XVIII.

Heb. ix. 14. Ὁς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θ̅ε̅ῳ.

Διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου is a difficult phrase, about the meaning of which a great variety of opinions have been formed. Some understand it of the Holy Spirit, as the third person in the Trinity; and some manuscripts and versions read ἀγίου instead of αἰωνίου. But these are not of any considerable weight, and the reading αἰωνίου is almost universally received. But ἀγίου would seem to be indispensable to that sense of the passage which has just been mentioned; this appellation being everywhere given to the Holy Spirit in his *hypostatical* nature. Nor would the interpretation, *impulsu Spiritus Sancti*, seem to accord with the many passages of Scripture which represent the death of Jesus as altogether a voluntary and free-will offering, made by his own benevolent Spirit; see John x. 17, 18; xiv. 31; x. 11, 15; Phil. ii. 8; Heb. ii. 9. Still, this would not exclude the idea, that the *influence* of the divine Spirit was efficacious in rendering Jesus a *spotless* victim, adapted to constitute an all-atoning sacrifice. Of this, more in the sequel.

Beza, Ernesti, Cappell, Outrein, Wolf, Cramer, Carpzoff, Morus, Schulz, and others, understand πνεύματος of the *divine nature* of Christ. But although the offering of Christ might be rendered of the highest value, on account of the dignity of his person, and in consequence of the higher nature which dwelt in him, yet the sacred writers represent him as having made atonement in his *human* nature, not in his divine; Heb. ii. 14, 17, 18; Col. i. 21, 22; Phil. ii. 6—8; Heb. x. 5, 10; 1 Pet. ii. 24. But independently of this consideration, instances are wanting satisfactorily to prove that πνεῦμα ἁγίου or αἰωνίου, when applied to Christ, designates simply his *divine* nature as such. It will be seen, in the sequel, that this phrase thus applied, designates the *glorified state* of Christ, in distinction from his state of humiliation.

Others, as Grotius, Limborch, Heinrichs, Schleusner, Rosenmueller,

Koppe, Jaspis, etc., consider πνεῦμα αἰώνιον as *endless* or *immortal* life, comparing it with vii. 16. They place this in antithesis to the perishable nature of the beasts that were slain in sacrifice, and which are mentioned in the preceding verse. The antithesis would then be thus: 'If mere *perishable* brutes, slain in sacrifice, effected external sanctification; how much more shall the offering of Christ, endowed with *eternal* life or with an *immortal* spirit, purify the conscience,' etc. But this view of the subject would represent the efficacy of the atonement made by Christ, as depending on his *endless life*; while the Scriptures always represent it as depending on his sufferings and death. See verses 15—28 in the sequel.

Doederlein, Storr, and others, represent πνεῦμα αἰώνιον as meaning the exalted and glorified person, or condition of the Saviour, in the passage before us. They appeal to other passages in support of this. Thus in Rom. i. 3, 4, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης appears to designate a state of distinction from κατὰ σαρκά, the *human nature* of Christ that was descended from David; ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, κατὰ σάρκα . . . υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα. Κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης may, then, here designate the condition in which Christ was the exalted and *powerful Son of God*, υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, comp. Phil. ii. 8, 9; Heb. ii. 9, 10; i. e. it may be descriptive of that *spiritual majesty* (ἁγιωσύνη, ἡ, ἡ) or *exaltation*, which belongs to the Saviour in the heavenly world. So 1 Pet. iii. 18, θανατωθεὶς [Χριστὸς] μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι, i. e. in his incarnate nature, subjected to sufferings and death; in his spiritual [heavenly] nature or condition, enjoying happiness and glory. So moreover in 1 Cor. xv. 45, *the last Adam*, i. e. Christ, is called πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, in distinction from the ψυχὴ ζῶσα attributed to the first Adam. This could not be, because Christ had an *immortal* soul, and Adam had only a living *animal* soul; for Adam too was immortal. It would seem that πνεῦμα and ψυχή, in this last passage, both designate a spiritual or immortal nature; but πνεῦμα here designates such a nature of a *higher* order, and the antithesis is more fully made by applying ζωοποιοῦν to the one, and ζῶσαν to the other, i. e. *life-giving* and *living*. With these texts, they suppose the one in our verse may be classed; and the sense must then be given to it which I have just expressed, viz. in his *eternal pneumatic state* or *condition*, i. e. in his glorified heavenly state, Christ presented his offering, etc. As to διὰ, there is no difficulty in making such a translation of it. It is frequently used with the genitive in order to denote the *quality, condition, circumstances, or means*, that have relation to any thing or person; see on this usage, under ix. 12 in the notes above; also Matthæi's Grammar, § 580, c.

But although the sense which arises out of this exegesis is good, and quite to the purpose of the writer, (whose object is to show how much superior the sacrifice of Christ is to that of goats and bullocks,) yet a doubt still remains whether διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου does not designate rather *the means by which* the sacrifice of Christ was ἀμύμων, than, the *state* or *condition* in which such a sacrifice was offered. Does not the writer here design to say that the spotless nature of the victim, offered διὰ πνεύματος αἰώνιον, by an influence of the Spirit of God which was perpetual or which always endures, was the true means of efficacious atonement? It is difficult to decide this question; for one may truly say, that the exegesis of Storr, etc., agrees well with the tenor of verses 11, 12, which represent Christ as making his offering in the temple above, and of course in his exalted and glorified state. And so, in the former edition of this work, I construed the passage under consideration.

On reconsidering the whole subject, I am now rather inclined (with Winzer, Kuinoel, and others,) to construe διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου according to the common *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, viz., as meaning *divine influence*. When I look at the passages which assert that Christ was filled with this, and acted under it, I can hardly refuse to apply the principle developed in them to the present case. Compare, for example, Matt. iv. 1; Mark i. 12; Luke iv. 1; Matt. xii. 28; Luke iv. 18; Matt. iii. 16, 17; Luke iii. 22; John i. 32, 33; John iii. 34, comp. i. 16; to which more texts of the like tenor might easily be added. There is no difficulty, then, in supposing the writer to assert here, that Jesus offered himself a spotless victim to God *through* or *with a divine influence*, and an influence not of a temporary and fleeting nature, but of *eternal* efficacy. The efficacy of the blood of goats and bullocks, and of the water of purification, was only temporary, and needed to be continually renewed. The πνεῦμα by which Christ was filled, and filled οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου (John iii. 34), in the first place rendered him perfectly holy, and so a *spotless* (ἁμαρμῶν) victim; and secondly, this influence was perpetual (αἰώνιον), i. e. it never ceased, and its efficacy therefore in preparing an appropriate victim for the great sacrifice, was such as made the sacrifice adequate when *once* offered, comp. vr. 12, to the accomplishment of all that was needed. It is plain, I think, that the epithet αἰώνιον is thrown in here, in order to designate that the πνεῦμα (divine influence) in question was of an enduring efficacy, in the sense already stated. In this way we can account for it, that αἰώνιον should be applied to πνεῦμα, in this particular case, while ἁγίον is the epithet in all others where an epithet is applied.

The advantage of this interpretation is, that it has the *usus loquendi* substantially in its favour; which, *cæteris paribus*, is a proper ground of preference.

EXCURSUS XIX.

Heb. ix. 28. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ προσενηχθεὶς, εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀντιγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας.

THE importance of the phrase, and the many constructions put upon it that are inconsistent with the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers, render it desirable accurately to determine its meaning. 1. *To bear sin* is to suffer the punishment due to it, i. e. to take upon one's self the consequences of sin, or to subject one's self to its consequences. The phrase is sometimes used for exposure to the consequences of sin; e. g. Lev. v. 17, 1, comp. vs. 3—5. vii. 18. *To bear iniquity* (ἵψ Νῦψ) means also, *to be cut off from the congregation of God's people*, Lev. xx. 17; Numb. ix. 13; it means, *to die* or *perish*, Num. xviii. 22, 32; Ex. xxviii. 43; Lev. xxiv. 15, 16. So it is sometimes employed as a general expression, to designate any kind of sufferings borne or inflicted in consequence of sin; as in Num. xiv. 33, 34, where in the 33d verse, *ye shall bear your whoredoms* means, *ye shall bear the consequences of them*; just as in vr. 34, *ye shall bear your iniquities* means, *ye shall bear or endure the consequences of them*. Thus is the phrase employed, where the subject in question is one's own sins. But,

2 *To bear the sins of others*, is to bear or endure the suffering or penalty due to them. So in Heb. ix. 26, ἁμαρτίας means the *consequences of sin* or penalty due to it. In Lam. v. 7, Jeremiah represents the

afflicted people of Israel as saying: Our fathers have sinned and are no more, and we have *bore their iniquities*, עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם סָבַלְנוּ. So in Ezek. xviii. 19, 20, *to bear the iniquity of another* means, to die or perish on his account, vr. 20, comp. vr. 17. Is. liii. 4, *he bore our distresses* (חֲלִינוֹ נָשָׂא), *he carried* [or bore] *our sorrows* (מִכְאֲבֵינוּ סָבַל), is explained in vr. 5 by *he was wounded for our transgressions* (מִחֻלָּל מִפְּשָׁעֵינוּ), *he was smitten on account of our transgressions* (מִעֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ מִדָּכָא). So נָשָׂא means *to suffer*, Prov. xix. 19; Micah vii. 9; as does the corresponding Greek word βαστάζω in Gal. v. 10, and φέρω in Heb. xiii. 13. Ἀναφέρω has the same sense as φέρω and βαστάζω, when used in such a connexion, and corresponds to the Hebrew נָשָׂא and סָבַל. So Peter says of Jesus, ἀνέγνω—τάς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν, *in his own body, on the cross*, 1 Pet. ii. 24; to explain which he adds, *by whose stripes ye are healed*; i. e. Jesus suffered in his own body and on the cross, the penalty due to our sins; and by his sufferings, our obligation to the penalty ceases. The passage is quoted from Is. liii. 4, 5, which has the same meaning as liii. 11, 12; and here we have, *He bore their sins* (עֲוֹנוֹתָם יִסְבֵּל), *he bore or carried the sins of many* (חַטֹּאת־רַבִּים נָשָׂא). A comparison of all these instances, (more might be adduced,) will serve to show how plain and uniform the Scripture idiom is, in respect to the sense attached to the phrase *bearing the sin* either of one's self or of others. It always means, either 'actual suffering of the consequences due to sin,' or 'exposure to suffer them, obligation to suffer them.'

That ἀμαρτίας in Heb. ix. 28 may mean, and does mean, *the consequences of sin or penalty of it*, is plain, 1. From the impossibility that the passage here can have any other sense. The *moral* turpitude of our sins Jesus did not take upon himself; nor did he remove it, as it is in itself considered; but the *consequences* of our sins he prevented by his own sufferings. 2. The corresponding Hebrew words, חַטָּאת, עֵוָה, and פֶּשַׁע, all mean *punishment or penalty of sin*, as well as *sin or iniquity* itself.

The sentiment of the clause then clearly is, that Jesus by his death (which could take place but once,) endured the penalty that our sins deserved, or bore the sorrows due to us. But this general expression is not to be understood, as if the writer meant to say, with philosophical precision, that the sufferings of Jesus were in *all* respects, and considered in *every* point of view, an exact and specific *quid pro quo*, as it regards the penalty threatened against sin. A *guilty conscience* the Saviour had not; *eternal punishment* he did not suffer; nor was he even in *despair of deliverance*. It is altogether unnecessary to suppose, that the writer meant to be understood here with metaphysical exactness. But that *vicarious* suffering is here designated, seems to be an unavoidable conclusion, as well from the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures, as from the nature of the argument through the whole of chapters ix. and x.

EXCURSUS XX.

Heb. x. 5. Σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. Ps. xl. 7, אֶזְנוֹתַי פָּרְתָּ לִי, i. e. *mine ears hast thou opened*.

BUT how could the Seventy render the Hebrew expression here by σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι? And how could the apostle follow them in this rendering? and even build an argument on such a translation, in order to establish the proposition that the blood of goats and bullocks could not avail to take away sin? Questions which have exceedingly perplexed commentators, and over which most of them have chosen to pass in silence. It is indeed much better to be silent, than to speak that which is erroneous or will mislead the unwary. Still, the ingenuous inquirer, who wishes to see every difficulty fairly met, is offended with silence on a subject of such a nature, and cannot well resist a secret inclination to attribute it more to want of knowledge, or to want of candour, than to real prudence and discretion. I am far from promising him that he will find all the satisfaction which he requires, in the sequel of this Excursus; but as my own mind is, on the whole; satisfied with the views here suggested, it cannot be improper for me to submit to his consideration those things which have thus affected it. They may at least serve to excite him, and lead him to make an effort at a more satisfactory solution of the difficulties.

Cappell, Ernesti, and some other critics, strive to maintain the probability, that the Septuagint reading in Ps. xl. 7 was formerly ἐτίσω κατηρτίσω μοι, which by some accident has been changed, and the text of the apostle in the New Testament adapted to it. But of this there is no proof. Indeed, there is manifest proof that the apostle originally wrote σῶμα in vr. 5, by a comparison with it of his expression in vr. 10. The difficulty cannot be met then by a change of the text; much less by such a change, when it is not authorized by any of the laws of sound criticism, and is against the context.

Were it not that the Septuagint contains the expression σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι, I should be inclined to believe that it is merely a parenthetic circumstance, thrown in by our author in order to explain the object of his quotation. *In sacrifice and offering thou hast no delight*, says the personage who is speaking. But what is to take their place? is the natural inquiry. What shall be substituted for them? Σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι, is the answer, i. e. my body which I am to offer as a sacrifice, is to come in their place; this will be a sacrifice acceptable, efficacious. In short, if the Septuagint did not contain the expression, we might conclude that the writer of the epistle added it, in order to convey the sentiment of the whole passage in some such manner as the following: "In sacrifice and oblation I have no pleasure;" *my body hast thou adapted*, viz., for oblation, i. e. as if the writer had said: "The speaker means, *that his own body is to take the place of sacrifice and oblation*."

But as the Septuagint text now is, we are compelled to believe that the apostle has *quoted* it and applied it to his purpose. Has he then made any *substantial* part of his argument to depend on the clause in question? An important inquiry, which may go some way towards removing the difficulties that the clause presents.

In vs. 8, 9, the writer presents the argument deduced from his quotation,

in the following manner. "First he says: Sacrifice and offering and holocausts and sin-offerings thou hast no delight in, neither dost thou desire, (which are offered agreeably to the requirements of the law); next he says: Lo! I come to do thy will. He abolishes the first, then, in order to establish the second." That is, he sets aside the efficacy of ritual sacrifices and offerings, and establishes the efficacy of a Saviour's *obedience* unto death; comp. Phil. ii. 8.

Now in this conclusion, there is nothing dependent on the clause *σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι*. The antithesis of *legal offerings* is, *doing the will of God*, vr. 9, viz., the obedience of the Saviour in offering up his body, vr. 20. This last verse describes, indeed, the *manner* in which the obedience in question was rendered. But the argument, as expressed in the 8th and 9th verses, is not made to depend on the *manner* of the obedience; for the object of the writer here, is to show the nullity of the Levitical sacrifices for spiritual purposes, and the fact that the Old Testament discloses this and intimates their abolition.

I must regard, then, the use of *σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι* by the apostle, as rather an *incidental* circumstance than as an essential one. He found it in the text of the Septuagint which he used. It was well adapted for the particular purpose he had in view; for it turned the mind of the reader to Christ as the true expiatory victim, rather than to the sacrifices prescribed by law. It was altogether accordant with the general tenor of the passage which he was citing, and the conclusion which he was to adduce from it. But he does not make, as we have seen, the force of his argument to depend upon it. Were this the fact, and were we to suppose, and we have no *critical* evidence for believing the contrary, that the Hebrew text stood in his day as it now stands, it would be a case in point to prove the extent to which the sacred writers have deemed it proper to employ the *argumentum ad hominem*, and adapt their reasonings to the modes of explaining the Scriptures practised by their readers. As it now is, I do not feel that much dependence can be placed on it, to establish a proposition of this nature; for, on the whole, I must view the employment of the phrase, thus found in the Septuagint, as rather *incidental* than *essential* to the writer's purpose. Still, thus much is clearly decided by the case before us, viz., that the apostles did not feel under obligation in all respects to adhere to a *literal* use of the sacred text, but quoted *ad sensum* rather than *ad litteram*. Even *σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι* may be brought within the general limits of an *ad sensum* quotation, as Storr has remarked; for *preparing a body* in this case, is preparing it for an offering, i. e. to be devoted to the service of God. Now this is a species of obedience of the highest nature. If a body were given to the Saviour which he voluntarily devoted to death, Phil. ii. 8, then *were his ears indeed opened, or he was truly obedient*. The implication of the phrase *σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι*, in the connexion where it stands, is, that this body was to be a victim instead of the legal sacrifices; of course, a *devotedness of the highest nature* is implied. *Ad sensum* then, in a general point of view, the text may be regarded as cited; and this, oftentimes, is all at which the New Testament writers aim.

One more difficulty however remains. It is alleged that Ps. xl. cannot well be applied to the Messiah. It rather belongs to *David* himself. How then could the writer of our epistle appeal to it, for a proof that the obedience unto death of the *Messiah*, was to accomplish what the Jewish sacrifices could not accomplish, viz., a removal of the penalty due to sin?

That there are difficulties in the way of interpreting this psalm as *originally* having had direct respect to the Messiah, every intelligent and candid reader must allow. For it may be asked, 1. What was the deliverance from impending destruction, which Ps. xl. 2, 3 [1, 2] describes? On what occasion was the song of gratitude for deliverance uttered? vs. 4—6 [3—5]. 2. How could the *iniquities* of him “who knew no sin,” take hold of him? vr. 13 [12]. 3. How could the Messiah anticipate such troubles, as are alluded to in vs. 12—14 [11—13]; and particularly, How can he, who, when suspended on the cross, prayed that his enemies might be forgiven, be supposed to have uttered such imprecations as are contained in vs. 15, 16 [14, 15]?

To avoid the difficulties to which these questions advert, some have supposed that the first and last parts of the psalm in question relate to David, while vs. 7—9 [6—8] contain a prediction respecting the Messiah; at least, that they are spoken concerning him. But it is not easy to conceive how more than one person can be spoken of throughout the psalm, it being all of the same tenor, and throughout appearing to be made up of words spoken by a suffering person, who had indeed been delivered from some evils, but was still exposed to many more.

Others have maintained that the whole psalm relates only to David; and consequently, that the writer of our epistle *accommodates* his argument to the Jewish allegorical explanation of it, probably current at the time when he wrote. Among these are some, whose general views of theology are far from coinciding with those of the *neological* class of critics. But there is a difficulty in regard to this, which must be felt by every reflecting and sober-minded man. How could the apostle employ as sound and scriptural argument, adapted to prove the insufficiency of the Jewish sacrifices, an interpretation of Scripture not only allegorical but without any solid foundation? And how could he appeal to it as exhibiting the words of the Saviour himself, when David was the only person whom it concerned? If the Old Testament has no other relation to the Messiah, than such as is built upon interpretations that are the offspring of fancy and ingenious allegory; then, how can we show that the proof of a Messiah deduced from it, is any thing more than fanciful or allegorical? And was it consistent with sound integrity, with sincere and upright regard to truth, to press the Hebrews with an argument which the writer himself knew to have no solid basis? Or if he did not know this, then in what light are we to regard him, as an interpreter of Scripture and a teacher of christian principles?

Considerations such as these questions suggest, render it difficult to admit the opinion under examination, without abandoning some of the fundamental principles on which our confidence in the real verity of the word of God rests.

Nor does that scheme of interpretation which admits a *double* sense of Scripture, relieve our difficulties. This scheme explains so much of the psalm as will most conveniently apply to David, as having a *literal* application to him; and so much of it as will conveniently apply to the Messiah, it refers to him. Truly a great saving of labour in investigation, and of perplexity and difficulty also, might apparently be made, if we could adopt such an expedient! But the consequences of admitting such a principle should be well weighed. What book on earth has a *double* sense, unless it is a book of designed *enigmas*? And even this has but *one real* meaning. The heathen oracles indeed could say: *Aio te, Pyrrhe,*

Romanos posse vincere; but can such an *equivogue* be admissible into the oracles of the living God? And if a *literal* sense and an *occult* sense can, at one and the same time and by the same words, be conveyed, who that is uninspired shall tell us what the *occult* sense is? By what laws of interpretation is it to be judged? By none that belong to human language; for other books than the Bible have not a double sense attached to them.

For these and such like reasons, the scheme of attaching a double sense to the Scriptures is inadmissible. It sets afloat all the fundamental principles of interpretation by which we arrive at established conviction and certainty, and casts us upon the boundless ocean of imagination and conjecture without rudder or compass.

If it be said that the author of our epistle was inspired, and therefore he was able correctly to give the *occult* sense of Ps. xl. 7—9 [6—8]; the answer is obvious. The writer in deducing his argument from these verses, plainly appeals to an interpretation of them which his readers would recognize, and to which, he took it for granted, they would probably consent. Otherwise the argument could have contained nothing in it of a convincing nature to them; as the whole of it must have rested, in their minds, upon the bare assertion and imagination of the writer.

May not the whole quotation, then, be merely in the way of *accommodating* the language of the Old Testament, in order to express the writer's own views? Such cases are indeed frequent in the New Testament. God says, by the prophet Hosea: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him and called my son out of Egypt," xi. 1. Now this is not *prediction*, but *narration*. But when Matthew describes the flight of Joseph and Mary and the infant Jesus, to Egypt, he says: 'This took place, so that this passage of Scripture [in Hosea] had an accomplishment, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ, κ. τ. λ.* Now here is evidently nothing more than a *similarity* of events; so that what is said of Israel, God's son in ancient times, might be affirmed of his Son Jesus in later times, in a still higher sense and in a similar manner. May not the writer of our epistle have accommodated the language of Ps. xl. in a similar way? May he not have merely expressed his own views in language borrowed from the Old Testament, without intending to aver, that, as it stands in the original Scriptures, it has the same meaning which he now gives to it?

This would indeed relieve in a great measure the difficulties under which the passage labours, if it could be admitted. But the nature of the writer's argument seems to forbid the admission of it. He had asserted, which was entirely opposed to the feelings and belief of most Jewish readers, that "the blood of bulls and goats could not take away sin." What was the proof of this? His own authority; or that of the Jewish Scriptures? Clearly he makes an appeal to the latter, and argues that by plain implication they teach the inefficacy of Jewish sacrifices, and the future rejection of them. Consequently, we cannot admit here a mere expression of the writer's own sentiments in language borrowed from the Old Testament.

Another supposition, however, remains to be examined, in regard to the subject under consideration; which is, that Psalm xl., relates *throughout* to the Messiah. This is certainly a *possible* case. I mean that there is no part of this psalm, which may not be interpreted so as to render its relation to the Messiah possible, without doing violence to the laws of language and interpretation. To advert to the objections suggested on page 354; it may be replied to the first, that the enemies of the Saviour very often plotted

against his life, and endeavoured to destroy it, and that he as often escaped out of their hands, until he voluntarily gave up himself to death. The thanksgivings in the first part of Psalm xl., may relate to some or all of these escapes. If it be replied, that the writer of our epistle represents the psalm as spoken when the Messiah was εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, *coming* [i. e. about to come] *into the world*, and therefore before his birth; the answer is, that the phrase by no means implies of necessity that the Messiah uttered the sentiments here ascribed to him *before* his incarnation, but *during* it. Εἰσερχόμενος, *entering, being entered, or when he had entered* into the world, he said: *Θυόλα, κ. τ. λ.* *Entering into the world* may mean *being born*; but it may also mean, and probably does here mean, 'entering upon the Messianic office, coming among men as the promised Messiah.' That the Saviour prayed to God, gave thanks, made supplications and deprecations, as men do, need not be proved to any reader of the evangelists. On what particular occasion in the Messiah's life, the words in Psalm xl. 7—9 were uttered, it is needless to inquire. Indeed, that they were ever *formally* and *ad literam* uttered, it is quite needless to show; inasmuch as all which the psalmist intends by the expression of them is, that they should be descriptive of his true character; which would be such that we might well suppose him to utter them, or that they would be appropriate to him. In a word, the psalmist represents the Messiah as uttering them, merely in order to exhibit the true nature of the Messiah's character.

The second objection appears, at first view, more formidable. How could the *sinless* Messiah be represented as suffering for his *own iniquities*? Plainly, I answer, he could not be. The iniquities of others might be laid upon him; as the Scriptures plainly testify that they were, 1 Pet. ii. 24; Heb. ix. 28; Isa. liii. 4, 5, 12; i. e. he might suffer on account of the sins of *others*, or in their stead; but as to sins of his *own*, he had none to answer for. The whole strength of the objection, however, lies in the version of the word עֲוֹנָתִי, Psal. xl. 13, which the objector translates *my iniquities, sins, transgressions*. But who that is well acquainted with the Hebrew idiom, does not know that עָוָה means *punishment, calamity, misfortune*, as well as *iniquity*, etc.? David, when he was chased away from Jerusalem by his rebel son, calls his calamity his עָוָה. *Perhaps the Lord*, says he, *will look favourably, בְּעֵינַי, on my calamity*, 2 Sam. xvi. 12; for his sin it was not, in this case. Compare Psal. xxxi. 11; Isa. v. 18. A concordance will supply other cases, particularly cases where the meaning is *penalty, punishment*. Analogous to the case of עָוָה, we have seen to be that of חַטָּאת and פֶּשַׁע; see on chap. ix. 28. EXCURSUS XIX. In Psalm xl. 13, then, עֲוֹנָתִי may, agreeably to the *usus loquendi*, be translated, *calamities, distresses*; and that these came upon the Messiah (דְּשִׁינֹתַי) will not be doubted.

So in 2 Cor. v. 21, ἀμαρτίαν ἱκεῖνος, i. e. God made Christ a *sin-offering* or subjected him to calamity; and in Heb. ix. 26, ἀθίτῃς ἀμαρτίας means a *removing of the calamitous consequences of sin*.

The third objection may be very briefly answered. Nothing can be easier than to suppose the Messiah might, at any period of his public life, have anticipated severe trials and have depreciated them; as we

know full well how strongly he deprecated his final sufferings when he was in the garden of Gethsemane. That he should *formally* and *literally* use the identical words of the xl. psalm, was not necessary; but that he should have been in a condition such as the language there describes, is all that is necessary to justify the application of the psalm to him.

In regard to the last objection, which has respect to the *imprecations* contained in the latter part of Psalm xl.; they may be, and probably are, viewed in a different light by different persons. Considered as simple *maledictions*, they would be unworthy of the psalmist or of the Messiah. But as *denunciations* against the impenitent and persevering enemies of God and of David, or of Christ, they present themselves to the mind in a very different light. David did frequently utter denunciations against his enemies. So did Christ against his; e. g. against the scribes and pharisees, against Jerusalem, and against the Jewish nation. Yet who will say that this was for want of tenderness in him, or of benevolent feelings toward those who were his enemies? No one can say this, who considers the whole of his character as represented by the evangelists. If then he might and did in fact utter denunciations against his enemies and persecutors, he might be represented as doing this by the psalmist, without any error committed in so doing.

The objections, then, do not appear to be of a conclusive nature, which are made to the application of the xl. psalm to the Messiah. Still I freely acknowledge, that had not the New Testament referred to this psalm as descriptive of the work of the Messiah, I might perhaps have been satisfied, in general, with the application of it to David himself, or even to the people of Israel collectively considered. Yet a minute consideration of verses 7, 8 [6, 7] certainly might serve to suggest some difficulty, in respect to such an application. *Obedience* is there represented as the *substitute* for sacrifices. So the writer of our epistle understood it. And it is said to be written in the sacred volume, that this would be the case respecting the individual whose obedience is there described. Is this any where written respecting the obedience of David? Is the obedience of the Jewish nation any where represented as a *substitute* for sacrifices? Rather, did not a part of their obedience consist in offering them?

After all, however, the whole passage might, perhaps, be construed as merely affirming that obedience is more acceptable to God than sacrifice; and this is so declared in other scriptures, comp. 1 Sam. xv. 22; Micah vi. 6; Psal. l. 9, seq.; Isa. i. 11, seq.; Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7. At least, this mode of interpretation must be admitted to be a *possible* one.

Let us grant, then, what cannot fairly be denied, that the xl. psalm, according to general laws of interpretation, *might* be applied to David. Is it not equally plain, that there is nothing in it which may not, without doing any violence to the laws of language, be applied to David's *Son*, in a still higher and nobler sense? After what has been suggested in respect to this application, I shall venture to consider the application itself as possible.

Here then is presented a case of the following kind. A psalm composed by an inspired writer, is (in itself considered, i. e. the words or diction being simply regarded,) capable of an application to David, or to the Son of David, the Messiah. To whom shall it be applied by us? If there be nothing but simply the psalm itself to direct our interpretation, the answer must be: 'To David;' for the natural application of the words

of Scripture, which in themselves are not necessarily predictions, is to the persons in being when they were written. But if we have a good reason for making the application of them in a *prophetic* sense to some future personage, then ought we to make such an application. Consequently the question in respect to the application of the xl. psalm depends on the fact, whether we have sufficient reason to construe it as a *prediction*, i. e. as descriptive of a personage who was to appear at a future period, viz. of David's Son. In itself it is capable of such an explanation. Paul has actually made such an application of it. The nature of the case shows, too, that the Hebrews of that time were accustomed so to explain it; for otherwise, the argument of the apostle would not have been admitted as of any force by his readers. Whence did the Hebrews derive such an interpretation? Or, which is of higher moment, how could the apostle appeal to Psal. xl. 7, 8, for proof of the efficacy of Christ's obedience unto death, as well as of the inefficacy of ritual sacrifices? This appeal, then, under such circumstances as show that the stress of his argument lies upon the meaning he gives to the passage of Scripture which he quotes, settles the question how the xl. psalm is to be interpreted; settles it, I mean, with all those who admit the authority of the writer of our epistle, either as a teacher of a christian doctrine or an expositor of the word of God. At all events, it cannot be shown that the xl. psalm has no original relation to the Messiah. To show that it is *capable* of another interpretation, is effecting nothing. The second psalm, and all other psalms relating to Christ, borrow their imagery—their costume, from the times when they were written, and the persons, manners, and customs then existing; and of course, in a greater or less degree, they appear at first view to relate only to them. In describing the future king of the Jews, the writers of ancient times would naturally borrow their imagery from the kings of that day. But to affirm that because they did this, they had reference and could have reference only to the kings of their times, would be a position as little consistent with the principles of language and interpretation, as it is with the numerous declarations of the writers of the New Testament.

It will be easily perceived, that in admitting the possibility of applying the xl. psalm to David, I have admitted that verses 7 and 8 may be interpreted as expressing merely the general principle that *obedience is better than sacrifices*. But if we suppose, with the writer of our epistle, that David, when he composed this psalm, meant to intimate that this obedience was to be "obedience unto death, even the death of the cross," then must it follow, of course, that the psalm is altogether inapplicable to David; for neither his obedience, nor death, nor that of any other person, the Messiah excepted, could supersede the ritual of the Mosaic law and prepare the way for its abolition. Supposing, then, the apostle to have rightly interpreted the words of Psalm xl., (and who shall correct his exegesis?) the impropriety of applying the psalm to David is plain: and the propriety of referring it to the Messiah needs no further vindication.

THE
EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

CONTENTS.—Dignity of Christ. His superiority over the angels.

- I. GOD, who in ancient times spake often and in various ways to the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to
2 us by [his] Son; whom he hath appointed Lord of all things,
3 by whom also he made the world; who, (being the radiance of his glory and the exact image of his substance, and controlling all things by his own powerful word,) after he had by himself made expiation for our sins, sat down at the right hand of the
4 Majesty on high; being exalted as much above the angels as
5 he hath obtained a name more excellent than they. For to which of the angels said he at any time: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" And again: "I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son?"
- 6 Moreover, when on another occasion he introduceth his first-begotten into the world, he saith: "Let all the angels of God
7 worship him." Concerning the angels also it is said: "Who maketh his angels winds, and his ministering servants a flame of
8 fire." But of the Son: "Thy throne, O God, is eternal; a
9 sceptre of justice is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore, O God, thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fel-
10 lows." Also: "Thou, Lord, in the beginning didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy
11 hands; | they shall perish, but thou shalt endure; even they all
12 shall wax old like a garment, | and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall decay; but thou art the same, and thy
13 years shall never cease." But unto which of the angels hath he ever said: "Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine
14 enemies thy footstool?" Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth for the aid of those who are to obtain salvation?

CONTENTS.—Exhortation diligently to seek the salvation proffered by the Lord of glory.

II. IT behoveth us, therefore, the more abundantly to give heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should
2 slight them. For if the law communicated by angels was established, and every transgression and disobedience received a
3 just reward; how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation? which, being first declared by the Lord, was afterwards
4 confirmed unto us by those who heard [him]; God also bearing witness with them, by signs and wonders and diverse miraculous powers, and communications of the Holy Spirit according to his will.

CONTENTS.—Further declaration of Christ's superiority over the angels. Objections against this drawn from his human nature, removed, by showing the elevation of that nature and the important objects accomplished by assuming it.

5 Unto the angels, however, hath he not put in subjection the world that was to come, of which we are now speaking.
6 But one in a certain place hath testified, saying: "What is man that thou art mindful of him; or the son of man that thou
7 dost regard him? Yet thou hast made him but little lower than the angels; thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, and hast set him over the works of thy hands. All things hast
8 thou put under his feet." By putting all things in subjection to him, then, he left nothing which is not subject to him. But
9 now we do not yet see all things subjected to him; we see him, however, who was made a little lower than the angels, Jesus, crowned with glory and honour on account of the suffering of death, when by the grace of God he had tasted death for all.
10 For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, through sufferings to bestow the highest honour upon the Captain of their salvation, who is leading many sons to glory.
11 Moreover, both he who maketh expiation, and they for whom expiation is made, are of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying: "I will declare thy name to
12 my brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee." And again: "I will put my trust in him." And again: "Behold, I and the children which God hath given me!"
14 Since then the children are partakers of flesh and blood, himself also in like manner partook of them, in order that by his

death he might subdue him who had a deadly power, that is,
15 the devil, | and free those, who through fear of condemnation
had during their whole lives been exposed to bondage.

16 Besides, he surely doth not succour the angels, but he help-
17 eth the seed of Abraham. Hence it was necessary that in all
respects he should be like to his brethren, so that he might be
a merciful and faithful high-priest as to things which pertain
unto God, in order to make atonement for the sins of the
18 people. For inasmuch as he himself suffered, being tempted,
he is able to succour those who are tempted.

CONTENTS.—Comparison of Christ with Moses. Warning not to disregard the
admonitions of the gospel. The rest promised to believers in ancient times is still
proffered. The threatenings against unbelief remain in full force.

III. WHEREFORE, holy brethren, who have received the heaven-
ly invitation, attentively consider Jesus, the apostle and high-
2 priest whom we have acknowledged; who was faithful to Him
that appointed him, even as Moses [was], in all his house.
3 For he is worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as the
4 builder is entitled to more honour than the house. For every
5 house is built by some one, but he who built all, is God. Now
Moses was faithful in all his house as a servant, for the sake of
6 testifying those things which were to be spoken; but Christ, as
a Son over his house; whose house we are, provided we hold
fast unto the end our confidence and joyful hope.

7 Wherefore, as the Holy Spirit saith: “To-day, if ye will
8 hear his voice, | harden not your hearts as in the provocation, in
9 the day of temptation in the wilderness, | when your fathers
tempted me: they tried me, although they saw my works forty
10 years. Wherefore I was offended with that generation, and
said: They do always err in their hearts, and they have not ap-
11 proved my ways. So I swear in my wrath: They shall not
enter into my rest.”

12 Beware brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart
13 of unbelief, so that he may depart from the living God. But
admonish one another continually, while it is called to-day, so
that no one of you may become hardened through the delusion
14 of sin. For we shall be made partakers of the blessing which
Christ bestows, if we hold fast even to the end our first confi-
dence.

15 While it is said: “To-day, if ye will hear his voice,” harden
16 not your hearts as in the provocation. Who now were they

that when they heard did provoke? Were they not all in-
17 deed, who came out of Egypt under Moses? And with whom
was he angry forty years? Was it not with those who sinned,
18 whose corpses fell in the wilderness? To whom did he swear
that they should not enter into his rest, except to those who did
19 not believe? And so we see, that they could not enter in be-
cause of unbelief.

IV. LET us beware, therefore, since a promise is still left of enter-
ing into his rest, lest any one of you should fail of obtaining it.

2 For to us also the offer of blessings is made, as well as to
them; the word however which they heard, did not profit
3 them, not being joined with faith in those who heard it. For
we who believe, do enter into the rest; as he says: "So I
sware in my wrath, [unbelievers] shall not enter into my rest,"
to wit, [rest from] the works which were performed when the
4 world was founded. For in a certain place [the Scripture]
speaketh thus concerning the seventh day: "And God rested
5 on the seventh day from all his works." And again in this
6 manner: "They shall not enter into my rest." Since then it
remaineth that some must enter into that [rest], and they to
whom the offer of blessings was formerly made did not enter in
because of unbelief, [it followeth that a rest remaineth for those
who believe.*]

7 Again, when speaking by David so long a time afterwards,
he designateth a certain day, TO-DAY; as it is said: "TO-DAY,
8 if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." Now if
Joshua had given them rest, he would not after this have spok-
9 en of another day. There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the
10 people of God. For he who entereth into that rest, will also
cease from his own works as God [did] from his.

11 Let us earnestly endeavour, then, to enter into that rest, lest
12 any one should perish in the same manner through unbelief. For
the threatening of God hath an active and mighty energy, yea,
it is sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the di-
viding asunder of life and spirit, and of the joints and marrow;
he [God] even judgeth the thoughts and purposes of the heart,
13 | nor is there any thing concealed from him, but all is naked and
exposed to the view of him unto whom our account must be
rendered.

* Supplied from vr. 9.

CONTENTS.—Comparison of Christ with the Jewish high-priest introduced. Reproof for ignorance respecting the higher doctrines of the Christian religion, followed by encouragement and exhortation.

14 Moreover, since we have a high-priest who hath passed
through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast to
15 our profession. For we have not a high-priest, who cannot be
compassionate toward our weakness; but one who was tempt-
16 ed in all respects as we are, [yet] without sin. Let us, there-
fore, approach the throne of grace with confidence, that we may
obtain mercy and find favour as to help in time of need.

V. Now every high-priest, taken from among men, is appointed
in behalf of men on account of things which pertain to God, that
2 he may present both oblations and sacrifices for sin; being able
to deal gently with the ignorant and the erring, inasmuch as he
3 himself is compassed with infirmity. On account of this, also,
he must present sin-offerings, as well for himself as for the peo-
4 ple. Moreover, no one assumeth to himself this honour, but
he is called [thereto] of God, even as Aaron was.

5 Even so, Christ did not claim for himself the honour of being
high-priest; but he who said: "Thou art my Son, this day
have I begotten thee," [bestowed this honour upon him;] as al-
6 so he saith, in another place: "Thou art a priest for ever, after
the order of Melchizedek."

7 The same, in the days of his flesh, (having offered up prayers
and supplications, with strong cries and with tears, unto Him who
was able to save him from death, and being delivered from that
8 which he feared), | although a Son, learned obedience by those
9 things which he suffered; and being exalted to glory, he be-
10 came the author of eternal salvation to all who obey him, | being
called of God a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek.

11 Concerning him we have much to say, which it will be difficult
12 to explain, since ye are dull of apprehension. For even when,
on account of [so long] a time, ye ought to be able to teach, ye
have need that one should again teach you the first elements of
13 the oracles of God, and need milk rather than solid food. For
every one who uses milk, is unskilled in the doctrine of righ-
14 teousness; he is yet a child. But solid food is for those of ma-
ture age, who, by reason of practice, have faculties exercised
for the distinguishing of both good and evil.

VI. WHEREFORE, leaving the first principles of christian doctrine,
let us advance toward a mature state [of religious knowledge];

not laying again the foundation of repentance from works which
2 cause death and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms
and of the laying on of hands, of the resurrection also of the
3 dead and of eternal judgment. And this will we do, if God
4 permit. For it is impossible that they who have been once en-
lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made
5 partakers of the Holy Spirit, | and have tasted the good word
6 of God, and the influences of the world to come, | and have fal-
len away, should be again renewed to repentance; since they
have crucified for themselves the Son of God, and openly ex-
posed him to shame.

7 For the earth which drinketh in the rain that frequently com-
eth upon it, and bringeth forth fruits useful to those for whose
8 sake it is tilled, receiveth blessings from God. But that which
bringeth forth thorns and briars, is reprobate and near to a curse,
9 [and] its end will be burning. But, beloved, we confidently
hope for better things respecting you, even those connected with
10 salvation, although we thus speak. For God is not unkind, so
as to forget your labour, and the love which ye have shown
toward his name, in having performed kind offices toward the
saints and in still performing.

11 Moreover, we are desirous that every one of you should mani-
fest the same diligence respecting a full assurance of hope, even to
12 the end; so that ye may not be slothful, but imitators of those,
who through faith and patient expectation have entered into the
13 possession of promised blessings. For when God made promise
to Abraham, seeing he could swear by no greater, he swore by
14 himself, saying: "I will greatly bless thee, and exceedingly mul-
15 tiPLY thee." And so, having patiently waited, he obtained the
16 promised blessing. Now men swear by one who is greater, and
the oath for confirmation [maketh] an end of all dispute among
17 them. Wherefore God, desirous of showing more abundantly
to the heirs of promise the immutability of his purpose, inter-
18 posed by an oath; so that by two immutable things, concerning
which it is impossible for God to lie, we, who have sought a re-
fuge, might have strong persuasion to hold fast the hope that is
19 set before us, | which we cleave to as an anchor of the soul sure
20 and firmly fixed, and which entereth within the veil, | whither
Jesus our forerunner hath gone, being made high-priest for ever
after the order of Melchizedek.

CONTENTS.—Comparison of Christ, as a priest, with Melchizedek. New order of things required by the appointment of such a priest; which appointment was made with the solemnity of an oath, and the office created by it was perpetual, allowing of no succession like that of the Jewish priests.

VII. Now this Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of
2 the kings and blessed him; to whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all; [whose name] by interpretation first meaneth king of Righteousness, and then also king of Salem, that is king of
3 Peace; without father, without mother, without genealogy; who hath neither beginning of days nor end of life, but is like to the Son of God; remaineth a high-priest perpetually.

4 Consider now how great he must be, to whom Abraham the
5 patriarch gave a tenth part of the spoils. The sons of Levi, indeed, who take the office of priests, have a command by the law to tithe the people, that is, their brethren, although descend-
6 ed from the loins of Abraham; but he, whose descent is not counted from them, tithed Abraham, and blessed him to whom
7 the promises were made. And beyond all controversy, the less was blessed by the greater.

8 Here also men receive tithes who die; but there, one of
9 whom it is testified that he liveth. Besides, (if I may so speak,) even Levi himself, who received tithes, was tithed in Abraham;
10 for he was then in the loins of his ancestor, when Melchizedek met him.

11 If, moreover, perfection, had been by the Levitical priesthood, (for the law was given to the people in connexion with this,) what further need was there that another priest should arise after the order of Melchizedek, and not be called after the order of
12 Aaron? If, however, the priesthood be changed, there must
13 needs be also a change of the law. [And the priesthood is changed], for he concerning whom these things are said, belonged to a different tribe, none of whom served at the altar:
14 since it is manifest that our Lord sprang from Judah, in respect to which tribe Moses said nothing concerning the priesthood.
15 And still more manifest is it [that the priesthood is changed], if
16 another priest hath arisen, like to Melchizedek, who hath not been made so by a law that was temporary, but by an authority
17 of endless duration. For [the Scripture] declareth: "Thou art
18 a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek." For there is, indeed, a setting aside of the preceding law, because it was weak

19 and unavailing, | for the law did not fully accomplish any thing ;
but a better hope is introduced, by which we draw near to God.

20 Inasmuch also as not without an oath [Jesus was made a
21 priest], | (for they are made priests without an oath, but he with
an oath, by Him who said to him: "The Lord hath sworn and
will not repent, Thou art a priest, for ever, after the order of
22 Melchizedek)," | by so much hath Jesus become the surety of
a better covenant.

23 Those priests likewise are many, because they are not suf-
24 fered to continue by reason of death ; but he, because he con-
tinueth forever, hath a priesthood without any succession ; and
he is able always to save those who come to God by him, since
he ever liveth to interpose in their behalf.

CONTENTS.—The subject of Christ's qualifications for the office of a priest, proposed
vr. 23 and briefly discussed in vs. 7—9, resumed. His superiority over the Jewish
priests in respect to these qualifications.

26 Now such a high-priest was needful for us, who is holy, harm-
less, undefiled, separate from sinners, and exalted above the
27 heavens ; who hath not any daily necessity, like the high-priests,
to offer sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for the sins of the
people ; for this he did once for all, when he offered up himself.
28 For the law maketh men high-priests who have infirmity ; but
the word of the oath, which was since the law, [maketh] the
Son [high-priest] who is exalted to glory for ever more.

CONTENTS.—Expiatory office of Christ as a priest. His functions, the dispensation
under which they are performed, the place of exercising them, with the manner and
effects of them, compared with those of the Jewish priests.

VIII. THE principal thing, however, among those of which we are
speaking, is, that we have such a high-priest, who is seated on
2 the right hand of the throne of Majesty in the heavens, | a min-
ister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the Lord
3 hath reared and not man. For every high-priest is appointed,
in order that he may present both oblations and sacrifices ;
whence it becometh necessary, that this one also should have
4 something which he may present. For if he were on earth,
then he could not be a priest, seeing there are priests who pre-
5 sent oblations according to the law ; (the same who perform
service in [that sanctuary which is but] a mere copy of the
heavenly one ; for Moses, when about to build the tabernacle,

was divinely admonished: "See now," said he, "that thou make all things according to the pattern showed thee in the mount." But now, he hath obtained a service which is more excellent; as much more as the covenant is better of which he is mediator, and which is sanctioned by better promises.

Moreover, if that first [covenant] had been faultless, then would no place have been sought for the second. But finding fault [with the first], he saith to them: "Behold the days are coming, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; for they did not continue in my covenant, and I rejected them, saith the Lord. But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my laws into their mind, and engrave them upon their hearts, and I will be their God and they shall be my people. None shall teach his fellow-citizen, and none his brother, saying: Know the Lord; for all shall know me, from the least even to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their iniquities, and their sins and their transgressions will I remember no more."

By saying "a new [covenant]," he representeth the first as old; now that which hath become old, and is advancing in age, is nigh to dissolution.

IX. MOREOVER, the first [covenant] had both ordinances of service and a sanctuary of an earthly nature. For an outer tabernacle was prepared, in which was the candlestick, and the table, and the show-bread, which is called the holy place. And behind the second veil was the tabernacle, which is called the holy of holies, | containing the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid with gold on every part; in which [ark] was the golden urn that contained the manna, and the rod of Aaron which budded, and the tables of the covenant; and over it were the cherubim of glory, overshadowing the mercy-seat: of which things I design not, at present, particularly to speak.

Now these being thus prepared, the priests performing the services entered continually into the outer tabernacle. But into the inner one the high-priest only [entered], once in each year, not without blood, which he presented for himself and for the sins of the people; the Holy Spirit signifying this, that the way to the most holy place was not yet open, while the first tabernacle had

9 a standing; which had been a type down to the present time,
in which both oblations and sacrifices are offered, that cannot
fully accomplish what is needed for the conscience of him who
10 performeth the services; being imposed (together with meats
and drinks, and divers washings—ordinances pertaining to the
11 flesh) only until the time of reformation. But Christ being
come, the high-priest of future good things, through a greater
and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is, not
12 of this [material] creation, | he entered once for all into the holy
place, not with the blood of goats and of bullocks, but with his
13 own blood, procuring eternal redemption. For if the blood of
bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean,
14 cleanseth as to the purification of the flesh, | how much more
shall the blood of Christ, who by an eternal Spirit offered him-
self without spot to God, purify our conscience from works which
15 cause death, so that we may serve the living God! On this
account, also, he is the mediator of a new covenant, so that [his]
death having taken place for redemption from the sins [commit-
ted] under the former covenant, they who have been called
might receive the promised blessing of the eternal inheritance.
16 Moreover, where there is a testament, it is necessary that the
17 death of the testator should take place; because a testament is
valid in respect to those only who are dead, since it hath no force
18 while the testator is living. Hence not even the first [covenant]
19 was ratified without blood. For when, according to the law, all
the commandment had been read by Moses to all the people,
taking the blood of bullocks and of goats, with water and scarlet
wool and hyssop, he sprinkled both the book itself and all the
20 people, | saying: "This is the blood of the covenant which God
21 hath enjoined upon you." The tabernacle also, and likewise
all the vessels for service, did he sprinkle in the same manner
22 with blood. Indeed, almost every thing is required by the law
to be purified by blood; and without the shedding of blood there
is no forgiveness.
23 Since then the copies of heavenly things must needs be puri-
fied in this manner, the heavenly things themselves [must be
24 purified] by better sacrifices than these. For Christ did not
enter into a sanctuary made with hands, which is only a copy of
the true one, but into heaven itself, that he might thenceforth
•25 appear before God for us. Yet not that he might frequently
make an offering of himself, like the high-priest who entereth

26 into the sanctuary every year with blood not his own; for otherwise he must needs have often suffered, since the foundation of the world; but now, at the close of the [ancient] dispensation, he hath once for all made his appearance, in order that he might remove the punishment due to sin by the sacrifice of himself.

27 For since it is appointed unto men to die but once, and after this

28 [cometh] the judgment; so Christ, after having once for all made an offering of himself to bear the sins of many, will appear without a sin-offering, at his second [coming], for the salvation of those who wait for him.

X. Now the law, which was but an imperfect sketch of good things that were to come, and not the complete image of those things, can never by the yearly sacrifices themselves which are continually offered, fully accomplish what is needed

2 for those who approach [the altar]. For if it could, then would not these offerings have ceased? because the worshippers, once for all made clean, would no longer have been conscious of sins.

3 On the contrary, by these [sacrifices] yearly remembrance is
4 made of sin. For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin.

5 Wherefore [Christ] when entering into the world saith:

“Sacrifice and oblation thou hast not desired, but a body hast

6 thou prepared for me; in whole burnt-offerings and [offerings]

7 for sin thou hast no pleasure. Then said I, Lo! I come, O

God to do thy will; (in the volume of the book it is written

8 concerning me).” First saying: “Sacrifice and oblation and

whole burnt-offerings and [offerings] for sin thou desirest not,

• nor hast pleasure in them,” (which are presented according to

9 the law;) he then saith: “Lo! I come to do thy will;” [thus]

10 he abolisheth the first, that he may establish the second. By

this will expiation is made for us, through the offering of the

body of Jesus Christ once for all.

11 Now every priest standeth, performing daily service, and

oftentimes presenting the same sacrifices which can never take

12 away sin; but he having offered up one sacrifice for sin, sat

13 down for ever at the right hand of God, | thenceforth waiting

14 until his enemies be made his footstool; for by one offering he

hath for ever perfected those for whom expiation is made.

15 Moreover the Holy Spirit himself testifieth to us; for after

16 he had said: “This is the covenant which I will make with

them after those days;” the Lord saith: “I will put my laws

17 upon their hearts, and engrave them upon their minds;" and
18 "their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." But
where there is remission of these, there is no more offering for
sin.

CONTENTS.—Exhortation to perseverance from a consideration of the faithfulness of God, of the severe doom of apostates, and of the sufferings which the Hebrew Christians had already endured for the sake of religion.

19 Having then, brethren, free entrance into the sanctuary by
20 the blood of Jesus, a new and living way | which he hath con-
21 secrated, through the veil, that is, his flesh; [having] also a
22 high-priest over the house of God; let us approach with a true
heart in full confidence, being purified as to our hearts from a
23 consciousness of evil, | and cleansed as to our bodies with pure
water; let us hold fast without wavering the hope which we
24 profess; for faithful is he who hath promised; and let us atten-
tively consider one another, in order to excite unto love and
25 good works; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves to-
gether, as the custom of some is, but admonishing [one another];
and this so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.
26 For should we voluntarily sin, after having received the know-
27 ledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin | but
a certain fearful expectation of punishment, yea, of fiery indigna-
28 tion which will consume the adversaries. Whosoever disho-
noured the law of Moses, suffered death without mercy, when
29 there were two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punish-
ment, think ye, shall he be counted worthy, who hath trodden
under foot the Son of God, and regarded the blood of the cove-
nant by which expiation has been made, as unclean, and done
30 despite to the Spirit of grace! For we know him who hath
said: "Vengeance is mine, I will render it," saith the Lord;
31 and again: "The Lord will avenge his people." It is a fear-
ful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.
32 Call to mind, now, the former days, in which, after ye were
33 enlightened, ye endured a great contest with sufferings; partly
because ye were made a public spectacle both by reproaches
and afflictions, and partly because ye were made partakers with
34 those who were in like circumstances. For ye did truly sym-
pathize with my bonds, and cheerfully suffer the plundering of
your own substance: knowing that ye have for yourselves a
35 better and more enduring possession in heaven. Cast not away

- 36 then your confidence, which will obtain a great reward. For ye have need of patient waiting, in order that when ye have done the will of God ye may receive the promised blessing.
- 37 Yet, in a very little while, "he who is coming will come, and
- 38 will not delay." "The just," moreover, "shall live by faith;" also: "If any man draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him."
- 39 We, however, are not of those who draw back unto destruction; but of those who believe unto the salvation of the soul.

CONTENTS.—Description of faith, and of the effects of it in respect to the saints of ancient times.

XI. Now faith is confidence in respect to things hoped for—

- 2 evidence of things not seen. For by this, the ancients obtained commendation.
- 3 By faith we perceive, that the world was formed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen, were not made from those which appear.
- 4 By faith Abel offered to God a better sacrifice than Cain, on account of which he was commended as righteous, God himself bestowing commendation upon his offerings; and by the same, though dead, he still speaketh.
- 5 By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death, and "he was not found, because God had translated him." For before his translation he is commended, as having pleased God;
- 6 but without faith it is impossible to please him; for he who cometh unto God, must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of those who seek him.
- 7 By faith Noah, being divinely admonished respecting things not yet apparent, with reverence prepared an ark for the safety of his household, by which he condemned the world, and obtained the justification which is by faith.
- 8 By faith Abraham obeyed, when called to go forth unto the place which he was to receive for a possession; yea, he went
- 9 forth not knowing whither he was going. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, while it belonged to strangers, dwelling in tents, together with Isaac and Jacob who were heirs of
- 10 the same promise; for he expected a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. By faith, also, Sarah herself received the power of conception, and this beyond the usual time of life, inasmuch as she counted him to be faithful
- 12 who had promised. Wherefore there sprang, even from one

who was dead as to such things, [a seed] like the stars of heaven for multitude, and like the sand on the shore of the sea which cannot be numbered.

- 13 These all died in faith, not having received the promised blessings; but seeing them afar off, and hailing them with joy, they professed themselves to be strangers and sojourners on the
14 earth. Now they who thus profess, show that they are in quest
15 of a country; for if they had cherished the remembrance of that from which they came, they had opportunity to return thither.
16 But now they were desirous of a better [country], that is, of a heavenly one. Wherefore God is not ashamed of them, [nor] to be called their God; for he hath prepared a city for them.
- 17 By faith Abraham, when tried, made an offering of Isaac; yea, he who had received the promises made an offering of his
18 only Son; unto whom it had been said: "In Isaac shall there
19 be a seed to thee;" counting that God was able to raise him even from the dead, whence also, comparatively [speaking], he did obtain him.
- 20 By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau, in respect to the
21 future. By faith Jacob, when about to die, blessed each of Joseph's sons, and bowed himself upon the top of his staff.
22 By faith Joseph, at the close of life, made mention of the departure of the children of Israel [from Egypt], and gave commandment respecting his own bones.
- 23 By faith Moses, after his birth, was concealed for three months by his parents, because they saw that he was a goodly
24 child, and they did not fear the king's commandment. By faith Moses, when arrived at mature age, refused to be called
25 the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin
26 for a season; counting reproach, such as Christ endured, to be
27 greater riches than all the treasures of Egypt; for he had respect to a state of reward. By faith he left Egypt, not fearing the anger of the king; for he continued steadfast, as seeing him
28 who is invisible. By faith he observed the passover and the sprinkling of blood, so that he who destroyed the first-born might not touch them.
- 29 By faith they passed through the Red sea, as on dry land;
30 which the Egyptians assaying to do, were drowned. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they had been compassed about for seven days.

- 31 By faith Rahab the harlot, having entertained the spies in a friendly manner, perished not with the unbelieving.
- 32 And what shall I say more? For time would fail me, should I tell of Gideon, of Barak also, and Samson, and Jephtha; of
- 33 David too, and Samuel, and the prophets; who through faith subdued kingdoms, executed justice, obtained promised blessings, stopped the mouths of lions, | quenched the violence of
- 34 fire, escaped the edge of the sword, were made strong from a state of infirmity, became mighty in war, overthrew the armies
- 35 of foreigners. Women recovered their dead, by a resurrection. Some were tortured, not accepting deliverance in order that
- 36 they might attain a better resurrection. Others were tried by mockings and scourges, and also by bonds and imprisonment.
- 37 They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they perished by the murderous sword, they went about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in want, afflicted, injuriously treated, | of whom the world was not worthy, wandering about in
- 38 deserts and mountains, in caves also and dens of the earth.
- 39 All these, moreover, who are commended on account of their faith, did not receive the promised blessing; God having provided some better thing for us, so that without us they could not fully obtain what was needed.

CONTENTS.—Encouragement to persevere. Trials should not dishearten, for God sends them in kindness to his children. The gospel holds out more that is cheering and encouraging than the law. The voice of its author must not be slighted.

XII. SINCE now we are encompassed by so great a multitude of witnesses, laying aside every incumbrance, and especially the sin which easily besetteth us, let us run with perseverance the race

2 which is set before us; looking unto Jesus the pattern and rewarder of our faith, who, on account of the joy set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and hath seated himself at the right hand of the throne of God.

- 3 Consider him, now, who endured such opposition against himself from sinners, lest becoming discouraged in your minds ye
- 4 grow weary. Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, in your
- 5 struggle against sin. And have ye forgotten the exhortation, which is addressed to you as children: "My son, do not slight the chastenings of the Lord, nor be disheartened when reprov-
- 6 ed by him; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scour-
- 7 geth every son whom he receiveth? If ye endure chastise-

ment, God is dealing with you as children; for what son is
8 there whom his father doth not chasten? But if ye are without chastisement, of which all [children] are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons.

9 Furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh, who have chastened us, and we have yielded them reverence; shall we not much more yield subjection to the Father of [our] spirits,
10 that we may live? For they chastened us a little while, according to their own pleasure; but he, for our good, that we might
11 be made partakers of his holiness. Now all chastening seemeth, for the present, not to be matter of joy but of grief; yet afterwards, it yieldeth the happy fruits of righteousness to those who are exercised thereby.

12 Wherefore "strengthen the weak hands and the feeble knees,"
13 and "make plain the paths of your feet," so that what is lame may not be wrenched, but rather healed.

14 Follow after peace with all men, and holiness, without which
15 no man shall see the Lord. See to it that no one fail of the favour of God; that no root of bitterness spring up and trouble
16 you, and many be defiled thereby. Let there be no fornicator, nor profane person, like Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold
17 his birthright. For ye know that when he was afterwards desirous to obtain the blessing, it was refused; yea he found no place for a change of mind [in his father], although he sought it with tears.

18 For ye are not come to the mount which could be touched, and to flaming fire, and thick clouds, and darkness, and tempest;
19 nor to the sound of the trumpet, and the voice of commands, the hearers of which refused that another word should be added
20 to them; (for they could not endure the injunction; "If even
21 a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned;" and—so terrible was the sight—even Moses said, "I fear and tremble:") but
22 ye are come to mount Zion; and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem; and to an innumerable multitude, the
23 joyful assembly of angels; and to the church of the first-born, enrolled in heaven; and to the Judge, who is the God of all; and
24 to the spirits of the just made perfect: and to the mediator of the new covenant, Jesus; and to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than [the blood] of Abel.

25 Take heed that ye turn not away from him who speaketh to you; for if they did not escape who turned away from him who

warned them on earth, much more shall we [not escape], if we slight him who [warneth us] from heaven; whose voice then
26 shook the earth; but now hath he promised, saying: "yet once
27 more I will shake not only the earth, but heaven also." Now
this "yet once more," denoteth a removing of the things which
are shaken, as made so that they must await the things which
are not shaken.

28 Wherefore, having obtained a kingdom which cannot be shaken,
let us hold fast that grace, by which we may serve God in
29 an acceptable manner, with pious reverence. For "our God is
a consuming fire."

CONTENTS.—Various practical directions and cautions. Affectionate requests and salutations.

XIII. Let brotherly love continue. Forget not hospitality;
3 for by this, some have entertained angels unawares. Remember
those who are in bonds, as if ye yourselves were fellow
prisoners; those who are suffering evil, as being yourselves yet
4 in the body. Let marriage be honoured among all, and the bed
undefiled; for whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.
5 Let your conduct be free from covetousness, and be contented
6 with what ye possess. For he hath said "I will never leave
thee nor forsake thee;" so that we may boldly say: "The
Lord is my helper, and I will not be afraid; what can man do
to me?"

7 Remember your leaders, who have spoken unto you the word
of God; and attentively considering the end of their manner of
8 life, imitate their faith. Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday,
9 to-day, and for ever. Be not carried hither and thither by di-
verse and strange doctrines; for it is good that the heart should
be confirmed by grace, and not by meats, by which those have
10 not been profited who have been occupied therewith. We
have an altar, of which they have no right to eat who render
their service to the tabernacle.

11 Moreover, the bodies of those animals, whose blood was car-
ried into the sanctuary as a sin-offering by the high-priest, were
12 burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might
make expiation for the people by his own blood, suffered with-
13 out the gate. Let us then go forth to him without the camp,
14 bearing reproaches like his; for here we have no abiding city,
15 but are seeking for one to come. By him, therefore, let us

continually present to God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruit of our lips, ascribing praise to his name.

16 Forget not, moreover, kindness and liberality; for with such
17 sacrifices God is well pleased. Obey your leaders, and be subject to them; for they watch over your souls, as those who must give an account. [So obey] that they may do this with joy and not with grief, for this would be unprofitable to you.

18 Pray for us; for we trust that we have a good conscience,
19 being desirous in all things to demean ourselves uprightly. And I request you the more earnestly to do this, in order that I may speedily be restored to you.

20 Now, may the God of peace, that raised from the dead our
Lord Jesus, (who is the great Shepherd of the sheep with the
21 blood of an everlasting covenant,) | perfect you in every good work, so that ye may do his will; working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever! Amen.

22 I beseech you now, brethren, to bear with this word of exhortation; for I have written briefly to you.

23 Know ye, that our brother Timothy is sent away; with whom, if he return speedily, I shall visit you.

24 Salute all your leaders, and all the saints. They of Italy
25 salute you. Grace be with you all! Amen.

THE END.



